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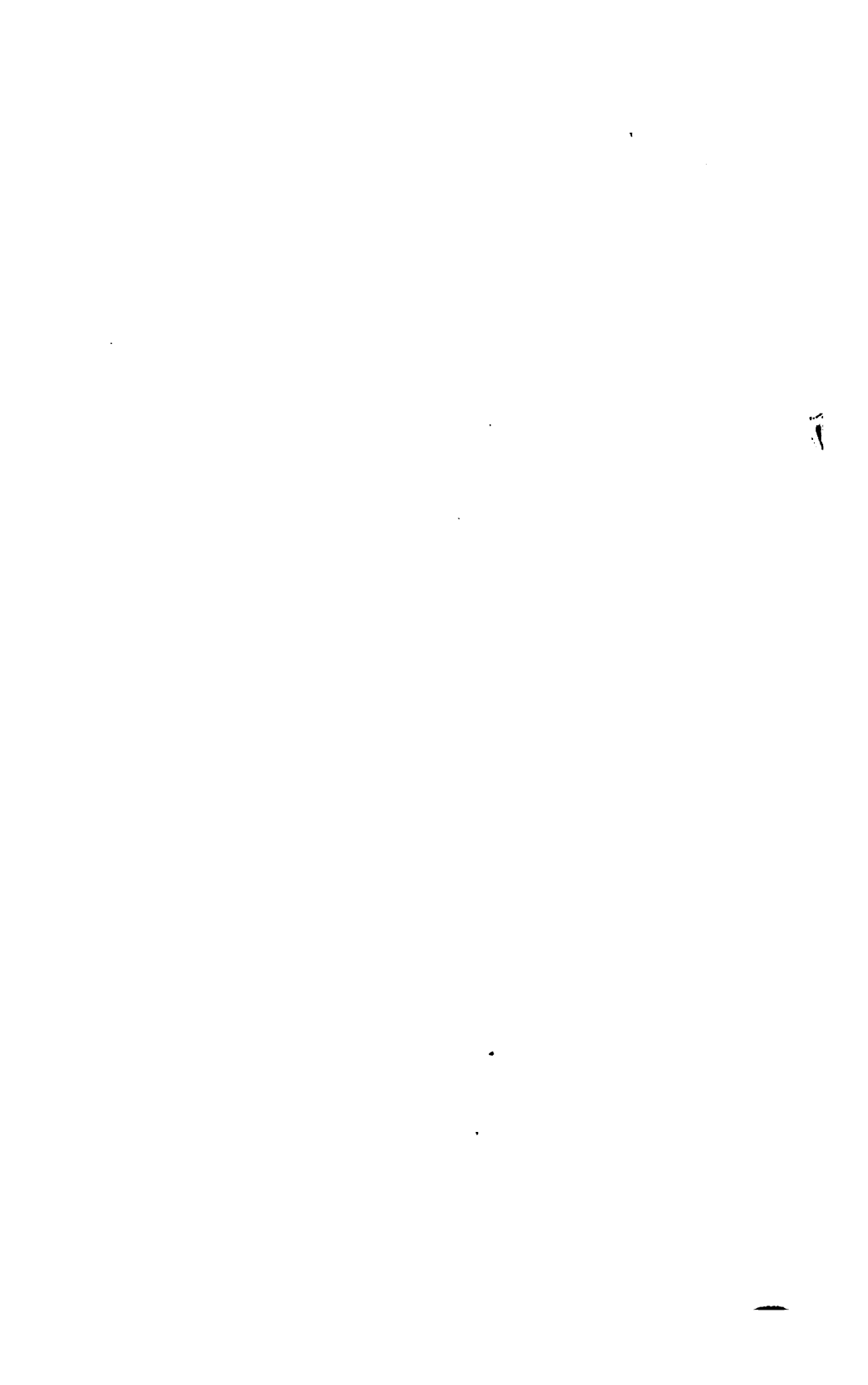
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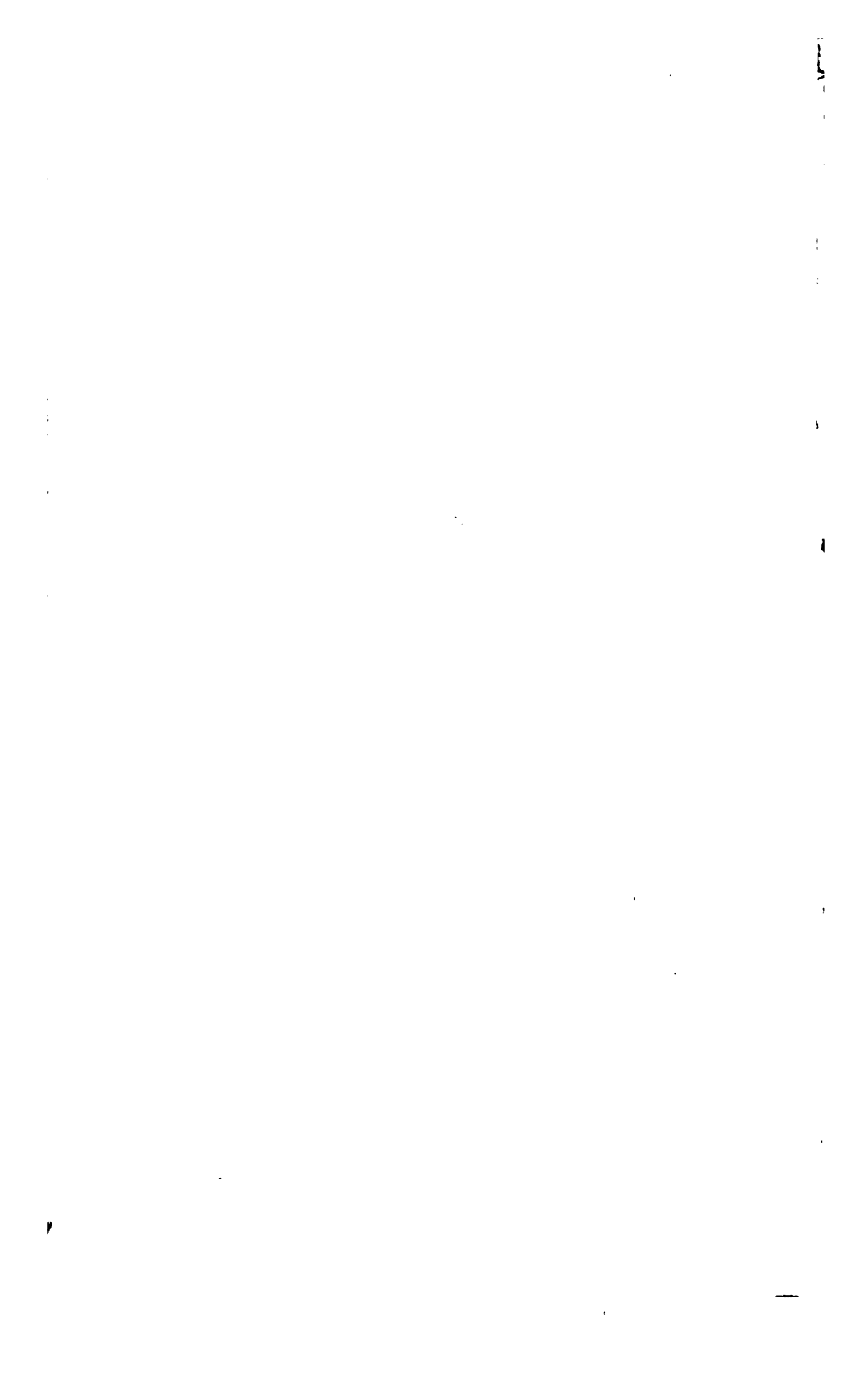
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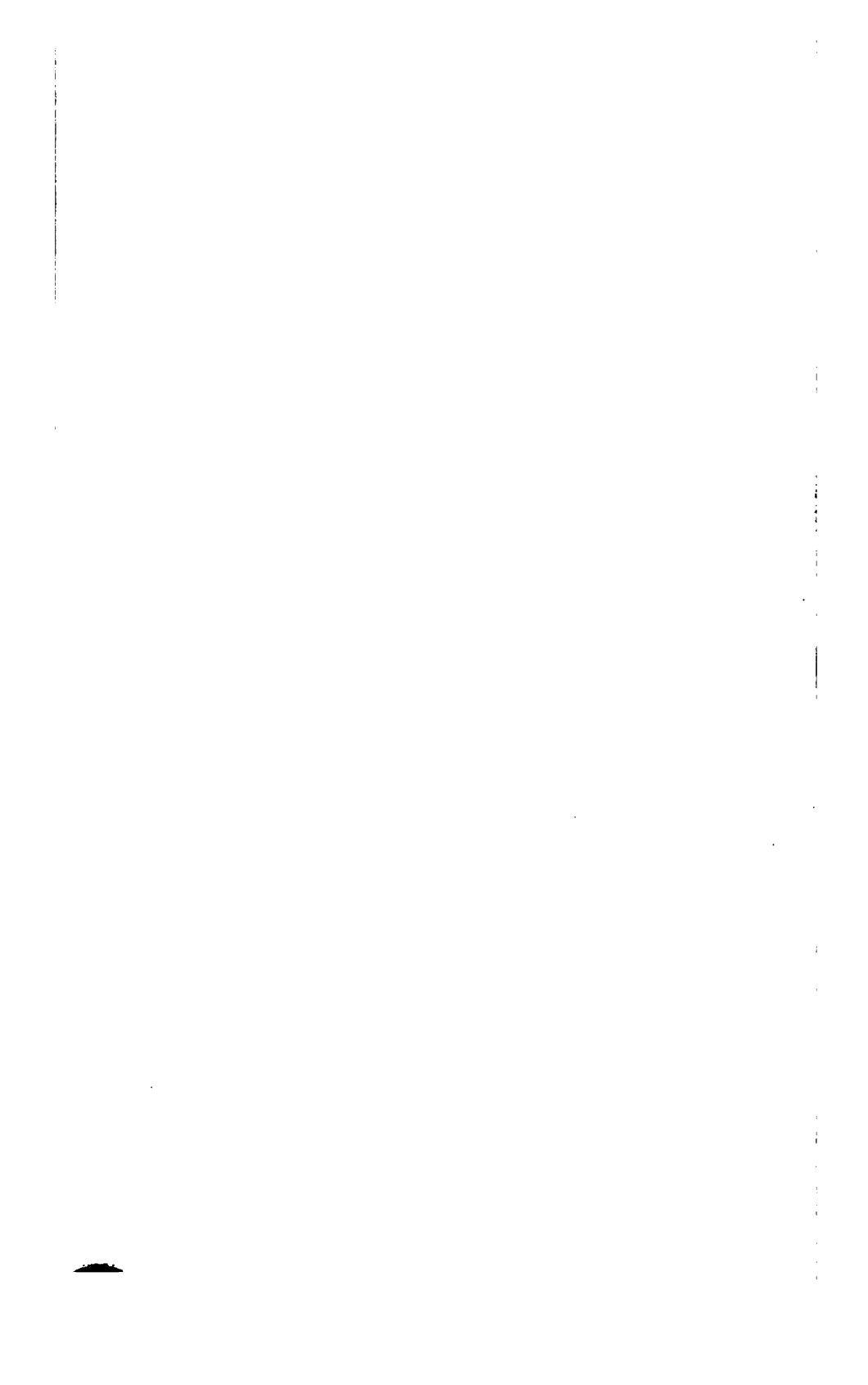
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AND

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THE



HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

DEATH OF GEORGE II. TO THE CORONATION OF GEORGE IV.

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THE LATE KING'S PARTIALITY TO HIS NATIVE DOMINIONS.

FEW princes ever died at a moment more favourable to their popularity than George II. All the spots and blemishes in his character seemed to vanish in the blaze of glory which had been reflected on it by the late successes of his fleets and armies in every quarter of the globe. But these borrowed splendours could not long conceal the fatal effects of his partiality to his native dominions,—a partiality, to which not only the blood and treasure, but the valour, the virtue and public spirit of the British nation had been repeatedly sacrificed. The aggrandizement of his darling electorate, and the support of all his schemes for preserving an imaginary balance between the continental powers, whatever might be the expense to England, were the only conditions, on which any ministry could obtain his favour, or secure their own continuance in office. As none were admitted into his confidence but on these terms, so none were dismissed but from their inability to fulfil such engagements. Every change of his servants was therefore a fresh wound inflicted on the real interests of his country. The frequent shifting of power through such a variety of hands, and from motives so inconsistent with liberal policy, was productive of another evil: it scattered the seeds of disunion, jealousy, and hatred among all the great families of the kingdom; and prepared for the succeeding prince a series of struggles with the intrigues of party, and the turbulence of domestic factions, a thousand times more vexatious than any combination of foreign enemies.

ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.

THE death of the late king having been notified in form to the heir apparent, who was then at Kew, he immediately repaired to Carleton House, to meet the privy council, on the twenty-second of Oc-

tober. As soon as the members had taken the customary oaths of fidelity to their new sovereign, he expressed his deep sense of the loss sustained by the nation, and of his own insufficiency to support, as he wished, the load which fell upon him at so critical and unexpected a juncture: "But," said he, "animated by the tenderest affection for my native country, and depending upon the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordships, on the support of every honest man, I enter with cheerfulness into this arduous situation, and shall make it the business of my life to promote in every thing the glory and happiness of these kingdoms, to preserve and strengthen the constitution in both church and state; and, as I mount the throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in the manner the most likely to bring on an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies." This declaration was ordered to be made public, at the request of all the members present. They also witnessed two instruments of an oath relating to the security of the church of Scotland, which was taken and subscribed by his majesty on this occasion, as the law required.

Next morning his majesty was proclaimed with the usual solemnities; and, the following day, having added the duke of York, and the earl of Bute to his privy council, he ordered the parliament to be prorogued to the eighteenth of November. During this interval, the chief objects that engaged the public attention were the equipment of a large squadron of men of war and transports at Portsmouth, with the embarkation of a formidable train of artillery, all announcing some important enterprise; and the preparations making for the funeral obsequies of the late king, which were performed on the ninth, tenth, and eleventh of November with becoming magnificence. The testimonies of joy for the accession of his grandson, in which all ranks of men vied with each other, certainly expressed the sentiments of their hearts. The great body of the

people could not but be delighted to see the throne at length filled by a prince who was born and bred among them ;—who was acquainted with their language and manners, with their laws and constitution ;—whose prejudices, if he had any, must be in favour of his native land, and must of course exclude all idea of that fatal predilection for Germany, which, in the two preceding reigns, had proved so injurious to the peace and prosperity of Britain.

HIS MAJESTY'S FIRST SPEECH TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

On the day, to which the meeting of parliament had been prorogued, the king went to the house of peers and opened the sessions with a speech, in which, besides the obvious and usual topics, his majesty thus expressed his personal sentiments at his accession, and announced the principles of his future government.

" Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton ; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me, I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne ; and I doubt not, but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to, and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state ; and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown ; and, as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.

" Happier still should I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whose true interest I have entirely at heart, in full peace : but since the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous designs of my enemies, rendered the war both just and necessary, and the generous overture, made last winter, towards a congress for a pacification has not yet produced any suitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigour, in order to that desirable object, a safe and honourable peace. For this purpose, it is absolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared ; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation."

This speech, which his majesty delivered with energy, grace and dignity, could not fail of confirming all the former prepossessions of the people in his favour. Every noble, patriotic, and endearing sentiment, that it contained, produced a corresponding emotion in the breasts of his hearers ; and the moment it was published, the whole nation read it with eagerness and rapture. The addresses of the lords and commons were dictated by the same spirit, and were most heartily concurred in by every true lover of his country, by every man of sense and virtue in the kingdom.

ADDRESS OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS.

As soon as the king retired, after the delivery of a speech so well calculated to give general satisfaction, the members of both houses proceeded to take the oaths and to comply with the forms prescribed by law at the first session of a new reign. The speech being then reported to the lords by the keeper of the great seal, and to the commons by their speaker, addresses were drawn up and unanimously agreed to, breathing as before intimated, the warmest spirit of duty and affection ; and replete with unequivocal testimonies of the most hearty concurrence in all his majesty's sentiments and wishes. " Animated by that duty," said the lords, " which we owe to your majesty, and by our zeal for the honour and interest of these kingdoms, we give your majesty the strongest assurances, that we will cheerfully support you in prosecuting the war ; assist the king of Prussia, and the rest of your allies ; and heartily concur in all such measures as shall be necessary for the defence of your majesty and your dominions, and for the other national and important ends which you have so fully laid before us." The members of the lower house, were still

more explicit on the subject of effectual support. " We assure your majesty," said they, " that your faithful commons, thoroughly sensible of this important crisis, and desirous, with the divine assistance, to render your majesty's reign successful and glorious in war, happy and honourable in peace (the natural return of a grateful people to a gracious and affectionate sovereign) will concur in such measures as shall be requisite for the vigorous and effectual prosecution of the war ; and that we will cheerfully and speedily grant such supplies as shall be found necessary for that purpose, and for the support of the king of Prussia, and the rest of your majesty's allies ; and that we will make an adequate provision for your majesty's civil government, as may be sufficient to maintain the honour and dignity of your crown with all proper and becoming lustre."

SUPPLY VOTED.

Such manifestations of love and attachment were answered by the king in terms of the liveliest sensibility ; and his reply to the commons in particular made such an impression on them, that, suspending the usual orders and regulations at the beginning of every session, they agreed to a second address of thanks for the gracious manner in which the first had been received. The best proofs of their sincerity were the liberality and despatch with which they provided for all the possible exigencies of the state. The commons, in a committee of supply, voted for the services of the ensuing year, nineteen millions, six hundred and sixteen thousand one hundred and nineteen pounds, nineteen shillings and nine-pence three farthings. A detail of all the different purposes, for which the several sums were specifically granted, would be tedious.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CIVIL LIST.

On the twenty-fifth of November, the chancellor of the exchequer, by his majesty's command, acquainted the house, " that his majesty ever desirous of giving the most substantial proofs of his tender regard to the welfare of his people, was pleased to signify his consent, that whenever the house should enter upon the consideration of making provision for the support of his household, and the honour and dignity of his crown, such disposition might be made of his majesty's interest in the hereditary revenues of the crown, as might best conduce to the utility and satisfaction of the public." In consequence of this message the house came to a resolution on the next day, that the said hereditary revenues be carried to, and made part of the aggregate fund ; and that, in lieu thereof, there should be granted to his majesty such a revenue as should amount to the clear yearly sum of eight hundred thousand pounds to commence from the demise of his late majesty, and to be charged upon, and made payable out of the said aggregate fund. This resolution, or bargain, was equally beneficial to the crown and satisfactory to the public ; for though the funds appropriated to the payment of the civil list revenues, which had been settled on the two preceding sovereigns, ought to have produced a great deal more than eight hundred thousand pounds a year, yet it appeared by the accounts laid before the house, that the receipts of his late majesty, during the thirty three years of his reign, had constantly fallen short of that sum (1). The burthen, therefore, lay heavy on the subject, while the proposed supplies were in reality withheld, on the pretext of the frauds of the collectors. But by the above plan the income of the crown became certain ; and the former revenues being all carried to the aggregate fund, the people were relieved from the most grievous of all taxes, that of embezzlement.

SUPPLIES GRANTED FOR THE GERMAN CONFEDERACY.

AFTER providing by various grants for the maintenance of the British forces and seamen employed at home and abroad, the commons proceeded, according to their promise, to enable his majesty to give the most effectual support to his German allies, by voting various sums for defraying the charges of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttle, Saxe-Gotha, and count of Buckeburgh, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia, for one year, to be issued in advance every two months ; the troops to be mastered by an Eng-

His commissary, and the effective state thereof to be ascertained by the signature of the commander in chief of the said forces; and for defraying the charge of the troops of the landgrave of Hesse Cassel in the pay of Great Britain, for one year; including the annual subsidy, pursuant to treaty; and for defraying the charge of the troops of the reigning duke of Brunswick in the pay of Great Britain, for the service of the next campaign, together with the annual subsidy, pursuant to treaty; and for the charge of five battalions serving with his majesty's army in Germany, with a corps of artillery; also one million, upon account, towards defraying the charge of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and other extraordinary expenses and contingencies of his majesty's combined army, under the command of prince Ferdinand. If to these sums we add the king of Prussia's annual subsidy of six hundred and seventy thousand pounds; and two millions, upon a very moderate calculation, for keeping up an army of five and twenty thousand British troops in Westphalia, including the transport service, and other incidental charges, with various deficiencies and extraordinary expenses which the commons were afterwards obliged to make good; we shall find that the generosity of Great Britain to her continental allies cost her at least five millions annually.

No part of this contribution was voted with more cheerfulness than the subsidy to Prussia. The news of the battle of Torgau had reached England just before the meeting of parliament; and the circumstantial account and confirmation of that splendid victory, with which Baron Cocci, the king of Prussia's aid-de-camp, arrived a few days after, did not fail to operate very powerfully in his master's favour. He was received by his majesty at St James's in a most gracious manner. This single blow counterbalanced all the losses he had sustained during the campaign, it made him master of all Saxony except Dresden. Laudohn abruptly raised the siege of Cosel, and evacuated Silesia; the Russians abandoned the siege of Colberg, and fell back into Poland, while the Swedes were driven with great loss out of Western Pomerania. The annual treaty or convention between the courts of Great Britain and of Prussia was renewed on the twelfth of December; and on the twenty-third of the same month the commons agreed to the resolution of the committee of supply, to enable his majesty to make good his engagements with the king of Prussia. The popularity of these proceedings, however, did not shield them from the censure of some very able political writers at that time.

COMPENSATION TO NORTH AMERICANS.

1761. The grant of three hundred thousand pounds, voted by the commons on the twentieth of January, to enable his majesty to give a proper compensation to the respective provinces in North America for the expenses incurred by them in the levying, clothing, and pay of their troops, though not more popular than the king of Prussia's subsidy, was certainly more unexceptionable. The states had acted with the utmost vigour and despatch in the raising and equipment of those troops; and the troops themselves, particularly the Virginians, had displayed uncommon firmness and courage in several perilous situations; and had, upon every occasion that offered, co-operated with the forces of the mother country in the most hearty and effectual manner.

BALLOT FOR MILITIA PRODUCTIVE OF A RIOT AT HEXHAM.

THE militia in the northern counties had already served the term of three years, prescribed by law, it became requisite to ballot for a succession of men; and the deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace for the county of Northumberland accordingly met at Hexham on the ninth of March for that purpose. The common people being determined to oppose the measure, which they looked upon as an insupportable grievance, assembled to the number of five thousand, of both sexes, and of all ages, some of them armed with bludgeons, and others with pikes and firelocks. The justices had procured a battalion of the Yorkshire militia for their guard, and these were drawn up in the marketplace. The mob, being reinforced by a large body of pitmen from the collieries, ridiculed the menace, assaulted

the troop, and shot an ensign dead, and two of the private men. The militia, thus exasperated, poured in upon them a regular discharge, by which forty-five of the populace were killed upon the spot, and three hundred miserably wounded. One of the ringleaders was taken up, tried, and executed for an example.

One of the articles, fixed upon by the committee of ways and means for raising the before mentioned supplies, seemed to threaten a more dangerous commotion in the capital than that which the renewal of the militia had excited in a different county.

LOAN OF TWELVE MILLIONS.

THE principal expedient was a loan of twelve millions, the interest of which was to be paid by an additional duty of three shillings per barrel on all strong beer, or ale, the sinking fund being a collateral security.

This tax, in addition to the former duties of excise on beer, excited a great outcry among the lower classes of people.

NEW ACT OF INSOLVENCY.

PETITIONS in favour of confined debtors had of late been presented to the house with the fullest confidence in its kind and compassionate regard. The hopes of the applicants were greatly encouraged by the accession and character of the new sovereign. They had also, at this juncture, other strong claims to the consideration of the legislature: all the prisons in the kingdom were crowded, and many thousands of valuable subjects lost to society, at a time when the people were thinned by a consuming war, and when several manufactures were standing still, or totally abandoned for want of workmen. The commons were not inattentive to remonstrances so well supported by humanity and policy. A bill was brought in, and soon passed into an act for the relief of such unfortunate captives, and containing a clause framed with a view to perpetual, but well-regulated indulgence. By it, any creditor might compel a prisoner, charged in execution, to appear at the quarter-sessions with the copy of his detainer, and to deliver upon oath, a just schedule of his estate. After producing and subscribing the schedule, he was to be discharged; but, if he refused to do so, or concealed to the value of twenty pounds, he was to suffer as a felon. This clause seemed likely to be productive of the best effects: it was designed to operate as a penal check on persons of a different description, who might be inclined to continue in prison and to spend their substance there, rather than give up their property for the satisfaction of their creditors. But the laudable intentions of the legislature were defeated, and its clemency abused by fraud and collusion. Great numbers of people in all stations of life seized this opportunity of disencumbering themselves of their debts. The alarm, in consequence, was so great, and personal credit received such a shock, that the common council of London instructed their representatives in the new parliament to use their best endeavours to procure the repeal of the compulsive clause, as a manifest grievance to the public.

INDEPENDENCY OF THE JUDGES.

In the beginning of March the king proposed a step for securing the independency of the judges, which was justly admired as an eminent proof of his majesty's candour, moderation, and public spirit. Having gone to the house of lords to give his assent to some bills then ready, he commanded the attendance of the commons, and explained his purpose in the following manner:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Upon granting new commissions to the judges, the present state of their offices fell naturally under consideration.

"In consequence of the act passed in the reign of my late glorious predecessor king William III. for settling the succession of the crown in my family, their commissions have been made during their good behaviour; but, notwithstanding that wise provision, their offices have determined upon the demise of the crown, or at the expiration of six months afterwards, in every instance of that nature which has happened.

"I look upon the independency and uprightness of the judges of the land, as essential to the impar-

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 tial administration of justice ; as one of the best securities to the rights and liberties of my loving subjects ; and as most conducive to the honour of the crown : and I come now to recommend this interesting object to the consideration of parliament, in order that such farther provision may be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices, during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any such demise, as shall be most expedient.

" Gentlemen of the House of Commons, " I must desire of you, in particular, that I may be enabled to grant and establish upon the judges such salaries as I shall think proper, so as to be absolutely secured to them, during the continuance of their commissions."

This speech was received with the applause due to such a declaration. The commons, to whom he had more particularly addressed himself on the occasion, acknowledged their most grateful sense of his majesty's attention to an object so interesting to his people : they assured him, that his faithful commons saw with joy and veneration the warm regard and concern, which animated his royal breast, for the security of the religion, laws, liberties, and properties of his subjects ; that the house would immediately proceed upon the important work, recommended by his majesty with such tender care of his people ; and would enable him to establish the salaries of the judges in such a permanent manner, that they might be enjoyed during the continuance of their commissions. These assurances were converted into so many resolutions of the house on the fifth of March, and became the basis of a law, by which the independency of the bench was better secured.

THE SPEAKER RETIRES.

The commons concluded their proceedings with some very flattering testimonies of their regard for Mr. Onslow, the speaker, who had signified his intention to resign the chair, which he had filled during the course of above thirty-three years, in five successive parliaments.

The king closed the scene on the nineteenth of March with a speech to both houses in which his majesty touched upon the farther progress of the war in Germany, where, as his majesty observed, the superior ability and indefatigable activity of prince Ferdinand, and the spirit and ardour of the other officers and troops had been surprisingly exerted, notwithstanding all the difficulties arising from the season.

ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION OF THE FRENCH.

At the close of the last campaign, the French continued masters of the whole territory of Hesse, where they had amassed large stores, and strengthened all the tenable places with additional works. On their left, they had driven the allies from the lower Rhine, and kept so considerable a body of troops there as to check any hostile effort in that quarter. On their right, having forced prince Ferdinand to raise the siege of Göttingen, they remained in quiet possession of that important fortress, while the electorate of Hanover lay quite open to their enterprises. Thus their cantonnments presented the appearance of an immense crescent, the two advanced points of which were at Göttingen and Wesel, and the body extended in Hesse : so that being perfectly well provided with magazines, and unobstructed in all the communications necessary for their current subsistence, with strong places in their rear, and in both their flanks, they seemed to have nothing more to do, next campaign, than to advance their several posts in a manner to inclose the allied army, which, without some signal success, would find itself absolutely incapable of making any stand against them.

PRINCE FERDINAND'S PLAN OF ATTACK.

PRINCE FERDINAND was sensible of the inconveniences of his own situation, and of the advantages the enemy had over him. He therefore resolved to strike the first blow : and having, on the ninth of February, assembled his forces at three different places of rendezvous with all possible secrecy, he communicated his designs to his generals next day, and immediately began to carry them into execution.

The centre of the army was led on by his serene

highness in person : it marched directly into Hesse, and made its way towards Cassel. The right and left wings, or rather detachments, were each at a considerable distance from the main body, but so disposed that their separate effects might fully concur in the general plan of operations. The hereditary prince commanded on the right ; he pushed forward with the utmost expedition into the heart of the French quarters, leaving the country of Hesse a little to the east. General Spörcken, at the head of the third division of the forces on the left, he orders to penetrate into Thuringia, and to endeavour, by a rapid and judicious movement, to cut off the communication of the French and Imperials to open one for the allies with the Prussians, and to cut off all intercourse between the grand army of the enemy and their garrison at Göttingen.

FRITZLAR AND SEVERAL MAGAZINES TAKEN.

By this sudden, extensive, and vigorous attack, the French were thrown into the utmost consternation. They retreated, or rather fled on every side. But, happily for them, they had very sufficient means of securing their retreat, and such a number of garrisons as the allies could not leave behind them in their career, without being exposed to the most imminent danger. Fritzlar was the first place, on which the hereditary prince made an attack, with only a few battalions and musquetry, having been informed that he might easily surprise it. But he was deceived in his intelligence : he found the garrison prepared and resolved after an assault, therefore, conducted with his usual spirit, he was obliged to draw off with no inconsiderable loss. Cannon and mortars, which the hereditary prince had before neglected, were brought before Fritzlar, and soon obliged it to surrender. A large magazine was found there. Some forts and castles in the neighbourhood were also reduced by the Marquis of Granby. The victorious troops then continued their progress, and as they advanced, the French gradually retired, abandoning post after post, till they were nearly driven to the banks of the Main. In their retreat, they set fire to their magazines ; but the allies pursued with so much rapidity, that they saved five capital stores, one of which contained eighty thousand sacks of meal, fifty thousand sacks of oats, and a million of rations of hay, a very small part of which had been destroyed. These acquisitions were of the utmost advantage : as it was almost impossible that the troops could otherwise have been supplied with subsistence, and the horse with provender, in such a season, and at so great a distance from their original quarters.

Notwithstanding the success of the allies in front, it was not there the grand object of their operations lay. Cassel, Göttingen, Marburg, Ziegenhain, and several smaller posts were still unretreated at their backs, and might cut off their retreat, in case of any reverse of fortune. As soon therefore as the army, under the command of Marshal Broglio, had been driven quite out of Hesse, and had retreated towards Frankfort on the Main, prince Ferdinand ceased to advance, and made the best dispositions for the accomplishment of the other objects. The Marquis of Granby, with a large body of troops, was ordered to Marburg, which the French abandoned at his approach. Another detachment was sent off to the blockade of Ziegenhain : but this fortress held out with great obstinacy. The siege of Cassel was committed to the count of Lippe Schammburgh, a sovereign prince of the empire, who was reputed to be one of the ablest engineers in Europe, and whose former management of the artillery at Thornhausen had been a principal cause in the acquisition of that great victory. Prince Ferdinand himself formed the part of the army which remained with him, into a chain of cantonnments, so as to watch all the steps of marshal Broglio's army, and to cover the progress of the before mentioned operations. The siege of Cassel in particular attracted his notice, and required his utmost vigilance. Trenches were opened on the first of March ; and every effort of vigour and judgment called forth in an enterprise, on the success of which the whole fortune of the campaign depended.

VICISSITUDES OF THE CAMPAIGN.

In the mean time, general Spörcken and the troops

under his command, who had taken their route to the left, on the side of Saxony, advanced with an intrepidity equal to the rest of the allied forces. Having been joined by a corps of Prussians, they attacked the Saxons in one of their strongest posts on the Unstrut, and totally defeated them. A great number were killed in the action: five entire battalions were made prisoners, and several pieces of cannon were taken, besides a large magazine, which the routed enemy had not time to destroy. This blow was well followed: one body of the combined army pushed on to Eismach and Gotha, whilst another by forced marches got forward to Weida: the French gave way on their right, and the army of the empire on the left, abandoning a very large tract of country to their pursuers.

Such was the flattering posture of affairs, as detailed in the last advices from Germany, when the king was about to put an end to the sessions of parliament. It was therefore very natural for him to speak of it to both houses with some degree of exultation. But this extraordinary course of prosperity was not of long continuance. The allies were obliged to undertake too many enterprises at the same time, and these too arduous for the number of which their army consisted. In proportion as general Sporken's victorious troops were carried forward by their activity and success, they left the countries on their rear more and more exposed to the powerful garrison of Göttingen. The count de Vaux, who commanded there, no sooner perceived that the allies were wholly intent upon pushing the advantages they had acquired, than he marched out with a strong detachment; attacked and routed a Hanoverian convoy; fell upon the town of Duderstadt with great violence; and after some checks, made himself master of that post and of the most considerable places near it. He thus prevented general Sporken's corps from returning by the way they had advanced, and even put it out of their power to act separately from their main army, to which their junction soon after became necessary on another account.

Marshal Broglio, toward the close of the last campaign, had been obliged, by the bold projects of the hereditary prince, to detach from his army in Hesse a large body to the lower Rhine. He now

found it equally proper to recall this body, together with further reinforcements, in order to maintain his ground in the country northward of the Maine, where he was closely pressed by the allies, and which he must be compelled shamefully to relinquish, if Cassel was not relieved in time.

DEFEAT OF THE HEREDITARY PRINCE.

He advanced without delay. The troops under the hereditary prince were, from their situation, exposed to the first attack. This was made by the dragoons of the enemy, whose charge was so impetuous as instantly to break the whole foot, consisting of nine regiments, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers. Two thousand prisoners, and several trophies of victory fell into the hands of the French; though very few were killed or wounded on either side. The blow was decisive. The allies could no longer think of maintaining their ground. They broke up the blockade of Ziegenhain: raised the siege of Cassel, after twenty-seven days open trenches; and evacuated the whole country of Hesse, retiring behind the Dymel, and falling back nearly to the quarters they possessed before this undertaking. But, notwithstanding the failure of their expedition in other respects, they accomplished one very great and important purpose in the destruction or seizure of so many of the principal magazines of the enemy. Such stores could not be quickly replaced; and the French, for want of them, were disabled from taking the field till the end of June.

PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

As it was in the moment of the most astonishing success that the king took notice of the operations of the allied army, he showed great wisdom and temper in adding, "that the only use he proposed to make of such victories, and of the important acquisitions gained in various parts of the world, was to secure and promote the welfare of his kingdoms, and to procure to them the blessings of peace on safe and honourable conditions."

With such sentiments, the king took his farewell of the parliament, which was immediately dissolved; and writs were issued for the election of new members.

NOTE TO CHAPTER I.

1 The civil list revenues for these thirty-three years, and the sums granted at different

times to make good deficiencies, amounted only to 26,182,961*l.* which was 217,019*l.*

short of the expected contribution.

CHAPTER II.

Circumstances which led to the Proposal of a Congress at Augsburg—Plausible Reasons for previous setting on foot a distinct Negotiation at London and Paris—Mr. Pitt unfavourable to a Peace—Secret intrigues of the French Ministry at the Court of Madrid—Difficulties about the mutual retaining of Possessions—Survey of hostile operations during the Suspension of the Treaty—Expedition against Belleisle—The Negotiation resumed—Remarks on the two main Points of Dispute—Inflexibility of the English Secretary—Some Account of the Family compact—Candid Inquiries on which side the chief blame lay—The Treaty finally broken off.

PROPOSAL OF A CONGRESS AT AUGSBURG.

THE liberal supplies granted by parliament for the ensuing campaign on the Continent, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war in general, astonished all Europe, and made the courts of Vienna and Versailles sensible of the necessity of proposing terms of peace. They had slighted some overtures made by the kings of England and Prussia in the close of the year 1759; but the posture of affairs at that time rendered it very evident that those offers were dictated by a wish to keep up the show of moderation in the height of prosperity, and to reconcile the subjects of the former sovereign to what must then appear a necessary continuance of the war, rather than by a hope that the adverse parties would pay any serious regard to such proposals. As the advantages were almost wholly on the side of Great Britain, France could not then expect very favourable terms for herself or her allies. She therefore looked forward to the issue of another campaign in Germany, to counterbalance her losses elsewhere, and to place her, at least, on a footing of honourable equality. In this, however, she met with some disappointment. The success of the war proved so fluctuating, even where all her hopes lay, and where her utmost strength was exerted, that she at length began to relent, and apparently to desire peace in earnest. The other members of the grand alliance could not decently, or safely oppose these dispositions on the part of France, as she was not only the prime mover, but the chief supporter of their hostile confederacy. The court of Sweden, in particular, was given to understand, that the diminished resources of France put it out of her power to furnish any longer the stipulated subsidies, or to comply with the exact letter of her engagements. In consequence of these, and other hints on the uncertainty of being at any future period in a better condition to treat than at present, the five parties to the war on that side made as many pacific declarations, which were signed at Paris on the twenty-sixth of March, and delivered at London on the thirty-first of the same month. The counter-declaration of Great Britain and Prussia, expressing their cheerful acceptance of the offer, appeared on the third of April; and Augsburg, an independent city in the circle of Suabia, was fixed upon as the most convenient place for the proposed congress. Lord Egremont, lord Stormont, at that time ambassador in Poland, and general Yorke, who acted in the same capacity at the Hague, were nominated as the English plenipotentiaries: the count de Choiseul was appointed on the part of France. Augsburg now became the centre of attention to all Europe; and each court prepared every thing towards this important meeting which it could furnish of splendour for the display of its dignity, and of ability for the support of its interest. The thoughts and conversation of men were for a while diverted from scenes of horror, bloodshed, and pillage; and every mind was more agreeably employed on the public shows of magnificence, and the private game of policy, in which so

many contending powers were brought into the closest and most eager competition.

REASON FOR A NEGOTIATION.

In order to lessen the intricacy of their future proceedings, it was unanimously agreed, in the first place, that none should be admitted to the congress but the parties principally concerned, and their allies. But although this exclusion of the neutral states tended greatly to disembarass and simplify the treaty, yet such was the variety of separate and independent matters which still remained to be discussed, that it became advisable to make a farther separation, with a view to an easier and more speedy adjustment of their respective concerns. For this purpose it was necessary to reduce the causes of the different quarrels in so complicated a war to their first principles; and to disengage the several interests which originally, and in their own nature, had no connection, from that mass, in which mutual injuries and a common animosity had blended and confounded them. The court of France therefore proposed to settle the American dispute by a distinct negotiation at London and Paris, previously to the discussion of the German affairs at Augsburg. Nothing could afford a stronger proof of the sincerity of her intentions: for it was very certain that, if matters could be satisfactorily accommodated between her and Great Britain, and if they both should carry to the general congress the same candour and good faith, their influence must necessarily tend to inspire sentiments of moderation into the rest, and must contribute largely to accelerate the great work of pacification.

MR. PITT UNFAVOURABLE TO A PEACE.

MINISTERS were mutually sent from both courts; Mr. Stanley on the part of England; and Mr. Bussy on that of France. The former embarked for Calais on the twenty-fourth of May; and the latter arrived in London on the thirty-first of the same month. But unfortunately the plan and disposition of the treaty were much more easily adjusted than the matter and the substance of it; and it is also very probable that the secret intrigues, or private views of both parties, did not perfectly correspond with their public professions.

Mr. Pitt, one of the British secretaries of state, whose talents and popularity had enabled him, for the last three years, to give the law in the council, felt that his influence there was likely to expire with the war. Notwithstanding the greatness of his mind and the dignity of his sentiments in many other respects, he was too much actuated by contempt and hatred of the French. But, as he could not absolutely reject their fair proposal of a treaty, his aim was to obstruct its progress, and to renew the quarrel on such grounds as might flatter the pride of his countrymen, and reconcile them to the prosecution of expensive measures, against which they now began to revolt. The posture of affairs was singularly favourable to his wishes. England had been every where victorious, except in Germany; and he knew that the people, elated by a series of conquests, would not approve of much

undelusion to an enemy, whom they detested, and whom they considered as lying at their mercy. But it was evident that, without a sacrifice of some of the objects on which they had set their hearts, it would be impossible to procure any satisfactory terms for their allies, whose affairs were only not ruined in the struggle, and who had on that account a stronger claim to the generous attachment of Great Britain. Here, therefore, Mr. Pitt foresaw that he could fix the bar of honour, which was to impede and finally break off the treaty, if no other pretence occurred in the course of the negotiation.

DUPLICITY OF THE FRENCH MINISTRY.

FRANCE, on her part, was equally sensible, that she could not expect a peace, without some mortifying concessions. The moment her particular concerns came to be separated from the general cause, she had every disadvantage in the treaty, because she had suffered almost every disaster in the war. The landgraviate of Hesse, the county of Hainan, and the town of Göttingen, were the only acquisitions which she had to balance her immense losses throughout the rest of the globe. She had reason to suppose, that the Spaniards could not behold with indifference the principal branch of the house of Bourbon humbled and stripped of its American possessions; because such an event would in a manner leave their own colonies at the mercy of England. The late king of Spain, Ferdinand VI. had, indeed, refused to interfere in those disputes; but his successor, Charles III. was more likely to take the alarm at the farther progress of the English; and it was also probable, that every sacrifice or cession of American territory, which might be exacted from France in the course of the treaty, would prove a fresh incentive to the suspicions and jealousies of the Spanish monarch. Thus the cabinet of Versailles had a double game to play, in supporting at London the appearance of the most earnest desire of peace, and exerting at Madrid all the secret springs of political intrigue to continue and spread still wider the calamities of war.

DIFFICULTIES ABOUT THE RETAINING OF POSSESSIONS.

SUCH was the mixture of hostile and pacific sentiments, of seeming candour and dark design, with which both parties entered upon the negotiation. The first proposal of the French minister was, "that the two crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered one from the other;" and as France had assuredly been the greatest loser, so unexpected an offer on her part appeared to every dispassionate and unprejudiced member of the British cabinet, an instance of singular moderation, if not humility. But Mr. Pitt, who directed all things, did not treat it with that attention which its apparent fairness deserved. He barely acquiesced in the general principle, while he took care to render that acquiescence nugatory by his opposition to another article with which it was necessarily connected. As the war still continued, and might therefore make a daily alteration in the fortune of the contracting powers, the French minister had proposed, "That the situation, in which they shall stand at certain periods, shall be the position to serve as a basis for the treaty that is to be concluded between them." He named, for this purpose, the first of May in Europe, the first of July in Africa and the West Indies, and the first of September in the East Indies; observing, at the same time, that as those periods might seem too near or too distant for the interests of Great Britain, the court of Versailles was extremely willing to enter into an explanation on that subject.

Pitt's answer was, "that his Britannic majesty would admit of no other epoch, but that of the signing of the peace." To this blunt declaration the court of Versailles replied, with that coolness and temper which ought to govern all such transactions, "That if not those, already named, at least some fixed periods, during the war, ought to be agreed upon; as the *qui possidetis*, or mutual retaining of possessions, could not reasonably have reference only to the time of signing the treaty of peace: that if these difficulties occurred in the simplicity of a possessory article, they must be increased tenfold upon every other, and would come to such a height,

as to preclude all possibility of negotiation on things of so intricate a nature as exchanges and equivalents."

SURVEY OF HOSTILE OPERATIONS.

THIS dispute occasioned some delay, and afforded the French ministry, if they had been so disposed, a decent pretext for breaking off the negotiation. In the mean time hostilities were every where carried on, as if no such negotiation subsisted. But the campaign was distinguished by a few memorable events.

In the East Indies very little remained to be achieved, after the reduction of Pondicherry and some other advantages which were gained about the same time. The day before colonel Coote took possession of that fortress, the Mogul army was defeated by major Carnac in the neighbourhood of Guya. The hopes of the French in Bengal were completely blasted; nor was fortune more favourable to them on the coast of Malabar. They still had a garrison at Minie, which, though of little consequence as a trading port, they had fortified at a vast expense, and mounted the works with above two hundred pieces of cannon. But it did not long hold out against the well-directed efforts of a body of forces sent from Bombay under Hector Monro, to whom Louet, the commander of the fort, surrendered it, with all its dependencies, in the beginning of February. Count d'Estaing was the only French adventurer in the east, who had effected any thing which might be placed in the opposite scale to those successes of the English. He began his career towards the close of the year 1759; and with only two ordinary frigates under his command, he destroyed the fort of Bender-Abassi on the Persian gulf, and took two frigates of almost equal force to his own, besides three other vessels belonging to the company. Early in the succeeding year, the fort of Natal surrendered to him without any terms, and he found two ships in the road. He then struck over to the island of Sumatra, where he soon reduced Bencoolen, Tappanopoli, and fort Marlborough; which last, though in a good state of defence, was ingloriously given up by the garrison, after they themselves had burned a rich company's ship that lay in the harbour. The count, however, did not gain so much reputation by these exploits, as he incurred disgrace from having engaged in them, contrary to the most sacred laws of arms; for he was at the very time a prisoner upon parole.

On the coast of Africa there were still fewer objects to excite any particular vigilance, or exertion. England had become mistress of all the French forts and factories on the river Senegal, and had also taken the island of Goree, valuable on account of its harbour, and its convenient situation, being within cannon shot of Cape Verd. She, therefore, had nothing more to do in that quarter than to preserve her former acquisitions.

In America and the West Indies, ever since the taking of Guadalope, and the reduction of Canada, nothing had been attempted by land, except the quelling of the Cherokees, a very numerous and powerful Indian nation, who alike regardless of past treaties and of past chastisement, had begun to renew their barbarous ravages on the frontiers of South Carolina.

The Jamaica and Leeward island squadrons did not remain idle: rear-admiral Holmes, who had the command on the former station, planned some cruises with judgment and success. The squadron off the Leeward Islands, under the direction of commodore Sir James Douglas, was not less alert in scouring those seas of the Martinique privateers; and had also the merit of assisting in the conquest of Dominica, one of the islands called neutral, but which the French had fortified and settled.

Those successes were, indeed, highly honourable to the small parties by whom they were obtained; but they fell far short of what might have been reasonably expected from the employment of a greater force in that part of the world where the enemy was most vulnerable.

It has been before observed, that although the great purpose of the early and strenuous effort made by prince Ferdinand was not fully answered, it nevertheless produced a very considerable and useful effect. The destruction of the French magazines retarded their operations in such a manner, that the greatest part of the month of June was spent, be-

for their armies found themselves in a condition to act. But as soon as they had taken proper measures for their subsistence, Marshal Broglie assembled his forces at Cassel, and moved towards the Dymel, in order to effect a junction with another French army under the prince of Soubise, who was advancing on the side of Munster. The first blow was struck by Marshal Broglie. He surprised a body of troops commanded by general Sporken, and very advantageously posted on the Dymel, in front of the allied army. The French took, upon this occasion, eight hundred prisoners, nineteen pieces of cannon, four hundred horses, and upwards of a hundred and seventy waggons. The same day, which was the twenty-ninth of June, they passed the Dymel; and while prince Ferdinand, as if discouraged by so sudden a check, fell back to the Lippe, they made themselves masters of Warburg, Dringelburg, and Padertown. The allies, however, soon recovered their spirit; and several parties, conducted by general Luckner and other able officers, undertook some bold and very distant enterprises, attacked the enemy where they were least upon their guard, routed their convoys, destroyed a great many of their magazines, and carried off their prey, even from the gates of Cassel. These irritating skirmishes hastened the union of the French forces, and made them resolve on a general action.

The moment Prince Ferdinand was apprised of the intention of the enemy, he called in all his detachments, and made the most admirable disposition of his army. The whole centre and the right wing were covered in front by the Salzbach, a small, but very deep river, while the flank was well defended by rugged, bushy, and almost impracticable ground. The other wing was posted on an isthmus between two rivers, the left extremity leaning to the Lippe, by which it was perfectly secured, as the right was supported by the village of Kirch-Denkern, situated immediately on the Aest. The marquis of Granby had the command of this wing; and as it protected a high road which formed the only communication with the adjacent country, and was also the most exposed in front, so that it would probably be the object of the enemy's most considerable efforts, the strength and flower of the army, with the greater part of the artillery, were placed there. But before all these precautions could be taken, or the necessary arrangements made, the enemy, by a rapid motion in the evening of the fifteenth of July, came up to the marquis of Granby's posts, and attacked them with great fury. The British troops, though then unsupported, withstood for some hours the whole torrent of that impetuosity which distinguishes the onsets of the French. At last, general Wutgenau, according to the plan originally projected, got round with a large reinforcement to lord Granby's left, and attacking the enemy in flank, obliged them, after an obstinate struggle which continued till it was quite dark, to take shelter in the woods behind them. By the next morning, prince Ferdinand's disposition of his forces was perfected; and it was evident that the French, far from being dismayed by repulse, were prepared for a more general, and still better sustained attack than the former. Marshal Broglie led on their right wing against the left of the allied army, which, as on the evening before, was the principal object of the enemy: their centre and their left wing were commanded by the prince of Soubise, who had directed, but failed in the assault of the preceding day. The engagement began at three in the morning, and a severe fire was continued for upwards of five hours before the least effect could be perceived on either side. The weight of the conflict this day lay on general Wutgenau's corps, who supported it with a degree of bravery that rivalled the firm and intrepid stand which had been lately made by the British forces. About nine o'clock, prince Ferdinand receiving intimation that the enemy were preparing to erect batteries on an eminence in the front of the marquis of Granby's camp, immediately ordered a body of troops to defeat their purpose. This service was performed with so much vigour, that the enemy fell into confusion, and precipitately quitted the field. Their centre and left, which had not been able to pass the Salzbach, after a long and ineffectual cannonade, retired with the rest, and covered their retreat; so that favoured by this circumstance, and by the closeness of the country which was full of

hedges, they marched off in tolerable order, and were pursued but a little way. Their loss, however, amounted to near five thousand men, including the regiment of Rouge, which consisted of four battalions, and was entirely taken with its cannon and colours by the single battalion of Maxwell. The allies had no more than three hundred killed, a thousand wounded, and about two hundred missing. In other respects, the victory would have been attended with little advantage, had the enemy continued to act in concert, and to avail themselves of their great superiority in point of number. But their generals were said to be influenced by motives of personal pique, and to have mutually thwarted each other's schemes. It is at least certain, that, after the action of Kirch-Denkern, their armies were disunited during the rest of the campaign. The party under the prince of Soubise passed the Lippe, and made dispositions for the siege of Munster; whilst marshal Broglie's forces turned off on the other side, crossed the Weser, and threatened to fall upon Hanover.

Prince Ferdinand had not troops sufficient to form two distinct armies; but he chose a central position for his main body, and contented himself with sending out such detachments as he could spare to the relief of any places that might be attacked. The wisdom and vigour of his measures prevented the enemy from making any important conquests, but could not guard so wide a seat of war against their destructive ravages. A successful attack upon the French garrison at Dorstede, where ovens and other preparations had been made for the siege of Munster, put an effectual stop to their project, and compelled the prince of Soubise to retire from the Lippe. But as his formidable opponent, the hereditary prince, was soon after called off to another quarter, the French commander spread his army all over Lower Westphalia, pillaging some towns, and subjecting others to ruinous contributions. Marshal Broglie was also obliged to relinquish his designs upon Hanover, in order to protect Hesse, where his chief subsistence lay, and where some of the smaller magazines had been destroyed by the incursions of the allied army. His brother the Count de Broglie, and prince Xavier of Saxony, having made a forced march with a strong body of troops, took possession of Wolfenbuttel on the tenth of October, and then invested Brunswick: but at the approach of the hereditary prince, joined by general Luckner, they abandoned their enterprise, and evacuated Wolfenbuttel with such precipitation as to leave some of their cannon behind, and above five hundred men who were made prisoners. The season being now far advanced, nothing more was attempted by any part of the marshal's forces, except in the way of depredation, which was severely felt by the wretched inhabitants of the country to the eastward of the Weser. The marshal himself remained strongly encamped at Einbeck till the beginning of November, when prince Ferdinand, by a variety of bold and skilful manoeuvres, reduced him to the alternative of retreating, or coming to an engagement on equal terms. He chose the former, and marched with more booty than laurels into winter quarters in the neighbourhood of Cassel. The forces of Soubise were distributed at Dusseldorp and along the Lower Rhine. The allies fixed their cantonments at Hildersheim, Munster, Hamelen, and Einbeck. The British cavalry wintered in East Friesland, and the infantry in the bishopric of Osnaburg.

Though the issue of the campaign in Westphalia, where the utmost efforts of the allies could barely support a system of partial defence, afforded very little cause of triumph to the advocates for a German war; they must have been still more mortified at the disappointment of all their hopes in the king of Prussia's enterprising genius. That impetuous hero, as if fatigued by decisive victories, seemed now to adopt the caution and slowness which had been so long opposed to his vivacity. This change of conduct on his part was, indeed, rendered almost unavoidable by circumstances. Count Daun with a powerful army lay upon the watch at Dresden, ready to seize the first favourable opportunity of recovering Saxony. It was therefore necessary that prince Henry, the king's brother, should remain in his intrenchments under Leipzig, to counteract the designs of so vigilant an enemy. The king himself was obliged to adopt a similar plan of defensive measures by the alarming

progress of the Russians and Austrians in other parts of his dominions. The Russian army was divided into two strong bodies, one of which, commanded by general Romanzow, penetrated through Pomerania, and laid siege to Colberg; the other, under general Buttermilch, marched into upper Silesia, where the king was strongly posted; and advanced towards Breslau. Landohn entered the same province on the opposite side, with a view of joining the Russians, in order to attack the king, or to take Breslau or Schweidnitz in his presence. A remarkable drought in the beginning of the season, which had greatly lowered the Oder, facilitated the Russian junction. The Russians spread themselves over all the open country of Silesia, and exacted heavy contributions. A considerable party of them appeared before Breslau, on the first of August, and began to cannonade the town from seven batteries. Landohn exerted the whole of his skill to draw the king from his strong hold, and to engage him in a disadvantageous action: sometimes he advanced, as if he meant to join the Russians: sometimes his motions indicated a design on Schweidnitz: these attempts failing, he turned off, and made a feint, as if he proposed to fall upon lower Silesia, in hopes that he might at least oblige the king to divide his forces: but all his stratagems proved for some time ineffectual. The sagacious Frederic continued immovable in his post, which protected Schweidnitz; and with regard to the lower parts of Silesia, he had already filled the fortresses there with such garrisons as put them out of the reach of any sudden assault.

The king of Prussia was not equally free from alarm at the danger of Colberg, the key of his northern possessions; and though he had full employment for all his forces nearer home, he resolved to send a large detachment under general Platen to the relief of that valuable city. The fertility of his genius proposed two ends from this single expedient. He ordered Platen to direct his march through Poland, and to destroy the Russian magazines, which had been amassed on the frontiers of that kingdom, and from which their army in Silesia drew their whole subsistence. This service might, he hoped, be performed without any considerable interruption to the progress of the detachment towards Colberg. The event was so far answerable to his wishes. General Platen ruined three principal magazines of the enemy, attacked a great convoy of their waggons, five hundred of which he destroyed, and having killed or made prisoners the greater part of four thousand men who defended them, he pursued his march with the utmost diligence into Pomerania. The news of this blow struck the Russians in Silesia with consternation: they immediately relinquished all the objects of their junction with the Austrians: their main body repossessed the Oder, and hurried back into Poland, lest some more of their magazines should share the same fate with the three above mentioned, and their future subsistence be thereby rendered wholly precarious.

Notwithstanding this gleam of good fortune the king of Prussia's difficulties were so multiplied, that his wisest schemes and happiest successes could hardly answer any other end than to vary the scene of his distress. The storm which had been diverted from Silesia by general Platen's expedition, was only removed thence to be discharged with irresistible fury on Colberg. The Russian army which had retreated into Poland, no sooner established its convoys, than it directed its course towards Pomerania, in order to co-operate with the other forces under general Romanzow, and to wipe away, by a conquest of much greater importance, the disgrace of having failed at Breslau. As Buttermilch was also master of Landsberg, he sent out several parties from thence, that cruelly wasted all the adjoining *Marche* of Brandenburg, without diverting himself by these ravages from his grand object. It was impossible for the king to spare such a number of troops as could contend with the enemy in the field; but he ordered general Knoblock to make the most rapid advances with another detachment, and hoped that by the union of these several corps, and by their intercepting, or at least retarding the Russian convoys of provision, the place might be enabled to hold out, until the severe setting in of winter should render the operations of a siege impracticable.

But while the king's attention was thus wholly taken up in studying new methods for the relief of

Colberg, an event happened just by him, and as it were, under his eye, almost as distressing as the loss of that place, and so much the more distressing as it was entirely unexpected. After the retreat of the Russians out of Silesia, the king feeling some inconvenience with respect to provisions in his camp near Schweidnitz, and concluding that there was nothing to be dreaded from the Austrians, now almost deserted by their powerful auxiliaries, approached nearer to the Oder, for the sake of procuring supplies more easily. He was so little in fear of any hostile annoyance, that, on making this movement, he drafted four thousand men from the garrison of Schweidnitz: he thought that the preparations necessary to a siege would give him sufficient notice and sufficient leisure to provide for the safety of that place, from which, after all, he had removed but to a very small distance. Landohn, who watched the king with a steady and penetrating eye, did not let slip this single instant of opportunity. He formed a plan of sudden attack on the uncovered fortress, and accomplished his purpose with a facility that far exceeded his most sanguine hopes. On the first of October at three in the morning, the troops selected for this service made their approach with so much precaution, under the favour of a thick fog, that they fixed their scaling ladders to all the four outworks of the fortifications, before they were perceived by the garrison, who scarce had time to fire a few cannon at the assailants. A short contest was, however, maintained with small arms, until a powder magazine in one of the outworks blew up, which killed very near three hundred on each side. The Austrians, taking advantage of the confusion occasioned by this accident, rushed forward, and bursting open the gates, made themselves masters of the town before day-break, with only the loss of about six hundred men, including those who perished in the explosion. Lieutenant-general Zastrow, the governor, and his whole garrison amounting to three thousand men, were made prisoners; besides a quantity of artillery and a large magazine of meal, which added to the value of this important capture. The king of Prussia felt the blow to the quick. In the first agitations of his mind, he was disposed to attribute the misfortune to treachery; but recovering his temper, he sent the following lines to the unfortunate governor: "We may now say, what Francis the first of France said to his mother after the battle of Pavia, *We have lost all except our honour*. As I cannot comprehend what hath happened to you, I shall suspend my judgment; the affair is very extraordinary."

Schweidnitz was lost suddenly; but Colberg made a long and noble defence. The Swedish and Russian fleets blocked it up by sea, for several months, till the boisterous season forced them to retire, and afforded the garrison an opportunity of receiving a large supply of provisions from Stettin. In the mean time the siege by land was pushed on with incredible perseverance; and Romanzow having reduced a fort that commanded the harbor, any repetition of the former succours was totally cut off. Still, however, the garrison and its brave commander, Heyde, seemed determined to hold out to the last extremity. Their efforts were well seconded by the prince of Wurtemberg, who was strongly intrenched with six or seven thousand men under the cannon of the town, and by general Platen who found means to join him at that post. But as there was soon a necessity for revictualling the garrison, at every risk, Platen quitted the intrenchments in order to hasten and protect the arrival of some convoys, which the numerous scouting parties of the Russians had hitherto kept at a distance. His spirited enterprise did not succeed: he had the misfortune to be met by an infinitely superior body of the enemy; was beaten, and escaped with some loss and great difficulty to Stettin. General Knoblock, whom the king had also sent to the relief of Colberg with a second detachment, proved still more unsuccessful. Having established himself at Treptow, which was to serve as a resting place to the convoys, he was attacked there, soon after Platen's defeat, by a force to which his numbers were so unequal, that with the utmost skill and intrepidity he could only protract for five days the ultimate necessity of a surrender. After these disasters the prince of Wurtemberg became apprehensive lest his troops, by delaying any longer under the walls of the town, would only share its fate,

or be driven by famine into humiliating terms. He therefore resolved, whilst his men retained their vigour, to break through a part of the Russian army, and leave a place, which he could no longer defend, to make the best capitulation its circumstances would admit. He effected his purpose with inconsiderable loss; but the garrison, now hopeless of relief, exhausted by fatigue, their provision low, and the fortifications in many places battered to pieces, surrendered to the Russians on the sixteenth of December, after a peculiarly distressing siege of near six months.

The loss of two such places as Schweidnitz and Colberg, at the two extremities of his dominions, were decisive against the king of Prussia. The Austrians took up their winter-quarters in the former and its neighbourhood; and the king was fully sensible that, whilst they held that place, he could make no motion for the relief of any other part of his dominions, without exposing Breslau and the whole of upper Silesia to certain and irrecoverable conquest. The Russians, on the other hand, by possessing Colberg, possessed almost every thing. They were masters of the Baltic; and they now acquired a port, by which their armies could be well provided, without the necessity of tedious, uncertain, and expensive convoys from Poland. The eastern parts of Pomerania afforded them good winter-cantonments; and nothing but the advanced season could save Stettin from their immediate grasp, or obstruct their progress into the very heart of Brandenburg. Thus, after having suffered and inflicted so many dreadful calamities in the course of five years, Frederic had no prospect before him but to perish in a flame of his own kindling; and all that he could reasonably expect was to give it brilliancy by some act of heroism, as his absolute salvation seemed far beyond the reach of any human endeavours. Such events were also very ill suited to the haughty tone of the English minister in his negotiation with France. But several actions happened at sea, between single ships and small squadrons, greatly to the honour of the British flag; and a naval armament, which had excited the highest hopes while its destination remained a secret, was prepared early in the spring, and crowned with success.

The armament fitted out for this enterprise consisted of ten ships of the line under commodore Keppel, and near ten thousand land forces commanded by major-general Hodgson. They sailed from Spithead on the twenty-ninth of March, and came to anchor in the great road of Belleisle, on the seventh of April. A descent was immediately attempted at three different places. Major Purcel and captain Osborne, at the head of a party of grenadiers, got on shore, and advanced for some time with great intrepidity. But the enemy, who had entrenched themselves on the heights, appeared suddenly above them, and poured in such a severe fire as threw them into confusion, and intimidated the rest of the troops from landing. The major and captain were both killed: all their brave followers shared the same fate, or were made prisoners. The flat-bottomed boats, and two large ships that conveyed them to the landing-place, were obliged, in spite of their most vigorous efforts, to retire, with the loss of five hundred men. Some tempestuous weather, which immediately followed this first failure, prevented a second trial for several days. At length the wind having abated, and the whole coast having been diligently examined, proper dispositions for landing were again made on the twenty-second of April, and succeeded. The troops were rewed to various parts of the island, as if they intended to disembark in different places, so as to distract the attention and divide the forces of the enemy, whilst the men of war directed their fire with great judgment and effect on the hills. These manœuvres gave brigadier general Lambert, with a small detachment of grenadiers and marines, an opportunity of climbing up a very steep rock without molestation. Here they directly formed themselves in good order; and though attacked by superior numbers, they maintained their ground, till the whole corps, which had now ascended in the same manner, arrived to their assistance, and repulsed the enemy. The landing of all the forces was made good in a short time after. In one or two places the enemy seemed disposed to make a stand; but a body of light horse, which was embarked in this expedition, soon drove them into Palais,

the capital of the island. The siege of Palais was commenced with vigour; and the garrison, commanded by the chevalier de St. Croix, a brave and experienced officer, threatened a long and obstinate defence. This was a place of extraordinary strength, having been built by the famous Vauban, who supplied by art what nature had left undone, to make it almost impregnable; and it was now defended by St. Croix with a show of the most desperate resolution. Parallels were finished, barricades made, and batteries constructed; and a continual fire from mortars and artillery was kept up on both sides, by night and by day, from the thirteenth of May to the twenty-fifth, when that of the enemy began to abate. By the end of the month a breach was made in the citadel; and notwithstanding the indefatigable industry of the garrison and the governor in repairing the damage, the fire of the besiegers increased to such a degree, that a great part of the defences was ruined, and the breach rendered practicable on the seventh of June. Then St. Croix, having no prospect of relief, and being apprehensive of a general assault, thought it prudent to capitulate.

NEGOTIATIONS RESUMED.

THE taking of Belleisle, which was celebrated with bonfires, illuminations, and every expression of tumultuous joy, contributed greatly to elate the pride of the English populace, and was no small mortification to France. But the expedition having failed in its ultimate aim, which was to oblige the French to weaken their army in Westphalia, in order to defend their own coasts, and by that means to enable prince Ferdinand to strike some decisive blow; Pitt condescended to name certain periods, to which the reciprocal holding of possessions should refer; and the negotiation with France was resumed.

The epochs named by the British minister were, the first of August for Europe, the first of September for Africa and America, and the first of November for the East Indies. To these epochs France agreed, though reluctantly, on account of the nearness, as at this juncture she wished and hoped to make some acquisitions in Westphalia before the close of the campaign, which might at least counterbalance the loss of Belleisle. She also agreed, that every thing settled between the two crowns, relative to their particular disputes, should be finally conclusive and obligatory, independent of the proceedings of the congress to be held at Augsburg; and she farther agreed, that the definitive treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, or preliminary articles to that purpose should be signed and ratified before the first of August. France even gave up the point of honour, and frankly made an offer of what places she was willing to cede and exchange. Her first proposals came through the medium of Stanley; and after some difficulties had been removed, and a few claims relinquished, Bussey delivered, on the twenty-third of July, a memorial in form, containing a regular digest of the sacrifices acquiesced in, and the compensations required by the French ministry. The following were the chief articles of their conciliating plan. They proposed to cede and guarantee all Canada to England, and to ascertain the boundaries of that province and Louisiana in such a manner as to preclude all possibility of any future dispute on the subject. They only stipulated that the free and public exercise of the Roman catholic religion should be permitted there, and that such of the old French colonists as chose to retire might have leave to take away or dispose of their effects, and might be supplied by the English government with the means of conveyance on the most reasonable terms. In return for this, they required a confirmation of their former privilege of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, with the restitution of Cape Breton, as some harbour was necessary for carrying on that fishery to advantage; but excluding themselves from erecting any kind of fortification. They offered to exchange Minorca for Guadaloupe and Marigalante; and that, with respect to the neutral islands in the West Indies, two of them, namely Dominica and St. Vincent, were to be held by the native inhabitants the Caribbees, while France occupied St. Lucia, and England took possession of Tobago. In the East Indies they had no equivalent to offer for the recovery of the English acquisitions there; but they proposed the treaty of one

thousand seven hundred and fifty five, between the Sieur Godeben and governor Saunders, as a basis for the re-establishment of peace in Asia. On the side of Africa, they required the settlement at Senegal, or the isle of Goree to be given up by England, for which, together with the restoration of Belleisle, they consented to evacuate Gottingen, Hesse, and Hanau; but these evacuations were to be preceded by a cessation of hostilities between the two crowns, and a positive engagement that their armies in Germany should observe an exact neutrality, not affording the least assistance, nor giving the least offence to the allies of either party.

MAIN POINTS OF DISPUTE.

So far the advances of the French ministry had a very plausible and even captivating appearance: but they strictly adhered in their memorial to two points, which had been already the cause of much dispute with the negotiators at both courts. The one was an absolute refusal on the part of France to give up Wesel and Gueldres, which she had conquered from the king of Prussia, in the name of the empress-queen, whose consent to a separate peace between France and England had been obtained only under two conditions, first, that the empress should keep possession of the countries belonging to the king of Prussia, and secondly, that England should not afford him any succour (1). The other article was a demand very strongly urged for having all the captures restored, which had been made by England, previous to the declaration of war. The arguments for and against this claim may be summed up in a few words. It was said, on the one hand, that the practice of declaring war had been established by the law of nations, to make subjects acquainted with the quarrels of their sovereigns, and to give them a fair warning to take care of their persons and effects; that in the late instance, the merchants of France reposing themselves on the faith of treaties, and ignorant of the facts or circumstances which led to a rupture between the two kingdoms, had been plundered without the least regard to equity or honour; and that even supposing any improper encroachments to have been made on the back of the English colonies in America, the aggression ought first to be complained of, and a reparation of the injury peremptorily insisted upon, as nothing but an absolute denial of redress, and a public appeal to the sword could justify the commencement of hostilities. To this it was replied, that when a nation is insidiously robbed of her right, she has a natural claim to instant retaliation; that a faithless assassin is not entitled by any law to the formalities of a challenge; and that the alarming steps taken by the French in America to gain ground on the English colonies, and the preparations making at home to send out vast bodies of troops to support and extend such encroachments, amidst the most solemn assurances of amicable intention, neither deserved a return of candour, nor allowed time for a scrupulous regard to the usual pacilities.

INFLEXIBILITY OF THE ENGLISH MINISTER.

On whatever side the scale of reason and justice may be thought to incline in this controversy, the British minister seemed inflexible in his refusal to restore the disputed captures, while he was no less absolute in demanding the evacuation of Wesel and Gueldres. He was also averse from the proposed ground of pacification in the East Indies, as well as from the giving up of the island of Cape Breton in America, and of Senegal or Goree on the coast of Africa; nor would, astonishing as it may appear, agree to a neutrality in regard to Germany. He treated such an intimation with disdain, as an insult on the honour of his country; though it would certainly have been more easy and no less honourable for Great Britain to mediate, or even purchase a peace for the king of Prussia, in the congress at Augsburg, than to enable him to continue any longer a very unequal and ruinous struggle. But, besides these contentious points which were not likely to be soon, or easily adjusted, a new circumstance occurred, against which Pitt's opposition was directed with still more unqualified vehemence.

At the time of presenting the above memorial to the court of London, Bussy delivered a private paper, signifying the desire of his most Christian majesty, that in order to establish the peace upon solid

foundations, not to be shaken by the contested interests of a third power, the king of Spain might be invited to guarantee the treaty between the two crowns; and farther proposing, with the consent and communication of his Catholic majesty, that three subjects of dispute which subsisted between England and Spain, and which might produce a new war in Europe and America, should be finally settled in this negotiation; namely, the restoration of some ships taken in the course of the present war, under Spanish colours; the liberty claimed by the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and the demolition of certain settlements made, contrary to treaty, by the English logwood-cutters in the bay of Honduras. From what has been already hinted of Pitt's sentiments, with respect to the treaty, it may be easily imagined in what manner he received this private memorial. He expressed his surprise and indignation at an humbled enemy's undertaking to settle differences between declared friends: he called upon the Spanish ambassador to disavow the step which had been said to be taken with the knowledge of his court: he returned as wholly inadmissible the offensive paper, declaring that it would be looked upon as an affront to the dignity of his master, and incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation on the part of France, to make any farther mention of such a circumstance; and he prepared without delay a very unaccommodating reply to the other proposals of the French ministry. In this answer, bearing date the twenty-ninth of July, all the before-mentioned objections were urged with little temper or delicacy; and the secretary took care to embitter his assent to the most unexceptionable articles, either by some new and mortifying condition, or by the imperious style in which it was given.

THE FAMILY COMPACT

THE views of the different parties began now gradually to unfold themselves; but the haughtiness and impetuosity of Pitt's character gave the French ministry a considerable advantage over him. They seemed totally unaffected by his tone of arrogance, though bordering upon insult: they digested every mortification in silence; they made an apology for having proposed a discussion of the points in dispute with Spain; and, in reply to the English secretary's last dictates, as well as in the private instructions sent with it to Bussy in the beginning of August, they appeared willing to make farther sacrifices for the re-establishment of peace. Whether they really hoped to accomplish that object, or not, by these new concessions, their conduct was equally moderate and politic. At least, it insured the success of their intrigues at the court of Madrid, where the domineering language of the British minister could not fail to give disgust, while the increasing humiliations of the French monarchy excited alarm. The famous family compact was the consequence. By this treaty, which was signed on the fifteenth of August, the several branches of the house of Bourbon were entwined in the closest union; and France derived from her misfortunes and disgrace an advantage which she could not have expected from the most successful issue of the war. Spain now engaged to assist her with as much zeal and vigour as if the two kingdoms had been incorporated; and to admit her subjects to all the privileges of natives. The two Sicilies and the duchy of Parma were united in the same bonds of mutual guarantee of dominions and community of interests.

Strong motives of policy, chiefly arising from the danger to which Spain would have been at that moment exposed by an immediate rupture with England, made the contracting parties use every endeavour for some time to keep their late alliance a profound secret. The negotiation between the courts of London and Versailles was therefore still carried on with seeming sincerity; but the real eagerness of the latter to terminate the war must have been greatly abated by an assurance of support from a power untouched in its resources of men, money, and stores. It may also be fairly presumed, that Pitt's aversion to a peace was not lessened, but greatly increased by his well-founded suspicions of the private correspondence between France and Spain. He did not wish, however, to put an end to the treaty, till he could furnish himself with sufficient proofs of the engagements which the two branches of the house of Bourbon had en-

tered into against Great Britain, as he thought such proofs would be the best justification of his own conduct. Thus, while the forms of pacific discussion were preserved, on both sides, all that cordiality vanished which is so necessary towards smoothing and clearing a road, which a long hostility had broken up, and so many intricate topics had contributed to embarrass.

RESULTS OF THE NEGOTIATION.

In order to judge which party was most blameable for the failure of the negotiation, nothing more is necessary than to examine, without prejudice, the ostensible grounds on which the treaty was broke off, after it had been protracted considerably beyond the term fixed for signing it. The last papers interchanged by the ministers of both courts are the proper documents to be appealed to in this case. The final resolutions of the British cabinet were transmitted to Versailles in the latter end of August; and the reply of the French ministry was delivered to Pitt on the thirteenth of September. From these papers it appears, that the most interesting objects of concern were settled, or in a fair way of adjustment; and that more points of honour were made the specious pretext for keeping Europe involved in the calamities of war. The cession of Canada was agreed to in the most extensive form; and though some difficulty remained concerning the bounds of Louisiana, it was too trifling to obstruct the progress or conclusion of the treaty. The African contest seemed to have been attended with still less difficulty. The French consented to give up both Senegal and Goree, provided Anamaboo and Acra were guaranteed to them; and they very plausibly urged their compliance in this respect as a demonstration of their readiness to embrace every temperament tending to reconcile the two nations. The momentous question of the fishery was likewise determined. The French relinquished their claim to Cape Breton and St. John's; and were satisfied to receive the little islands of St. Peter and Miquelon, even under the restriction of not keeping any military establishment there. The privileges of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, as enjoyed by the French before the war, under the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, were continued to them; but in return for such privileges, and in conformity to another article of that treaty, the king of France consented to demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk. As to the islands of Guadaloupe, Martinique, Minorca, and Belleisle, no great controversy had subsisted on their account from the beginning: it had all along been agreed that these conquests should be reciprocally restored. Nor did the French any longer press the consideration of the old treaty between Godshou and Saunders in the East Indies, but agreed to refer the settlement of all disputes there to commissioners appointed by the companies of the two nations. In short, the only points of difference were the conduct to be observed with respect to their allies, the evacuation of one or two places in Germany, and the restitution of the merchant-men taken previous to the declaration of war. On the first head, the French had

made repeated proposals of neutrality, which were uniformly and positively rejected by the English minister as derogating from the good faith and integrity of the nation; nor was he willing to come to any agreement about the succours which the two states might be at liberty to afford their allies. He insisted with equal positiveness on the surrender of all the conquests made by France upon any of the allies in Germany, particularly Wesel, and the territories of the king of Prussia, though the French ministry had declared, that they could neither evacuate that town nor Guelldres, as such a cession would be a direct breach of the engagements they were under to the empress-queen of Hungary, for whom those places had been taken, and in whose name alone they were governed. This matter, they said, ought to be referred to the congress at Augsburg. Their other acquisitions on the continent, Hesse, Hanau, and Cöttingen, which were of greater importance, they did not hesitate to give up, as part of the equivalent for the islands ceded by Great Britain. To the French demand of compensation, for the captures made before war was formally declared, Pitt had given an irrevocable negative. The censurers of his policy then asserted, "that rather than make restitution of a few hundred thousand pounds plundered from the subjects of France, while trading under the security of peace and the faith of treaties, false pride co-operating with the secretary's personal influence, induced government to prosecute the war, at the annual expence of twelve millions; or that this enormous charge, together with a farther waste of British blood, and the risk of fortune's inconstancy, was a sacrifice made to the interest of a German ally, who had already drained so much from the nation, which his friendship or animosity could not possibly affect?"

TREATY BROKEN OFF.

Pitt did not design to answer the last memorial of the French ministry; but in a few days after the receipt of it, he sent directions to Stanley to return to England, and to desire that Bussy might have the like orders of recall from his court. The leading negotiation in London and Paris being now broken off, that which was proposed at Augsburg never took place; and the fond hopes of the public, which had been kept alive for almost six months, expired in the most painful disappointment. So far was the treaty from producing any of the happy effects that were expected from it—so far was it from appeasing the animosities of the contending powers, that they parted with intentions more hostile, and opinions more adverse than ever. New subjects of jealousy and debate had also arisen; and there was reason to apprehend that other powers were tempted to engage in the quarrel, and to throw off the veil of neutrality, under which they had hitherto concealed their secret attachments. Thus all the seeming advances towards peace operated like oil poured upon the fire of contention, which, instead of extinguishing it, served to spread the flame wider, and to make it burn with greater rapidity.

NOTE TO CHAPTER II.

1 These conditions were specified in a separate note, which

Mr. Pitt returned with another paper relative to Spain,

declaring both to be totally inadmissible.

CHAPTER III.

Proofs of the King's Exemption from personal or political Prejudices.—His Majesty's Choice of a Consort, the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh—Embassy sent to make the Demand of her Most Serene Highness; with an Account of her Voyage.—Her Journey to London, her Reception and Nuptials—Preparations made for the Coronation of their Majesties—Entertainment given to the Royal Family at Guildhall—Some rising Clouds in the political Hemisphere.—The Spanish Ambassador's Explanation not deemed satisfactory—Orders sent to the Earl of Bristol at Madrid—His Excellency's Dispatches in Reply—Warm Debates in the Cabinet on Mr. Pitt's Proposal to attack Spain without further Delay—His Resolution, with the President's Answer—His Interview with the King, on resigning the Seals of his office—Lord Temple's Resignation—Violent Conflict between the Admirers and the Censurers of Mr. Pitt's Conflict sanctioned by the Abbe Raynal—Further Instructions sent by the new Secretary of State to the British Ambassador at Madrid—Steps taken by the Ministry—Meeting of the new Parliament—His Majesty's Speech—Message to the Queen; and the Dowry granted her in Case she should survive his Majesty—Repeal of the compelling Clause in the Insolvent Act—Alacrity of the Commons in providing for the Service of the ensuing Year—Debate on the Expediency of the German War—Severe Remarks on the Alliances entered into with some of the continental Powers—Ingenious Defence set up by the Advocates for the German War—Result of this political Controversy—Effect of the English Ambassador's Remonstrances at the Court of Madrid—His Conjectures on the Causes of a sudden Revolution in the Spanish Councils—Propriety of his Conduct in so delicate a Conjunction—A clear and categorical Explanation at length insisted upon—General Wall's Letter—Manifesto delivered by the Count de Fuentes, and Lord Egremont's Refutation of it.

KING'S FREEDOM FROM POLITICAL PREJUDICES.

AFTER so long continued a view of operations in the field and of intrigues in the cabinet, it will be some relief to the mind to contemplate a few events of a more tranquil and domestic nature, which happened during the same period. It was very pleasing to the whole nation to see their young king ascend the throne with so little partiality or prejudice, either of a personal or political nature, that for almost twelve months no change was made in any of the great offices of state, which could excite the least clamour. Lord Henley, afterwards created Earl of Northington, who had distinguished himself at the bar by his talents and integrity, and had for some time acted as keeper of the great seal, was continued in the same important trust, but with the higher title of Lord Chancellor. The Earl of Holderness, secretary of state for the northern department having retired from business, was succeeded by the earl of Bute, who had spent some years on terms of very friendly intercourse with lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, and all the leading Members of the opposition during the lifetime of the late prince of Wales. The earl of Halifax was removed from the board of trade to be lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and some other removals or promotions from one department of administration to another took place, but not a single dissolution, except that of Mr. Legge, in whose room lord Barrington was appointed chancellor of the exchequer.

KING'S CHOICE OF A CONSORT.

His majesty's conduct in another affair of very great moment afforded still fuller cause of general satisfaction. This was his choice of a consort, whose endearments might sweeten the cares of royalty, and whose virtues should make his private happiness coincide with the happiness of his people. The first circumstance, it is said, that directed his attention to the princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, was a letter which her serene highness had written to the king of Prussia on his entering her cousin's territories, and which that monarch had sent over to George II. as a miracle of good sense and patriotism in so young a princess.

The king had privately employed some persons in whom he could confide, to ascertain the correctness of the report of her amiable qualifications; and having received the fullest satisfaction, on that

head, he resolved to make a formal demand of her in marriage. On the eighth of July, he made a declaration of his sentiments at a very full meeting of the members of the privy council.

AN EMBASSY, &c.

THIS declaration was so agreeable to the council, that they unanimously requested it might be made public. Proper steps were then taken for the accomplishment of his majesty's wishes. The earl of Harcourt was fixed upon to go out as ambassador plenipotentiary, to make the demand of her serene highness; the dutchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, and the countess of Effingham were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber to take care of her person; and the Carolina yacht, being new named the Charlotte, was got in readiness to convey her to England, under convoy of a squadron commanded by lord Anson. The fleet put to sea the eighth of August; and on the fourteenth, lord Harcourt and the other lords and ladies sent on this embassy arrived at Strelitz. Next morning the ceremony of asking her highness in marriage for the king of England was performed, and the contract was signed. The ambassador and his suite were magnificently entertained; and the event was celebrated with the most splendid rejoicings. She embarked in the yacht at Cuxhaven, where she was saluted by the whole squadron destined for her convey. After a voyage of ten days, the yacht arrived at Harwich on the sixth of September.

On the eighth of September her highness arrived at St. James's palace, and in the garden she was met by the king himself, who in a very affectionate manner raised her up by the hand, which he kissed, as she was going to pay her obeisance, and then led her up stairs into the palace, where she dined with his majesty, the princess dowager, and the rest of the royal family. In the evening the nuptial ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury in the royal chapel. The cities of London and Westminster were illuminated in honour of the auspicious event, and addresses of felicitation poured in from all parts of the British dominions.

THE CORONATION.

A PROCLAMATION had been issued in July, appointing the twenty-second of September for the king's coronation; and a similar notice was now published in the gazette, declaring it to be his majesty's intention that the queen should be crowned

at the same time. A commission had also passed the great seal, constituting a court to decide the pretensions of such persons as laid claim to different offices and privileges upon that occasion (1). Westminster hall was prepared for the coronation banquet.

CITY FEAST TO THEIR MAJESTIES.

The city endeavoured to rival the court in the brilliancy of public shows, and in testimonies of the most affectionate regard for the young king and his amiable consort.

CONFERENCES WITH SPAIN.

These bright effusions of national joy, to which the king's marriage and coronation had given so full a scope, were now for a little time checked and obscured by some rising clouds in the political hemisphere, of the progress and effects of which it will be necessary to give a very particular account. Pitt's views in the course of the treaty with France, and his indignant rejection of the memorial concerning Spain, have been already noticed. It was farther observed, that he then called upon the Spanish ambassador to disavow that irregular procedure. His excellency at first explained himself verbally on the subject, and was soon after authorized by his court to deliver to the English secretary a written answer.

This explanation, though written with a great show of candour and spirit, did not produce the desired effect: it neither softened Pitt's prejudices, nor did it remove his suspicions. It appeared to him, that Spain, as a kind of party, had been made acquainted with every step taken in the negotiation between France and England; that her authority was called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms offered by the former, which he considered little short of a declaration of war in reversion; in a word, that there was a perfect union of affections, interests and councils between the courts of Versailles and Madrid.

In the mean time, orders had been sent to the earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at Madrid, to remonstrate with energy and firmness on the unexampled and offensive irregularity of the late proceeding, and to demand an elucidation of the actual measures and designs of that court; to adhere to the negative put upon the Spanish pretensions to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland; to rest on the justice of the English tribunals the claim concerning the restitution of prizes made against the flag of Spain, or supposed to have been taken in violation of the territory of that kingdom: to continue the former professions of the court of London, indicating a desire of an amicable adjustment of the logwood dispute, and the willingness of his Britannic majesty to cause the settlements on the coast of Honduras to be evacuated, as soon as his catholic majesty should suggest another method by which British subjects could enjoy that traffic, to which they had a right by treaty, and which the court of Madrid had farther confirmed to them by repeated promises. The secretary's letter, which conveyed these orders to the earl of Bristol, concluded thus: "Although in the course of this instruction to your excellency, I could not, with such an insolent memorial before me, but proceed on the supposition, that, insidious as that court is, she could not dare to commit in such a manner the name of his catholic majesty, without being authorized thereto; I must not, however, conceal from your excellency, that it is thought possible here, that the court of France, though not wholly unauthorized, may, with her usual artifice in negotiation, have put much exaggeration into this matter; and in case, upon entering into remonstrances on this affair, you shall perceive a disposition in Mr. Wall [the Spanish secretary of state] to explain away and disavow the authorization of Spain to this offensive transaction of France, and to come to categorical and satisfactory declarations relatively to the final intentions of Spain, your excellency will, with readiness and your usual address, adapt yourself to so desirable a circumstance, and will open to the court of Madrid as handsome a retreat as may be, in case you perceive from the Spanish minister, that they sincerely wish to find one, and to remove, by an effectual satisfaction, the unfavourable impressions which this memorial of the court of France has justly and unavoidably made on the mind of his majesty."

By the earl of Bristol's reply to Mr. Pitt, dated the thirty-first of August, and received the eleventh of September, it appears that the Spanish minister applauded the magnanimity of the king of Great Britain in declaring, that he would never add facilities towards accommodating differences with another sovereign, in consideration of any intimation from a power at war, or the threatnings of an enemy. Wall farther affirmed, that the assent given by his court to the king of France's offer of endeavouring to adjust the disputes between England and Spain was totally void of any design to retard the peace, and absolutely free from the least intention of giving offence to his Britannic majesty. The catholic king, he said, did not think England would look upon the French ministers as a tribunal to which the court of London would make an appeal, nor did he mean it as such, when the statement of grievances was conveyed through that channel. His excellency assured the earl of Bristol, that the catholic king, both before and then, esteemed as well as valued the frequent professions of friendship made by the British court, and of its desire to settle all differences amicably; and asked, whether it was possible to be imagined in England, that the catholic king was seeking to provoke Great Britain in her most flourishing and exalted condition, occasioned by the greatest series of prosperities that any single nation had ever met with? But he refused to give up any of the three points in dispute, and owned that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the courts of France and Spain; that, in consequence of that harmony, the most Christian king had offered to assist his catholic majesty, in case the discussions between Great Britain and Spain should terminate in a rupture; and that this offer was considered in friendly light.

DEBATES IN THE CABINET ON MR. PITT'S PROPOSAL OF WAR WITH SPAIN.

On receiving these despatches, Pitt was of opinion, that the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal, and that her only motive for delaying a more open avowal of her hostile designs was in order to strike the blow at her own time and with the greater effect. He accordingly declared in council, that we ought to consider the evasions of that court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war; that we ought from prudence as well as spirit to secure to ourselves the first blow; that no new armament would be necessary; that, if any war could provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain; that her fleet, or American plate-fleet, on which she had great dependence, was not yet arrived; and that the taking of it would at once strengthen our hands and disable hers. Such a spirited measure, he added, would be a lesson to his catholic majesty, and to all Europe, how dangerous it was to presume to dictate in the affairs of Great Britain. After the fullest discussion of the subject at three different meetings of the cabinet ministers, Pitt was unable to bring over any of them to his way of thinking except lord Temple, his brother-in-law. The proposal was looked upon by all the other members as equally precipitate and base,—as equally repugnant to the dictates of sound policy, and to the laws of honour and justice. They owned that Spain had concurred in a very extraordinary step; yet it was not impossible but some farther remonstrances might persuade that court to recal a proposition, into which it had been, perhaps, unwarily seduced by the artifices of France. They also admitted, that we ought not to be frightened from asserting our reasonable demands, by the menaces of any power; but they affirmed, at the same time, that this desire of adding war to war, and enemy to enemy, whilst the springs of government were already very much strained, was ill suited to our national strength; that to shun war upon a just occasion was cowardice, but to provoke or court it madness; and that to hasten a rupture with Spain in particular, if it could be by any means avoided, was giving a wanton blow to the commercial interest of both countries. Besides, said they, if we plunge into such measures, in the manner proposed, and upon no better grounds, we shall alarm all Europe; nor can we derive any advantage from this violent conduct, which will not be more than counter-balanced by the jealousy and terror it must excite in every nation round us. Before we draw the sword, let the world be convinced

of the pettish designs of those whom we attack: let us not endeavour to surpass them in treachery; and let not the lion debase himself to act the part of a fox. As to the seizure of the fleet, added they, the thing itself may be impracticable: perhaps that fleet is now safe in harbour; which conjecture proved to have been well founded, as the fleet had entered Cadiz almost on the very day that Pitt had urged the expediency of intercepting it. But were we even sure of success, would not such a step be regarded as an arbitrary act of piracy,—as an unwarranted invasion of the property of others, without expostulation or warning? If Spain, blind to her true interests, and misled by French counsels, should enter more decisively into the views of that hostile court, it will be then the true time to declare war, when all the neighbouring and impartial powers are convinced that we act with as much temper as resolution, and when every thinking man in the kingdom must be satisfied, that he is not hurried into the hazards and expenses of war, from an idea of chimerical heroism, but from inevitable necessity, and must therefore cheerfully contribute to the support of an administration, which, however firm, and confident of the resources of the state, yet dreads to waste them wantonly, or to employ them unjustly.

Pitt, unaccustomed to such vigorous opposition, and probably stung, though not convinced by the arguments of the majority, gave full scope to his pride, and declared, that this was the moment for humbling the whole house of Bourbon: that if so glorious an opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered; and if he could not prevail in the present instance, he was resolved this should be the last time of his sitting in that council. "I was called to the administration of public affairs," said he, "by the voice of the people: to them I have always considered myself as accountable for my conduct; and therefore cannot remain in a situation which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide." To this declaration lord Granville, the president of the council, very coolly replied: "The gentleman, I find, is determined to leave us, and I cannot say I am sorry for it, as he would otherwise have certainly compelled us to leave him; for, if he is determined to assume solely the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we here assembled? He may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility: still it remains, that we should be equally convinced, before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes."

PITT'S RESIGNATION AND INTERVIEW WITH THE KING.

In conformity to the resolution then taken by Pitt and lord Temple, they both resigned their employments. When Pitt carried the seals to the king, his majesty received them with ease and firmness: he expressed his regret for the loss of so able a servant; but he did not solicit him to resume his office: he candidly declared, that he was not only satisfied with the opinion of the majority of his council, but that he would have found himself under the greatest difficulty how to have acted, had that council concurred as fully in supporting the measure proposed by Pitt, as they had done in rejecting it. In order, at the same time, to show his high opinion of Pitt's merit, his majesty made him a most gracious offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow. Pitt was sensibly touched with the candour, the dignity, and condescension of this proceeding. "I confess, sir," said he, "I had but too much reason to expect your majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, sir,—it overpowers—it oppresses me."—He burst into tears. He declined the distinction of nobility for himself, but accepted of other marks of royal favour. His majesty was graciously pleased to direct, that a warrant be prepared for granting to the lady Hester Pitt, his wife, a barony of Great Britain, by the name, style, and title of baroness of Chatham to herself, and of baron of Chatham to her heirs male; and also to confer upon the said William Pitt, esq. an annuity of three thousand pounds sterling, during his own life, and that of lady Hester Pitt, and their son John Pitt, esq. The duke of Bedford, the late lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was appointed keeper

of the privy seal, upon the resignation of lord Temple.

ON MR. PITT'S CONDUCT.

It cannot be a matter of surprise, that the resignation of so popular a minister as Pitt should have spread a momentary alarm, and excited the most violent conflict between the admirers and the censurers of his conduct. The splendour of his talents, and the general success of his measures, afforded the former ample subjects of encomium; while the latter found equal room for censure in the inconsistency of his opinions respecting the war on the continent, in his frequent misapplication of the national strength, but particularly in the overbearing haughtiness of his temper, which had obstructed the work of peace, had multiplied enemies abroad, and destroyed at home that happy union of councils, and combination of abilities, which were of the highest importance at so dangerous a crisis. The only remark, which can be fairly made on Pitt's avowed motive for resigning, "because he would no longer be responsible for the measures he did not guide," is, that he showed himself more strongly attached to his own personal glory than to the interests of his country. This opinion of the moderate part of the nation at that time, has since received the sanction of the abbé Raynal, one of the most enlightened and impartial of modern historians.

INSTRUCTIONS TO AMBASSADOR AT MADRID.

THOUGH the majority of the council had opposed the late secretary's proposal for an immediate attack upon Spain, they were far from being perfectly satisfied with the answers of that court, or with its professions of amicable intention towards Great Britain. The French agents at foreign courts had also been very busy in circulating reports of the family compact between the different branches of the house of Bourbon, in expectation, no doubt, of frightening the new ministry of George III. after Pitt's secession, into a treaty of peace on their own terms. But they were unacquainted with the characters of the men whom they hoped to intimidate. The earl of Egremont, who had succeeded to the office of secretary for the southern department, wrote to the British ambassador at Madrid, to desire him to make use of the most pressing instances to obtain an explicit account of that secret, though so much vaunted convention between France and Spain, as absolutely necessary before any farther negotiation could be entered into on the former points of dispute. "And in order," says he, "to prevent any perverse impressions, which Mr. Pitt's retiring from public business might occasion, it is proper that I should assure your excellency, that the measures of government will suffer no relaxation on that account; the spirit of the war will not subside with him; and the example of the spirit of the late measures will be a spur to his majesty's servants to persevere, and to stretch every nerve of this country, in forcing the enemy to come into a safe, honourable, and, above all, a lasting peace."

STEPS TAKEN BY THE MINISTRY.

THE British ministry soon convinced their countrymen and all Europe, that the spirit of the nation, and the wisdom of its councils were not confined to a single man. They prepared for a rupture, in case it could not be honourably avoided, with the utmost vigour and judgment. A squadron of men of war, having under convoy a number of transports with four battalions from Belleisle, sailed from England, the latter end of October, and was to be joined in the West Indies by such an accession of naval and military forces as would render the whole armament the most formidable that had been ever before seen in that part of the world. The immediate object of this expedition was the conquest of Martinico, and of the remaining French islands; after which a part of the armament was to co-operate with another fleet from England in an attack on the Havanna, as soon as the refusal of proper satisfaction should render the commencement of hostilities justifiable. A third enterprise, to be directed against the Philippine islands, those great connecting links of the Spanish commerce in Asia and America, was also resolved upon, in conformity to a plan of operations presented by col.

enol Draper to the first lord of the admiralty and to the new secretary of state.

A NEW PARLIAMENT.

DURING the suspension of those projects which were to make Spain repeat of her baseness, presumption, and temerity, the new parliament met on the third of November. The choice of a speaker unanimously fell on Sir John Cust, the member for Grantham, he was presented to his majesty on the sixth, when the king, after signifying his approbation, made a speech to both houses; in which, after noticing his marriage, his majesty vindicated himself from the failure of the late negotiation with France for peace, and stated the recent successes at Belleisle and Dominica, and the reduction of Pondicherry which had annihilated the French power in the East Indies. But the part of his majesty's speech, with which both houses seemed most affected, was his patriotic declaration, that nothing should ever make him depart from the true interests of his kingdoms. Warmed by so endearing a sentiment, they begged his majesty to accept their most affectionate assurances, that they would faithfully and zealously correspond to the confidence he reposed in them, and concur with firmness and unanimity in whatever might contribute to the public welfare, might tend to defeat the views and expectations of his enemies, and convince the world that there were no difficulties which his majesty's wisdom and perseverance, with the assistance of his parliament, could not surmount.

JOINTURE GRANTED TO THE QUEEN.

THE commons, besides the usual address in answer to his majesty's speech, farther resolved to send a message to the queen to congratulate her also on her nuptials. On the nineteenth of November, two days after the delivery of the message, the commons gave her majesty a proof of the sincerity of their professions. They resolved, that in case she should survive his majesty, she should enjoy a provision of one hundred thousand pounds per annum during her life, together with the palace of Somerset-house, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Park; and that the annuity should be charged upon all or any part of those revenues of the crown, which, by an act made in the last session, were consolidated with the aggregate fund. A bill formed on these resolutions passed both houses without opposition, and received the royal assent on the second of December, when the queen who was present, and placed in chair of state on the king's right hand, rose up, and made her obeisance. She had also the pleasure to hear the speaker renew, upon presenting the bill, the former assurances of the duty and affection of the commons, blended with the most respectful and delicate compliments to her majesty.

REPEAL OF THE COMPELLING CLAUSE IN THE INSOLVENT ACT.

MUCH clamour and discontent having been excited by the abuse of the compelling clause in the act, passed during the last session, for the relief of insolvent debtors, a motion for its repeal was the first legislative measure which engaged the attention of the new parliament. The majority, being perhaps influenced by the violent outcry raised against the clause in the city of London and in some other mercantile towns, leave was given to bring-in a bill for its repeal, which soon passed through the necessary stages, and received the sanction of royal authority.

PROVISION FOR THE SERVICE OF THE ENSUING YEAR.

WITHIN a month after the first estimates had been laid before the house, they adjusted the whole business of supplies, and of ways and means, for the service of the ensuing year. They voted seventy thousand seamen; they agreed to maintain the land-forces, to the number of sixty seven thousand six hundred and seventy six effective men, over and above the militia of England, the two regiments of fencibles in North Britain, the provincial troops in America, and sixty seven thousand one hundred and sixty seven German auxiliaries to support the war in Westphalia. In proportioning the supply, they likewise made good the foreign subsidies, as well as the deficiencies in the grants of the last

session, a loan of twelve millions was found necessary, which, of course, rendered some new taxes unavoidable. These were a farther tax upon windows, and additional duties on spirituous liquors. The various sums voted by the commons, from the twenty first of November till the twenty second of December, amounted to very near sixteen millions; to which were added, a few months after, above two millions more, for the defence of Portugal and various other purposes; so that the sum total of the supplies for the year 1793 exceeded eighteen millions.

DEBATE ON THE GERMAN WAR.

THE only debate, to which such liberal grants of the public money gave rise at the present juncture, was on the expediency of the German war. This question had often before been agitated in parliament; and it seemed rather too late now to resume the discussion of measures in which Great Britain was so far engaged that she could not recede with honour. The opponents of the continental system had another year's experience to bring in support of their former assertions, that no adequate advantage could result from the most vigorous efforts in that quarter. They had also on their side the great body of the people, who, being no longer dazzled by brilliant exploits, had fallen into an almost general dislike of the plan of operations for the last two years, and who expected that their representatives would not silently acquiesce in the application of almost half the new loan to the support of a useless and consuming war in Germany.

The speakers against the German system represented it as a system of all others the most absurd, in which defeats were attended with their usual fatal effects, and victory itself would rob her of the fruits of her naval successes, and drain her exchequer to such a degree as would force her to buy peace by the restitution of all her conquests; "that we never can consistently with common prudence, engage in a continental war against France, without a concurrence in our favour of the other powers on the continent. This was the maxim of the great king William, and this the foundation of the grand alliance which he projected, and at the head of which, in defence of the liberties of Europe, he made the most august appearance of which human nature is capable. It was on this principle, that in conjunction with half Europe, we carried on the war with so much honour and success against France, under the duke of Marlborough. But to engage in a continental war with that power, not only unassisted but opposed by the greatest part of those states with whom we were then combined, is an attempt never to be justified by any comparative calculation of the populousness, the revenues, or the general strength of the two nations. It is a desperate struggle which must finally end in our ruin."

In addition to these arguments against continuing such destructive operations on the continent, they anticipated a reply which they knew would be made by their adversaries, namely, that the war in Germany had proved a most fortunate diversion in favour of the English, by drawing off the forces and revenues, as well as the attention of France from her navy, from the defence of her colonies, and from any formidable enterprises against Great Britain. All this they positively contradicted. "In the beginning of the war," they urged, "while there was any possibility of supporting their marine, the French attended to this object with the most assiduous care; and while they saw any likelihood of invading England with success, they had not the least idea of marching into Germany. The electorate of Hanover was so far from being thought in danger, that a body of troops was brought over thence to defend this country. But afterwards when France perceived that we were guarded against insult; that her own navy was destroyed, and her colonies exposed; she then bethought herself of Germany; and it was she, in reality, that diverted or transferred the war to the only place where she was capable of acting, and where she knew Great Britain must be exhausted, even by a succession of victories. The German war was not on the part of England, a war of diversion, but a war of defence, in favour of a barren electorate which, if put up to sale, would not fetch half the money that is yearly expended in its behalf; for the protection of a country, whose inhabitants are rendered miserable by the assistance they receive;

and for the support of an ally, from whom no mutual service can be expected. If a third part of the money thus squandered away on the continent had been employed in giving additional vigour to the naval armaments of Great Britain, France, by this time, would not have one settlement left in the West-Indies, all the profits of her external commerce must have ceased; and she must have been absolutely obliged to accept such terms of peace as England should think proper to prescribe."

ON CONTINENTAL ALLIANCES.

AFTER having thus commented upon the infatuation of Great Britain in renouncing the advantages of her naval superiority, and in leaving her enemies the choice of a field where defeat could do them little harm, and where she herself must be exhausted, even by a succession of her own victories, the patriotic speakers made some very severe remarks on the particular engagements we had entered into with some of the continental powers. "We had," as they asserted, "officially meddled with the internal broils of the empire, and taken a part in disputes which would have been much better adjusted without our interference. We had not only sent off from more useful service, the flower of our armies to defend the territories of some petty German princes, but we contracted enormous debts to pay these princes for assisting us in guarding their rights, and in fighting their battles. Was such an absurdity in politics," they asked, "ever before heard of? Is England to be the knight errant of Europe, and to neglect her own immediate concerns and her solid interest in the pursuit of foreign phantoms? Are we to waste all our resources upon Hanoverians, Hessians, Brunswickers; allies, who, if they merit that name, serve only to protract the feeble efforts of a system, in which nothing could so effectually contribute to our safety as an ally and total defeat? But even these connections," they said, "though burdensome and unavailing, did not half so much expose the ignorance of our negotiators, as the treaty made with the king of Prussia, to whom we annually paid a sum exceeding the whole amount of the subsidies granted in queen Anne's war to all her German allies put together; and who was so far from being able to afford any relief to our armies, that he was scarcely in a condition to support himself. We look upon him, it is true, as the protector of the protestant religion; but how lightly he thinks of all religion, his writings testify; and what mischiefs he has done the protestant cause in particular, this war will be a lasting memorial. He invaded and cruelly oppressed Saxony, a protestant country, where he found the people secured from any molestation on account of their religious opinions. Even among the Roman catholics, persecution had lost much of its edge, when he revived its memory; and, by forcing the popish powers into a strict union, brought more calamities upon the divided protestants than they had ever experienced during the utmost rancour of a holy war."

Those, however, who embraced the opposite side of the question, made a very ingenious defence. They ridiculed the idea of going back half a century to the reign of king William or queen Anne, to examine the principles of a continental war, or to compare the policy and resources of the two contending nations. "The present time," said they, "is the only just criterion by which we can judge; and here we have manifestly the advantage. The success which our arms, alone and unassisted, have had in this contest with France, is a sufficient proof that we are an overmatch for all her power."

In answer to what had been urged against the folly of waging war on the continent, they ascribed to this very scheme the happy issue of all our other operations. The attention of our rival was thereby distracted between the different enterprises at sea and land: eagerly grasping at two grand objects, she had missed both; and the only fruits of her mighty exertions were the ruin of her trade, the destruction of her marine, the loss of her colonies, and the impending terrors of a national bankruptcy. "Was it not," they added, "by involving France in the German war, that we diverted her from the vigorous defence of her distant possessions, and that we have become masters of some of the most considerable of them? Was it not in consequence of her embarking so heartily in that war, that she afforded us an opportunity of giving such

a blow to her naval power as she may never, perhaps, be able to recover? And has she made any progress in Germany to counterbalance her disappointments elsewhere? Far from it. At this instant, she is less advanced than she was the first year she entered that country, after having spent immense sums of money, and lost by the sword, by disease, and desertion, at least one hundred thousand of her people. Even on the continent, where our enemies have made the most desperate push, have they not been frequently defeated? Has not Hanover been recovered and protected? Has not the king of Prussia been preserved, so long at least, from the rage of his enemies? And have not the liberties of Germany in general been hitherto secured? Had we lain by, and tamely beheld that vast empire in part possessed, and the rest compelled to receive laws from France, the war there would soon have been brought to an end; and France, strengthened by victory, conquest, and alliance, would have the whole force and the whole revenue of her monarchy to act against us alone."

They argued farther, "that if the support of the protestant religion be any part of our care, that religion must suffer eminently by the ruin of the king of Prussia; for though the writings attributed to his Prussian majesty be such as, if really his, reflect, on account of their impiety, great disgrace on his character as a man; yet as a king, in his public and political capacity, he is the natural protector of the protestant religion in Germany; and it will always be his interest to defend it."

Whatever might have been the sentiments of the new ministry respecting the original policy of the German war, they saw very well that it could not now be honourably or consistently relinquished. The faith of parliament was also pledged to assist the allies; and the best judges were of opinion, that vigorous efforts for one campaign more would terminate the contest, and bring the French to reasonable terms. The opposition therefore to continental measures, however well supported by argument, was over-ruled by numbers, and expired in the warmth of debate. Yet it was not wholly unproductive of good effects. It showed government very clearly what the sense of the nation was on the subject; and it prevented the renewal of the annual convention with the king of Prussia, though assurances were at the same time given him of pecuniary aid, as before.

THE FAMILY COMPACT AVOWED.

THE parliament adjourned to the nineteenth of January. During that recess the public attention was roused to an incident of national importance. Before the earl of Egremont's despatches concerning the family compact could reach Madrid, the English ambassador there had himself received intelligence of the treaty, and of the hopes which the French made no secret of deriving from it. He therefore thought it his duty to desire some satisfaction on that head from Wall, the Spanish secretary of state. But though he expressed his uneasiness in consequence of such rumours with equal force and delicacy, Wall, evading a direct reply to the main point of inquiry, entered into a long and bitter complaint, not only of the treatment which Spain had received from the British court, but of the haughtiness of its late proceedings with France. "He told me," says the earl of Bristol in his letter of the second of November, "we were intoxicated with all our successes, and a continued series of victories had elated us so far, as to induce us to condemn the reasonable concessions France had consented to make; but that it was evident, by this refusal, all we aimed at was, first to ruin the French power, in order more easily to crush Spain, to drive all the subjects of the christian king not only from their island colonies in the new world, but also to destroy their several forts and settlements upon the continent of North America, to have an easier task in seizing upon all the Spanish dominions in those parts, thereby to satisfy the utmost of our ambition, and to gratify our unbounded thirst of conquest." Wall added, with uncommon warmth, "that he would himself be the man to advise the king of Spain, since his dominions were to be overwhelmed, at least to have them seized with arms in his subjects hands, and not to continue the passive victim he had hitherto appeared to be in the eyes of the world."

Such a sudden change of sentiments and dis-

course,—such an abrupt and unprovoked transition, in the Spanish secretary of state, from the most cordial and conciliatory tone of friendly predilection and amicable adjustment, to the most peremptory and haughty style of menace and hostility, could not but astonish and perplex the earl of Bristol. He was naturally led into various conjectures, to account for this incoherency of behaviour. At first, he imagined that the late arrival at Cadix of two ships with extraordinary rich cargoes, containing the remainder of the wealth that was expected from Spanish America, had raised the language of the court of Madrid, added to the progress, which, it was reported, the French army was making in the king of England's electoral dominions, and the success attending the Austrian operations in Silesia. He ascribed the former soothing declarations of the Spanish ministers to the consciousness of their naval inferiority; and he supposed that those fears were now removed, or greatly abated by the safe arrival of the above ships, and by the continual successes of the French, who, whilst they inflamed the jealousy of Spain at the British conquests, and solicited a junction of forces to put a stop to them, never ceased assuring the Spaniards, that even the signing of an alliance between the two great branches of the house of Bourbon would intimidate England, not only upon account of its being exhausted by the present long and expensive war, but by its having felt the fatal consequences of an interruption of the Spanish trade, during the last war. But, though all these circumstances very probably co-operated in producing so great a revolution in the Spanish councils; yet the earl of Bristol was afterwards convinced, that its immediate cause was the intelligence then received at Madrid of Pitt's violent proposal in the cabinet, before he went out of office. His excellency's sentiments on this point are thus expressed in a subsequent letter to the earl of Egremont, dated Madrid, December the seventh.

"What occasioned the great fermentation at this court, the effects of which I felt from General Wall's animated discourse at the Recrual, was notice having reached the catholic king, that the change which had happened in the English administration was relative to measures proposed to be taken against this country. Hence arose that sudden wrath and passion, which, for a short time, affected the Spanish court: as it was thought most extraordinary here, that the declaring war against the catholic king should ever have been moved in his majesty's councils, since the Spaniards have always looked upon themselves as the aggrieved party; and, of course, never could imagine that the English would be the first to begin a war with them."

But whatever impression Pitt's proposal may have made on the minds of the Spaniards, the justest praise was certainly due to the earl of Bristol's conduct in this delicate conjuncture. Though totally unprepared for a conference that differed so widely from all former conversations on the same subject, he replied with coolness to the invectives, and with firmness to the menaces of the Spanish minister. After refusing in the best manner what Wall had urged, he returned to his first demand, an explanation concerning the treaty. As often as a direct answer was evaded, the same question was again

put; and at length the only reply, that could with difficulty be evaded, was, "That his catholic majesty had judged it expedient to renew his family compacts with the most christian king." There Wall, as if he had gone beyond what he intended, suddenly broke off the discourse; and no farther satisfaction could be obtained.

AMBASSADOR AT MADRID RECALLED.

ON the receipt of these advices from the earl of Bristol, the ministry did not hesitate a moment, respecting the line they were to pursue. They saw evidently that there was little reason to hope for any good effects from farther patience and forbearance; that the continuance of their former moderation might be attributed to timidity; and that the language of Spain would no longer permit any doubt of her hostile intentions. Not a moment was therefore lost in sending back orders to the English ambassador, directing him to renew his former instances relative to the treaty with France, and to demand a clear and categorical declaration from the court of Madrid, whether they meant to depart in any manner from their professed neutrality, and to join in hostilities against Great Britain. These points he was to urge with energy, but without the mixture of any thing which might irritate; and he was farther authorized to signify, that a peremptory refusal to communicate the treaty, or to disavow an intention to take part with the declared and inveterate enemies of Great Britain, could not be looked upon by the king of England in any light, but as an aggression on the part of Spain, and as an absolute declaration of war. The earl of Bristol acted in strict conformity to such decisive, yet temperate instructions. He gradually unfolded the purport and extent of them in two conferences with Wall, on the sixth and the eighth of December; and, in two days after, he received a letter from that minister, stating that "the spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much in the British government, is what made, in the same instant, the declaration of war, and attacked the king's dignity. Your excellency may think of retiring when, and in what manner, it is convenient to you; which is the only answer that, without detaining you, his majesty has ordered me to give you."

SPANISH AMBASSADOR'S MANIFESTO.

THE earl of Bristol left Madrid the seventeenth of December; and on the twenty-fifth of the same month the Spanish ambassador in London received letters of recall from his court. The note, which he delivered on that occasion to the secretary of state, was somewhat in the nature of a manifesto, charging the war on the pride and unmeasurable ambition of the late secretary, and on the little respect shown to his catholic majesty, both during that minister's continuance in office, and since his resignation. Lord Egremont's memorial in reply, dated the thirty-first of December, did not stoop to personal invectives, but proved by an exact and faithful detail of what had passed between the two courts, that Spain alone was to be blamed for all the misfortunes inseparable from a rupture. The facts already related will best show what degree of stress should be laid on the assertions of either party.

NOTE TO CHAPTER III.

1 These were not mere matters of ceremony, as the tenures of sundry manors, and the enjoyment of certain rights and inheritances depended on the performance of particular services at the coronation.

CHAPTER IV.

War declared against Spain—Debate in the Lords—Protest on a Motion for withdrawing the Troops from Germany—Popularity of this Protest—Duty on Beer and Ale caused a tumult in London—Amendments of the Militia Laws—An Act for Registering of Parish Children—Bill for the Extension of the Duke of Bridgewater's Canals—Account of Harrison's Time-pieces and Irwin's Marine-chain—Addition to the former Grants of the Commons—His Majesty's Message on the imminent Danger of Portugal—The Session closed with a Speech from the Throne—Extraordinary Change in the King of Prussia's Situation, occasioned by the Death of the Empress of Russia—Steps immediately taken by her Successor, Peter III.—Deposition and Death of Peter III.—Prudent Policy of the Empress Catherine II.—Sketch of the Prussian Operations during the Remainder of the Campaign—Victory obtained by the Allies at Gracbonstein—This Action a Prelude to Enterprize, in which Göttingen and Cassel were recovered, and the French almost totally driven out of Hesse—State of Portugal when threatened by the Bourbon Confederacy—Memorial presented to the Court of Lisbon by the Ministers of France and Spain—Reply followed by a Declaration of War—Immediate and effectual Assistance afforded by Great Britain—Lord Tyravley dissatisfied with the Portuguese Ministry, and recalled—Plan of the Campaign—Progress of the Spanish Army under the Marquis de Sarris—Almeida taken, and a considerable part of the Province of Beira over-run by Spanish Troops—Good Consequences of the Count de la Lippe's Arrival in Portugal—Surprise of Valencia & Alcantara by General Burgoyne—Another more decisive blow struck by the same General and Colonel Lee at Villa Velha.—The Spaniards forced to retreat to their own Frontiers—Triumphs of Great Britain at Sea—Descent on the Island of Martinico—Surrender of the Island—Submission of the Grenades, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and other dependent Isles—Armament destined against the Havannah, its Harbour described—Siege of the Moro—The Moro stormed, and carried by assault—Operations against the Town, and its Surrender—Importance of this Conquest—Capture of the Hermione, a Spanish Register-ship—Invasion of the Philippines designed—Celerity of the Preparations made for it at Madras—Arrival of the Squadron at Manila—The Town taken by Storm, but saved from a justly merited Pillage—The Galleon from Manila to Acapulco taken—The only Exception to the universal Success of the British Arms, the Failure of a private Expedition against Buenos Ayres—Summary of the Disasters sustained by Spain during her short Concern in the War—France involved in the like Calamities—Attempt to burn the British Squadron in the Bay of Basque—Newfoundland taken and retaken—A negotiation the only resource of the House of Bourbon.

WAR DECLARED AGAINST SPAIN.

IT would not be very easy to point out any period of the history of England, in which the character of the nation was better supported by its government than at the opening of the year 1762. Calm, yet resolute; threatened by an extraordinary combination of enemies, yet prepared to resist their perfidious efforts; the British ministry discovered no precipitation or alarm at Spain's having finally thrown off the mask, but took the most effectual measures to revenge so daring an abuse of their candour and forbearance. A clear account of the endeavours which had been used to accommodate the disputes with Spain in an amicable manner, and of the circumstances which now rendered a rupture unavoidable, was given at full length in his majesty's declaration of the second of January: war against that country was formally proclaimed on the fourth; and on the nineteenth, being the day to which both houses of parliament had adjourned, the king informed them of the steps, which he was obliged to take since their recess.

PROTEST AGAINST THE WAR IN GERMANY

THE commons were unanimous in their approbation of his majesty's conduct respecting Spain, and in their assurances of steady and vigorous support to prosecute this just and necessary war. The lords agreed to an address expressive of the same sentiments; but the consideration of the speech gave rise to a debate on the most effectual means of carrying on the war, in which they discovered great difference of opinion. No complete report of this debate has been preserved; but the spirit of it may be collected from a protest, which was then entered on the journals. By this it appears, that on Friday the fifth of February, when the lords, according to

order, proceeded to take the speech into consideration, a motion was made for declaring it to be the opinion of the house, "that the war then carried on in Germany was necessarily attended with a great and enormous expense, and that, notwithstanding all the efforts that could possibly be made, there seemed no probability the army there, in the pay of Great Britain, so much inferior to that of France, could be put into such a situation as to effectuate any good purpose whatsoever; and that the bringing the British troops home from Germany would enable his majesty more effectually to carry on with vigour the war against the united forces of France and Spain, give strength and security to Great Britain and Ireland, support the public credit, and, by easing the nation of a load of expence, be the likeliest means, under the blessing of God, to procure a safe and honourable peace;" which motion was strongly objected to, and the previous question carried by a majority of one hundred and five against sixteen. Seven, however, of the latter, including the duke of Bedford, one of the principal members of administration, signed a protest, expressive of their dissent from such proceedings for the following reasons:

"1st. Because the main question being so true in every particular, which was assented to by most of the lords who spoke in this debate, and no argument being alleged that it was unconstitutional, the previous question should not, in the present case, have been insisted on, as thereby the lords were debarred from laying before the throne their sense on a matter of this importance.

"2dly. Because in the debate there was no shadow of argument used, to show the impropriety of this question being brought before the house at this time, or that it was prematurely undertaken by the lord who moved it: on the contrary it was proved by irrefragible arguments, that if the matter was right to be done, no time should be lost in bringing

the British forces home during their winter-quarters, which was the only season when it could be done with safety, and without any possible impediment from the enemy.

"3dly. The present situation of the war, by the additional weight of the crown of Spain being thrown into the scales against us, doth undoubtedly require, at this very critical time, the utmost frugality towards easing the nation from any unnecessary expense, and, as the present war in Germany is indisputably carried on at a great and enormous expense, and, in the general conception of mankind, without any possibility of any good being reaped from it, it seems the undoubted right of every lord of this house to submit to parliament his opinion against a longer continuance of such measures, as have already proved so detrimental to the public, by involving this nation in an additional debt of near six millions yearly, without serving any one British purpose, or even supporting with efficacy those countries for whose preservation it has been pretended these immense supplies have been granted.

"4thly. A continental war carried on in Germany without allies, and at the sole expense of Great Britain, whilst this nation is involved in a war with the two most considerable maritime powers of Europe, cannot be esteemed a system of true policy; as France, let the success against her arms be ever so great, is not vulnerable from that quarter; and Spain, on account of her distance, would, doubtless, not be intimidated by the success of the British arms in Germany.

"5thly. The expedience of the present continental war cannot be justified, either on the principles of its being a war for the diversion of the forces of France from the invading his majesty's dominions, or the succouring their own colonies, both of which they are incapacitated from doing, by the ruin of their naval force; neither can it be alleged as a measure calculated to support the king of Prussia, who is not at war with France, nor in danger, though the British troops should be withdrawn, of being crushed by that power, whose interest will undoubtedly restrain her from taking a step, which could only tend to the aggrandisement of the house of Austria, the ancient and natural rival of the house of Bourbon.

"6thly. The present great scarcity of specie, and the low state of the public funds, render it the indispensable duty of this house to suggest to the throne every means of preventing an unnecessary profusion of the public treasure, more especially when the payments that must be daily made, and which must be done by the exportation of bullion, must unavoidably cause such a stagnation of trade and industry as may be of the most fatal consequence to this country, which can in no degree be compensated for on the ill-grounded notion that the expenses of the enemy are equally great and burdensome to them, which is not only denied, as it can never be proved, but is moreover exploded by this undeniable truth, that France, by withdrawing her troops, can put an end to it whenever she pleases, and without any danger to herself of being attacked by an inferior number on her own frontiers on that side, and which, as she has not yet done, is a sufficient proof of the truth of this proposition.

"7thly. The agreeing to the resolution proposed could be in no degree constructed as a breach of faith to our allies, or a stain to the honour of the nation, as we are bound by no treaties to keep an army in Germany, and the war on that continent seems to have been entered into voluntarily by us, without being called upon by any other powers, and most precipitately taken up again, when it had been so happily extinguished by the convention of Closter-Seven."

This protest, which contained a summary of the most forcible arguments that had been urged against the prosecution of the German war, was highly and almost universally applauded by the people; and though it produced no immediate change in the measures of government, it strengthened the impression made by the former debate of the commons on the same subject; and it showed very evidently, that, if the ensuing campaign should not put an end to the continental struggle, any farther supplies for its continuance would be obtained with extreme difficulty.

TUMULT OCCASIONED BY THE DUTY ON BEER.

THE other transactions in this session of parliament make so little show, when compared with the occurrences of the same period on the theatre of war, as to admit of only a few concise remarks. The operation of the act for laying a further duty on beer and ale being now felt in its fullest extent, the streets of London and Westminster were filled with tumult, vowed revenge against the brewers for exacting a higher price than usual from the publicans, and threatened to pull down the houses of any of the latter who should continue to charge an additional halfpenny for every quart of porter. The intimidated parties, under the terror of such menaces, petitioned the house of commons; a bill was passed in favour of their request, which had the desired effect: it not only restrained the mob from committing any acts of outrage but tended greatly to abate their clamour.

AMENDMENTS OF THE MILITIA AND OTHER LAWS.

A GREAT deal of confusion was also prevented by some wise and wholesome amendments of the militia laws. An exact line was drawn between those who were liable to serve, and such as were exempted from any compulsion. The former were to be chosen by ballot, as before; or otherwise the parish officers, with the consent of the inhabitants, were authorised to provide volunteers, by a rate on the parish, in proportion to that for the relief of their poor. Thus every man was obliged to pay his quota; and all parishes had it in their power to keep their useful hands at home, and to employ the idle and dissolute in the service of their country.

As a check upon the cruelties, which were strongly suspected to be exercised by the nurses of parish children, a law was enacted for keeping an annual register of those infants in every parish, under the age of four, that it might always be known in what parishes the greatest mortality prevailed among these children.

In this session, a bill readily passed through both houses for enabling the duke of Bridgewater to extend his canal, from Longford Bridge to the river Mersey, so as to open a communication with Liverpool. The branches of this inland navigation have since been extended to all the manufacturing towns of the adjoining counties; and the duke lived to complete an undertaking of greater magnitude and of more national utility than had ever before been attempted by any individual.

REWARDS FOR METHODS OF ASCERTAINING THE LONGITUDE.

REWARDS for the discovery of the longitude had long been the object of an express law; but it was now deemed necessary to render that act more effectual by extending the benefit of it to persons who should make any satisfactory progress towards so desirable an end, though their experiments might fall short of its full accomplishment. Harrison, a clock-maker of London, had contrived a curious time-piece, which, under the direction of his son, was tried in a voyage to the West Indies, and found to succeed infinitely beyond any thing hitherto invented for the same purpose. He and his son were immediately rewarded with a grant of fifteen hundred pounds; and, the year after, he obtained from parliament five thousand pounds more, for discovering the principles on which his instrument was constructed. Irwin, a native of Ireland, had also contrived a marine chair, by means of which the immersions and emersions of Jupiter's satellites might be accurately observed in the roughest weather at sea, and the longitude, of course, ascertained. After some satisfactory trials of this machine, five hundred pounds were bestowed on the inventor as the recompense of his ingenuity.

VOTE FOR THE RELIEF OF PORTUGAL.

BESIDES the other supplies voted for the service of the year, the house of commons, after a short debate, concurred in granting his majesty one million upon account, for the purposes specified in the following message, which was laid before the house on the eleventh of May, and taken into consideration on the thirteenth:

"His majesty relying on the known seal and affection of his faithful commons, and considering that in this conjuncture, emergencies may arise, which may be of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; and his majesty also taking into his most serious consideration the imminent danger with which the kingdom of Portugal, an ancient and natural ally of his crown, is threatened by the powers now in open war with his majesty, and of what importance the preservation of that kingdom is to the commercial interests of this country, is desirous that this house will enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war incurred, or to be incurred for the service of the year 1762; and to take all such measures as may be necessary to disappoint, or defeat any enterprises, or designs of his enemies against his majesty, or his allies, and as the exigency of affairs may require."

In the debate, to which this message gave rise, Pitt supported, with becoming consistency, the resolution of the committee of supply.

SESSION CLOSES.

BOTH houses sat a few days longer to complete the business then before them; and, on the second of June, his majesty put an end to the session with a speech, in which he expressed the highest approbation of the seal, unanimity and despatch, so signally manifested in the course of their proceedings. He said that his own sentiments respecting war and peace continued invariably the same, and that it gave him great satisfaction to find them confirmed by the voice of his parliament. He took notice of a late change in the government of Russia, and of its probable consequences: he mentioned the rupture with Spain, and the danger that threatened Portugal, as proofs of the wisdom and necessity of the vigorous measures which had been resolved upon: he pointed out some of the happy effects already produced by these measures, in the conquest of Martinico, and the acquisition of many other valuable settlements in the West Indies.

DEATH OF THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA, AND SUCCESSION OF PETER III.

THE hopeless situation of the king of Prussia at the close of the last campaign has been already described. The loss of Colberg, on one side, and of Schweidnitz, on the other, left his dominions almost without a barrier; and his army was too much reduced to face any of the invaders in the open field. No resource of policy, no effort of skill or heroism could any longer be tried with the least probability of success. At this alarming crisis, the storm just ready to burst upon his head, was happily dissipated by one of those unexpected events which give a sudden turn to the fortune of nations, after all the means of human foresight and exertion have failed. His most dangerous and inveterate enemy, the empress of Russia, died on the second of January, and was succeeded by her nephew, the duke of Holstein, a prince of very different sentiments. As none, however, but those who were most intimately acquainted with his character and disposition, could pretend to determine whether he would abandon or pursue the system of his predecessor, the eyes of all Europe were anxiously turned towards the court of Petersburg, in order to observe the direction of his early councils.

The new czar, who ascended the throne by the name of Peter III. began his reign with some very laudable and popular regulations. His foreign politics, in which Europe was principally concerned, seemed to be governed by the same mild spirit. He ordered a memorial to be delivered, on the twenty third of February, to the ministers of his allies, in which he declared, That, in order to procure the re-establishment of peace, as he preferred to every other consideration the first law which God prescribed to sovereigns, the preservation of the people intrusted to them, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of Russia during the war, in hopes that the allied courts would, on their part, equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity to the advantages which they might expect from the war, but which they could obtain, only by a continuance of the effusion of human blood. He ordered a cessation of arms, the sixteenth of March, on receiving an unsatisfactory answer to his

memorial from the courts of Vienna and Versailles; and, in about six weeks after, he entered into an alliance with his favourite monarch, without paying the least regard to the interests of his former confederates. He even joined part of his forces to those of his new ally, in order to drive the Austrians out of Silesia, while he commanded another army to march towards Holstein. Sweden soon followed the example, or rather acted under the direction of Russia, in concluding a peace with the court of Berlin.

SUCCESS OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

THE king of Prussia lost no time to profit by this great, and almost miraculous revolution in his favour. The load which had so long oppressed him, and against which he had borne up with astonishing fortitude, being now much lightened, he was again enabled to exert the full powers of his genius against his remaining enemies. His first object was the recovery of Schweidnitz, the next the expulsion of the Austrians out of Silesia; and in the attainment of these important ends he was greatly assisted by the valour and military skill of his brother, who gained a signal victory, on the twelfth of May, over the Austrians and Imperialists near Freyberg in Saxony. By this blow prince Henry became so fully master of that electorate, that the Austrians found it necessary to withdraw a considerable body of troops from the war in Silesia, to prevent, if possible, his making irruptions into the heart of Bohemia. Marshal Daun, however, with a large army, still occupied some eminences in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, by which he was enabled to protect that city. But the king of Prussia, being joined by the Russian troops in the latter end of June, undertook to dislodge the Austrian general from those advantageous posts and finally succeeded. As a direct attack was found to be impracticable, the king had recourse to a variety of masterly movements, which made his adversary apprehensive for the safety of his principal magazine, and even that his communication with Bohemia might be cut off. The cautious Daun accordingly fell back to the frontiers of Silesia, and left Schweidnitz exposed. His Prussian majesty immediately prepared for the siege; whilst different detachments of his troops, some on the side of Saxony, others on that of Silesia, penetrated deep into Bohemia, laid many parts of the country under contribution, and spread universal alarm. A body of Russian irregulars also made an irruption into the same kingdom, and there retaliated on the Austrians those cruel ravages, which, at the instigation of the court of Vienna, the same barbarous enemy had formerly committed on the Prussian dominions.

Whilst the indefatigable Frederic was thus conducting, with equal spirit and ability, that bold plan of operations which unexpected circumstances had enabled him to form, he was threatened with a sudden reverse of fortune, in consequence of another revolution in Russia. Peter III. in his rage for reform, made more new regulations in a few weeks, than a prudent prince would have hazarded in a long reign. His first measures, as before observed, seemed well calculated to procure him the affections of his people; but, being of a rash and irregular turn of mind, he in many instances shocked their prejudices, even while he consulted their interests.

DEPOSITION AND DEATH OF PETER III. AND SUCCESSION OF CATHERINE II.

WHILE he was taking these steps to alienate the minds of the people in general, and especially of those bodies whose attachment it was his great interest to secure, he had not the good fortune to live in union with his own family. He had long slighted his consort, the present empress, a woman of a masculine understanding, by whose counsels he might have profited; and lived in a very public manner with the countess of Woronzoff. The dissatisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, encouraged by this domestic dissension, assembled in the capital during the czar's absence at one of his country seats, deposed him formally, and invested his wife with the imperial ensigns. She put herself at the head of the malcontents, and marched without delay in quest of her husband. He was indulging himself in indolent amusements at a house of pleasure near the sea

shore, when the terrible news reached him. As soon as he recovered from the first shock, he attempted to escape to Holstein, but was seized and thrown into prison, after having been induced by the vain hope of life to sign a paper, in which he declared his conviction of his inability to govern the empire, and his sense of the distress it must be involved in were he to continue at the head of affairs. This cowardly sacrifice of his character did not preserve his life: he expired a few days after, on the sixth of July; and his sudden death excited neither surprise nor speculation, as dethroned princes have seldom been allowed to languish long in the glooms of a dungeon.

Catherine II. who now assumed the reins of empire, pursued a line of conduct almost diametrically opposite to that of her infatuated husband. It was even supposed, that she would disclaim and annul the treaty concluded between the late czar and the king of Prussia, which was a very unpopular measure at Petersburg. But fortunately for Frederic, the new empress did not think her situation sufficiently secure to engage in foreign hostilities. It is also said, that upon searching among her husband's papers for the Prussian monarch's correspondence, she found that his majesty had disapproved of all Peter's violent measures, and had counselled him to be tender of his consort, to desist from his pretensions to Slavick, and not to attempt any changes in the religion, or the fundamental laws of his country. Letters of this kind must have tended very much to confirm her in her pacific disposition. She accordingly declared to the Prussian minister at her court, "that she was resolved to observe inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign; but that she had thought proper, nevertheless, to order back to Russia, by the nearest roads, all her troops in Silesia, Prussia, and Pomerania." And although this change from a strict alliance to a mere neutrality made no small difference in the state of the king of Prussia's affairs; yet it must be regarded, all things considered, as an escape scarcely less wonderful than the former, especially as all the important places, which the Russians had with so much bloodshed acquired, were faithfully restored to that monarch.

PRUSSIAN OPERATIONS

His Prussian majesty, instead of being discouraged by the order sent for the return of the Russians, only acted with the more vigour. He attacked marshal Daun the day after his arrival, but before the news had reached the Austrian camp, and drove him, by terror, no less than force of arms, from the heights of Buckardorf, with considerable loss. He next invested Schweidnitz in person; and obliged that much contested town, though defended by a garrison of nine thousand men, to surrender, after a siege of two months, in spite of the utmost efforts of Laudon and Daun to obstruct his operations. The moment he found himself master of this city, and eventually of all Silesia, he began to turn his eyes towards Saxony. He reinforced his brother's army in that electorate, and took some other steps which seemed to indicate a design upon Dresden. These preparations, and another victory obtained by prince Henry near Freyberg, far more decisive than the former, induced the court of Vienna to conclude a cessation of hostilities with his Prussian majesty for Saxony and Silesia. In consequence of this impolitic and partial truce, which provided neither for the safety of the dominions of the house of Austria, nor of those members of the empire that were attached to its interests, one body of the Prussian army broke into Bohemia, advanced nearly to the gates of Prague, and destroyed a valuable magazine; while another fell upon the same country in a different quarter, and laid the greater part of the town of Egra in ashes, by a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets. Some parties penetrated into the heart of Franconia, and even as far as Suedia, laying waste the country, exacting heavy contributions, and spreading ruin and dismay on every side. The money levied in these predatory expeditions is supposed to have amounted to a million sterling, two hundred thousand pounds of which were paid by the industrious and free city of Nuremberg. Many of the princes and states found themselves obliged to sign a neutrality, in order to save their territories from further ravages; and most others were so disabled by the late defeat in Saxony, or exhausted by the subsequent incursions,

that no prospect remained of their being able to furnish, for next campaign, any army under the imperial name and authority.

OPERATIONS OF THE ALLIES IN GERMANY.

THE other part of the German war, which rested wholly on the support of Great Britain, was pushed with a degree of spirit and perseverance by no means inferior to these signal exertions of the Prussian arms. The forces under prince Ferdinand being amply provided with all necessities, and recruited to the number of one hundred thousand effective men, were the first to take the field; and soon found an opportunity of striking a blow, the consequences of which were not recovered by the enemy, during the remainder of the campaign. This did the allies the greater honour, because the French armies had also been augmented, so as still to preserve their former superiority of numbers; but their generals were changed. Marshal Broglie was recalled, and the command of the army on the Weser was given to his rival, the prince of Soubise, assisted by marshall d'Etrees; while the army on the Lower Rhine was committed to the direction of the prince of Condé. The hereditary prince was posted with a strong detachment in the bishopric of Munster, to check the progress of the latter; and prince Ferdinand in person, with the main body of his forces, lay behind the Dommel, to make head against the former, and, if possible, to strip them of their conquests in Hesse. Their numbers and the strength of their position seemed equally discouraging to such an attempt. Their infantry consisted of one hundred battalions: that of the allies was composed but of sixty. The ground, on which the French were encamped near the village of Granebstein, in the frontier of Hesse, had been very judiciously chosen, both for command of the country, and the difficulty of approaching them. Their centre occupied an advantageous eminence; their left wing was almost inaccessible, owing to several deep ravines; and their right was covered by the adjoining village, by several rivulets, and a large detachment under one of their best officers, Monsieur Castrée. In such a situation, they imagined they had nothing to fear, particularly as a considerable corps of the allied army under general Luckner was employed at some distance in watching the motions of prince Xavier of Saxony; so that they thought it impossible for troops thus separated to unite in any sudden attack on their camp. Prince Ferdinand availed himself of their security. He sent proper instructions to Luckner, who leaving a party of Hessian husars behind him to amuse the prince of Saxony, and marching full speed in the night with the rest, crossed the Weser, turned the right of the French army, and, without being discovered, placed himself upon their rear. General Spörcken had orders to advance in another direction, and to charge the same wing in flank. Prince Ferdinand was to fall upon the centre; while the honour and danger of attacking their left wing were assigned to the marquis of Granby. All the necessary preparations were made with so much judgment, celerity, and good order, that the French had no intimation of the design before they found themselves attacked with the utmost impetuosity in front, flank, and rear. The right wing, under Castrée, retired without much loss, and in tolerable order; but the rest of the army must have been totally routed, if Monsieur Stainville, who commanded on the left, had not thrown himself with the flower of the French infantry into a wood, which enabled him for some time to stop the career of the victors. His brave corps was a devoted sacrifice. All but two battalions were taken or cut to pieces. The other bodies, covered by this resolute manoeuvre, precipitately escaped to the other side of the Felds, or took shelter under the cannon of Cassel. About three thousand were made prisoners, and, among them, almost two hundred officers. The loss of the allies was inconsiderable. The English, who were most engaged, had only a few men killed, and no officer of rank but lieutenant-colonel Townsend, who fell with great honour to himself, and to the regret of the whole army.

This action, which took place on the twenty-fourth of June, was a prelude to a series of bold, masterly, and well-connected enterprises. Whilst the French, under the hurry and confusion of their late disaster, were unable to provide against sudden

accidents, the marquis of Cambray and lord Fred. sic Cavendish, at the head of a large body of British and Hanoverian troops, appeared thirty miles behind them, with an intention to cut off their communication with Frankfurt, whence they drew all their subsistence. In this emergency, Rochambeau collected some brigades at Homburg to oppose the design of the English commanders; but his party, after a vigorous resistance, was dispersed; and almost all the important posts in the south of Hesse fell into the hands of the allies. The north they were equally unsuccessful. They obliged prince Zavier, with his Saxon troops, to abandon his advanced situation in the territories of Hanover, and to leave the French garrison at Göttingen without support. The forces there, despairing of their ability to defend it, soon evacuated the place, happy in being able to effect their escape, though with great management and difficulty. Some other advantages were gained near Münden, where eleven hundred of the enemy were made prisoners, the intrenchments of their left wing were seized, and all the works destroyed. Thus harassed on every side, they had no resource but to call the army of the lower Rhine to their assistance. Being resolved not to hazard an engagement before its arrival, they quitted the heights of Mulsingen, though a post of the utmost strength and consequence; fell back a considerable distance behind the Fulda; and left Cassel uncovered, but not defenceless, as, in their retreat, they threw into it a garrison of ten thousand men, to resist any immediate attempts that might be made by prince Ferdinand. He began the siege, however, without loss of time; nor did he relinquish that object, notwithstanding the defeat of the hereditary prince by the prince of Cordé at Johannsburg, in which the former lost above three thousand men, and was himself dangerously wounded. After a variety of subsequent efforts, on the part of the united French armies, to relieve Cassel, they were at length forced to abandon it to its fate; and the garrison surrendered on the first of November to the victorious arms of the allies, who closed with this exploit the career of their military operations.

CONDUCT OF FRANCE AND SPAIN TO PORTUGAL.

THE events of this campaign in Germany, though distinguished for their brilliancy and magnitude, were not of so much real importance to Great Britain as those which took place at the same time on a narrower and less splendid theatre in the south of Europe. One of the first schemes projected by the courts of Versailles and Madrid, after their avowed junction, was an attack upon the kingdom of Portugal. The ministers of France and Spain presented to the court of Lisbon a joint memorial, in order to persuade his most faithful majesty to enter into the alliance of the two crowns, and to co-operate in their scheme for the humiliation of Great Britain. In that memorial, they insisted largely on the tyranny exercised by England over all other powers, especially in maritime affairs; and which the kings of Spain and Portugal were equally commanded by the ties of blood and their common interest to oppose. They concluded with declaring, that as soon as his most faithful majesty had taken his resolution, which they doubted not would prove favourable, their troops were ready to enter Portugal and garrison the fortresses of that kingdom, in order to avert the danger to which it might otherwise be exposed from the naval force of Great Britain. To this extraordinary memorial the two ministers added, that they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical answer in four days, and that any further deliberation would be considered as a negative.

The king of Portugal's situation was now truly critical, but his firmness, on so trying an occasion, is worthy of applause. In answer to the insulting proposition of the house of Bourbon he observed, with judgment and temper, that his alliance with England was ancient, and consequently could give no reasonable offence at the present crisis; that it was purely defensive, and therefore innocent in all respects. The Bourbon courts denied that this alliance was purely defensive, or entirely innocent; and for this notorious reason, that the defensive alliance is converted into an offensive one, "from the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and the

nature of the English power." The English fleet, said they, cannot keep the sea in all seasons, nor cruise on the coasts best calculated for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the harbours and the friendly assistance of Portugal: "nor," added they, "could these hungry islanders insult all the maritime powers of Europe, if the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands." They also endeavoured to awaken the jealousy of his most faithful majesty, by representing his kingdom as under the yoke of England; and told him, that he ought to be thankful for "the necessity which they had laid upon him to make use of his reason, in order to take the road of his glory, and embrace the common interest."

THEY DECLARE WAR.

ALTHOUGH the king of Portugal was sensible, that the necessity here alluded to was the immediate march of the Spanish army to take possession of his dominions, he was not intimidated from his honourable resolution. The treaties of league and commerce, subsisting between Great Britain and Portugal, were such, he maintained, as the laws of God, the laws of nature, and the laws of nations have always deemed innocent. He entreated their most christian and catholic majesties to open their eyes to the crying injustice of turning upon Portugal the hostilities kindled against Great Britain; to consider, that they were giving an example which would lead to the utter destruction of mankind; that there was an end of public safety, if neutral powers were to be attacked, because they have entered into defensive alliances with the powers at war; that if their troops should invade his dominions, he would therefore, in vindication of his neutrality, endeavour to repel them with all his forces and arms of his allies. In consequence of this magnificent declaration, the ministers of France and Spain immediately left Lisbon; and their departure was soon followed by a joint declaration of war against Portugal, in the name of their most christian and catholic majesties.

BRITAIN ASSISTS PORTUGAL.

THE grand reliance of his most faithful majesty was on the support of England, for whose sake and in whose quarrel he had been drawn into the unequal contest. His ambassador at London explained to the ministry his master's alarming situation, and urged with great propriety and force the justice of his claims to the most immediate and effectual relief. Besides a formal demand of the succours stipulated by subsisting treaties, he expressed a desire that his master should be supplied with a number of able officers to command, train, and conduct the forces of Portugal, which had been long disused to war; and that his Britannic majesty would continue to favour him with such farther help as his pressing necessities might require. The ready and liberal vote of parliament when this matter was laid before them, and the despatch sent by ministry in forwarding the desired assistance, will do the nation immortal honour. The greater weakness of Portugal was, the more conspicuous were the magnanimity and resources of Great Britain, who alone seemed to balance all Europe, and was able in the close of an expensive war, to prop up by her generous support the tottering fortune of so feeble an ally. She sent to Portugal officers, troops, artillery, arms, military stores, provisions, money, every thing which could enable the Portuguese to exert their natural strength, and every thing which could supply that strength where it was deficient.

Before the actual commencement of hostilities, lord Tyravley, a nobleman of great military talents and experience, and who had formerly resided as ambassador at Lisbon, was sent thither as plenipotentiary, with instructions to examine the state of the Portuguese forces, and to assist the ministry of that kingdom with his best advice in forming their army, and in making proper dispositions for the defence of their frontiers. He was also to have the command of the British auxiliaries, consisting of about eight thousand troops, partly drawn from Ballicalla, and partly from Ireland, where two regiments of Roman catholics had been raised for this service. But his lordship, though in other respects very highly accomplished, such as a general and statesman, was rather proud and intractable. He took offence at the conduct of the king of

Portugal's ministers, at the want of vigour in their councils, and at their unwillingness to adopt any of his spirited suggestions. In the despatches he sent home, his lordship complained, that they had misrepresented the state of their forces to the court of Great Britain; that they had not taken any proper steps to secure their frontier places; that they amused him with general promises, and evasive answers, and started frivolous objections to the execution of those measures which he proposed for the operations of the war. He even charged them with want of sincerity, and made no scruple of hinting a suspicion that the rupture between Portugal and Spain was a mere collusion, to make a diversion of the British troops and treasure in favour of the latter. As these suspicions were evidently the effect of disgust and caprice, his lordship was recalled, very early in the campaign, from a situation where he could be no longer useful.

CAMPAIGN OPENS.

WHEN the Bourbon courts made war against Portugal, the declared object was to cut off Great Britain from the use of the ports of that kingdom. As they did not think it possible to attain this object by naval operations, they attempted it by military ones, and aimed their principal endeavours at the two great ports to which the English principally resort, Oporto and Lisbon. With this view three invasions were proposed to be made, one to the north, another more to the south, and the third in the middle provinces, to preserve a communication between the two former.

PARTIAL SUCCESSSES OF THE SPANIARDS.

THE first army that entered upon the execution of this plan, was commanded by the marquis de Sarria. It penetrated into the north east angle of Portugal, and advanced towards Miranda. This town, though not in a good state of defence, might have held out for some time; but a powder magazine having blown up by accident, the fortifications were ruined; and the Spaniards, before they had raised their first battery, marched into the town by the breaches in the wall. They met with still less opposition at Braganza, a considerable city, from which the royal family of Portugal derives its ducal titles. The garrison retired with precipitation at their approach, and the magistrates presented the keys of the town to the Spanish commander. The town of Moncorvo surrendered in the same manner to one of their detachments; and every thing was cleared before them to the banks of the Douro. A party under count O'Reilly made a forced march of fourteen leagues, in two days, to the city of Chaves, which was immediately evacuated. By these successes they became masters of almost the whole of the extensive province of Traloes Montes, and their progress speeded a general alarm. Oporto was almost given up as lost; and the admiralty of England prepared transports to carry off the effects of the British factory. However, the body which had traversed this province without resistance, was repulsed in attempting to cross the river Douro. The inhabitants of the country, animated and guided by some English officers, with a re-inforcement of regular troops, seized a difficult pass, and drove the enemy back to Torre de Moncorvo. In ravaging the open country, the Spanish soldiers committed some barbarities on the peasants, which were afterwards severely retaliated. The common people, on both sides, naturally ferocious, had not been sufficiently incited to war, to moderate its fury, and reduce it under laws: an inveterate enmity subsisted between them; and, in every encounter, the victorious party attended only to the dictates of rancour and revenge.

Another corps of Spanish troops, which took the central route, in order, as before intimated, to keep up an easy communication between the forces employed in the northern and southern expeditions, entered the province of Beira, at the villages called Val de la Mula and Val de Coelha. They were joined by strong detachments, amounting to almost the whole army in Traloes Montes, and immediately laid siege to Almeida, the strongest and best provided place on the frontiers of Portugal. Besides, it was of the greatest importance from its middle situation, as the possession of it would greatly facilitate the operations upon every side, and would especially tend to forward an attempt upon Lisbon, the grand object, towards which, at this time, all

the endeavours of the Spaniards seem to have been directed. The trenches were opened on the twenty-fifth of July: next day the besiegers were reinforced by eight thousand French auxiliaries; and on the twenty-fifth of August the garrison capitulated, after having made a much longer and more resolute defence than was at first expected. This conquest left all the adjoining country at the mercy of the invaders. They spread themselves over the whole territory of Castel Branco, a principal district of the province of Beira, making their way to the southward, until they approached the banks of the Tagus.

PORTUGUESE RECOVER THEMSELVES.

THIS rapid career of the Spaniards was not, however, of long continuance. Lord Tyravley's disputes with the Portuguese ministry had hitherto prevented the allies from acting in perfect harmony and concert against the enemy. But after his recall, and the arrival from Germany of a very celebrated officer, who was appointed commander in chief of all the forces, the affairs of the country began quickly to assume a different appearance. This officer was the Count de la Lippe Bueckeburg, who had commanded the artillery of the British army in Westphalia during the whole course of the war, and who had given the most unequivocal proofs of his valour and capacity. He was accompanied by one of the princes of Mecklenburg Strélitz, brother to the queen of Great Britain, who resolved to make this campaign in Portugal. He also found at the head of the British troops some generals well qualified to assist him both in council and in the field. Lord Tyravley had left behind him his second in command the earl of London, a man of great experience and sagacity. The next post was filled by lieutenant-general Townshend, who had served with very high reputation in America; and the subordinates were lord George Lenox, with the brigadier-generals Crawford and Burgoyne, all of them officers of approved merit. As the Count de la Lippe was an entire stranger to all the subjects of debate, which had existed between the late British commander and the court of Lisbon, more unanimity was now likely to prevail: the spirits of the whole nation began to revive; and the hopes then formed of more successful exertions were fully justified by the event.

GENERAL BURGOYNE PENETRATES INTO SPAIN.

THE third body of Spanish troops, destined for the southern invasion into Portugal, assembled on the frontiers of Estremadura, with an intention of penetrating into the province of Alentejo. Had this third corps been joined to the others already in Portugal, it would probably have formed such an army as might, in spite of any obstruction, have forced its way to Lisbon: had it acted separately, it might have greatly distracted the defence, so as to enable some other corps to penetrate to that city. It was necessary to prevent, if possible, their entrance into Portugal; since their mere entrance would have been almost equal to a victory on their side. The Count de la Lippe, therefore, formed a design of attacking an advanced party of them in a town on the frontiers, called Valencia d'Alcantara, where he heard they had amassed considerable magazines. The conduct of this enterprise was committed to Brigadier-General Burgoyne. This active and judicious officer, though at a distance of five days' march, and in spite of all the disappointments and obstructions to which services of this kind are so liable, when they cannot be executed immediately, effected a complete surprise of the enemy on the morning of the twenty-seventh of August. He hoped to have reached the place the night before, and had made the disposition for attack accordingly. But finding himself overtaken by day-light, he altered his plan, and advancing with his own dragoons and a small party of irregular cavalry in full gallop, he entered the town of Valencia sword in hand; dispersed the guards that were in the great square; and secured the entrances into it with very little difficulty. The rest of his forces, consisting of all the British grenadiers, and eleven companies of Portuguese grenadiers, with some infantry and a few armed peasants, soon came up to support their gallant leader. The Spanish general who was to have commanded in the intended in-

vasion, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the victor, who brought away hostages for the care of the wounded, and the payment of the king's revenue for one year, which he exacted as a consideration for having spared the town and convents. This important service was performed with very little loss on the part of the British troops. The enemy had to lament the total destruction of one of the best regiments in the Spanish service.

Although the information which the count de la Lippe had received about the magazines proved to be groundless, the other advantages resulting from the enterprise made ample amends for that disappointment. The taking of the Spanish general disconcerted the plan which he was then on the point of carrying into execution: for, at the very moment of his being made prisoner, he was actually employed in reconnoitering the entrance into the province of Alentejo, where he proposed to march in a few days. This seemed to have been for some time the destination not only of the troops under the captured general's command, but also the great object of the Spanish army which had hitherto acted in Beira. The former of these provinces is a plain, open, fertile country, where their cavalry, which constituted their chief force, might have acted decisively: whereas the latter was a rough, mountainous region, in which the horse were subverted with difficulty, and could be of little service. To prevent therefore the entry of the Bourbon army from any quarter into Alentejo was to the allies an object of the highest moment. General Burgoyne, by this expedition into the Spanish territories, had already prevented it in one part; and the vigilance and activity of the same officer had no small share in preventing it also on the other.

That part of the Bourbon army, which acted in the territory of Castel Branco, had made themselves masters of several important passes, which they obliged some bodies of the Portuguese to abandon. They attacked the rear of the combined army, which was passing the river Alentejo, with the appearance of a retreat; but, in reality, with a view to draw them insensibly into the mountainous tracts. Here they were repulsed with loss; but still they continued masters of the country; and nothing remained but the passage of the Tagus, to enable them to take up their quarters in Alentejo. General Burgoyne, who was posted with an intention to obstruct them in their passage, lay in the neighbourhood, and within view of a detached camp, composed of a considerable body of their cavalry, near a village called Villa Velha. As he observed that the enemy kept no very solidly guard in this post, and were uncovered in their rear and their flanks, he conceived a design of falling on them by surprise. He considered the execution of this design to colonel Lee, who turned their camp, fell upon their rear in the night of the sixth of October, made a considerable slaughter, dispersed the whole party, destroyed their magazines, and returned with scarce any loss. Burgoyne, in the mean time, supported him by a feint attack in another quarter, which prevented the enemy's being relieved from the adjacent posts.

SPANIARDS RETREAT.

THIS advantage, being obtained in a critical moment, was attended with important consequences. The season was now far advanced; and the roads became impassable through the heavy rains which fell: so that the enemies, destitute of strong posts, and of magazines for the subsistence of their horse, retreated to the frontiers of their own country, where their supplies were at hand, and where they were not liable to be harassed by the efforts of the combined army. Thus was Portugal saved by the wise conduct of the count de la Lippe, and the distinguished valour of the English commanders and soldiery; and thus did the insatiable menaces of the Bourbon confederacy terminate in their own disappointment and confusion. There never was probably so heavy a storm of national calamity, ready to fall upon an unprovided people, so happily averted, or so speedily blown over.

TRIUMPH OF GREAT BRITAIN AT SEA.

BUT it was at sea, the favourite element of Britain, that the success of her arms was most conspicuous. In vain had her enemies endeavoured to draw off her attention from maritime enterprises, and to employ her chief strength in continental

wars: she found means to baffle their most vigorous efforts both in Germany and Portugal; her glorious exertions by land in the defence of her friends and allies, did not divert her from giving the fullest scope to her naval power in the enlargement of her commerce and her conquests. The French West India islands were the first objects of attack; and the failure of the armament sent out against Martinico in the year 1759, under Mr. Pitt's administration, did not discourage his successors in office from making another attempt. The plan they laid down for this purpose, and the preparations made to give it effect and to extend its advantages, have been already explained. Every part of it was executed with a degree of precision and spirit which corresponded well with the boldness and wisdom of the conception.

CAPTURE OF MARTINICO, AND OTHER WEST INDIA ISLANDS.

THE squadron designed for this purpose, which had sailed from England in October with four battalions draughted from the garrison of Belleisle, having been reinforced at Barbadoes by eleven battalions from New-York and some regiments from the Leeward islands, proceeded with the fleet already on that station towards Martinico on the fifth of January. The whole armament consisted of about ten thousand land forces, commanded by general Monckton, and eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, under the direction of rear-admiral Rodney. They came within sight of Martinico on the seventh of January; and the troops landed at a creek called Cas Navire, without the loss of a man, the ships having been disposed so properly, and having directed their fire with such effect, that the enemy was obliged in a short time to abandon the batteries which they had erected to defend this inlet.

The whole island, which is mountainous and unequal, is intersected with deep gullies hollowed out by rapid torrents, so as greatly to impede the progress of an army, particularly with regard to its artillery. These obstructions were no where greater than in the neighbourhood of Fort-Royal, against which the first regular attack was proposed. This town is commanded by two considerable eminences, called Morne Tortenson and Morne Garnier, the natural strength of which was improved by every contrivance of art. The former was first to be reduced. A body of regulars and marines, supported by a thousand sailors in flat-bottomed boats, advanced on the right along the sea shore, in order to force the redoubts which lay in the lower grounds. On the left, towards the country, a detachment of light infantry, with a proper reserve behind them, was to turn the enemy's flank; whilst the attack in the centre was made by the British grenadiers and the remainder of the army, under the fire of batteries erected with great labour on the opposite heights. They drove the French from post to post, till after a sharp struggle, the British banners were fixed on the top of the hill. Some of the fugitives were pursued to the very gates of the town: others saved themselves on Morne Garnier, which being much higher than Morne Tortenson, left the victorious troops still exposed to great annoyance from the enemy.

Three days elapsed, before proper arrangements could be made for dislodging the French from their second eminence. In the midst of these preparations, their whole force descended from the hill, sallied out of the town, and made a furious assault on the advanced posts; but they were immediately repulsed by the British troops, who, hurried on by their ardour, improved a defensive advantage into an attack, passed the gullies, mingled with the enemy, scaled the hill, seized the batteries, dispersed the militia, and drove the regulars into the town. All the positions which overlooked and commanded Fort Royal being now secured, the batteries against it were no sooner completed, than it surrendered on the fourth of February; and in three days after, Pigeon-island, which was deemed one of the best defences of the harbour, followed the example of the citadel. Fourteen French privateers were found there; and a much greater number, from other ports in the island, were afterwards delivered up to admiral Rodney, in consequence of the favourable terms granted to the inhabitants.

Still, however, St. Pierre, the capital, remained to be reduced; and it was apprehended that the

resistance there might be considerable, if the spirit and perseverance of the garrison corresponded with the strength of the fortifications, and with the natural advantages of the country. But the reduction of Fort Royal had greatly abated the enemy's confidence. The militia, in particular, despaired of making any effectual defence. Influenced by these motives, and disheartened by the train of misfortunes which had every where attended the French arms, they resolved to hold out no longer; and on the twelfth of February, just as general Monckton was ready to embark for the reduction of St. Pierre, he was prevented by the arrival of two deputies, who came to capitulate for the surrender of that place and of the whole island.

The conquest of Martinico, which was the seat of the superior government, the principal force in the Caribbees, naturally drew after it the submission of all the dependent islands. Grenada, though, from the nature of its situation, it might have made a vigorous defence, surrendered without opposition. The British troops found as little difficulty in taking possession of St. Lucia, Tobago, and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been an object of dispute between the two nations. The Grenadillas and the other little isles, which are scattered up and down in the same seas, were incapable of making any resistance; and it is also probable, that if they had been places of much greater strength, the prosperity of Guadeloupe under the British government would have been a strong temptation to their easy and general surrender. St. Domingo was the only spot which the French still retained in the Archipelago of America; and the loss of that did not appear to be far distant. An object of more consequence diverted the storm to one of the most valuable possessions of the Spaniards in the West Indies.

ARMAMENT DESPATCHED AGAINST THE HAVANNAH.

BEFORE the success of the expedition against Martinico was known in England, the ministry, confident that it could not have failed, had given orders for a considerable part of the forces employed there to re-embark, and to sail in a westerly direction to a certain rendezvous, where in case of a rupture with Spain, they were to be joined by another armament, in order to make a descent upon the island of Cuba. The latter squadron left Portsmouth the fifth of March, and very happily met the proposed division of the former fleet, under Sir James Douglas, at Cape Nicholas, the north-west point of Hispaniola, on the twenty-seventh of May. After this junction, their force amounted to nineteen ships of the line, eighteen small vessels of war, and near one hundred and fifty transports, with about ten thousand troops on board. A supply of four thousand more was also expected from north America. Lord Albemarle, the friend and disciple of the duke of Cumberland, had the command of the land forces: the marine was under admiral Pococke, who having contributed by his valour towards that sovereignty which his country had obtained in the East Indies, was now chosen to extend its empire in the West.

As the hurricane season was more to be dreaded than the resistance of the enemy, the utmost expedition was necessary. The admiral, therefore, instead of keeping to the south of Cuba, which though very safe, would prove by far the most tedious way, resolved to run along the northern shore of that island, pursuing his career from east to west through the old straits of Bahama, a much shorter, but more dangerous passage, being very narrow, and bounded on the right and left by sands and shoals, which render the navigation so hazardous, that it has usually been avoided by single and small vessels. There was no pilot in the fleet whose experience could be depended on to conduct them safely through it. The admiral, however, being provided with a good chart of Lord Anson's, was determined to make the experiment, and to trust to his own sagacity, conduct, and vigilance. So bold an attempt had never been made; but every precaution was taken to guard this boldness from the imputation of temerity. A vessel was sent to reconnoitre the passage, and, when returned, was ordered to take the lead: some frigates followed: sloops and boats were stationed on the shallows to the right and

left, with well adapted signals both for the day and the night: the fleet moved in seven divisions; and being favoured with pleasant weather, and secured by the admirable dispositions which were made, they, without the smallest loss, or interruption, got clear through this perilous passage, seven hundred miles in length, on the fifth of June, having entered it the twenty-seventh of May.

The Havannah, the object of their long voyage, and of so many anxious hopes and fears, was now before them. This place is not denominated the capital of Cuba: St. Jago, situated at the south-east part of the island, has that title: but the Havannah, though the second in rank, is the first in wealth, size, and importance. The harbour, which is perhaps the best in the world, is entered by a narrow passage about half a mile long, and expanding itself afterwards into a capacious basin, sufficient to contain a thousand and sail of the largest ships, having almost throughout six fathom water, and being perfectly covered from every wind. Here the rich fleets from the several parts of the Spanish settlements rendezvous, before they finally set out on their voyage to Europe;—a circumstance which has rendered the Havannah, one of the most opulent, flourishing, and populous cities in the western world. Suitable to its importance was the care with which the narrow entrance into the bay was fortified. On a projecting point of land, to the east of the channel, stood the Moro, a very strong fort, having two bastions toward the sea, and two more on the land side, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of a rock. The opposite point to the westward was secured by another fort called the Punta, which was also surrounded by a ditch cut in the same manner, and was every way well calculated for co-operating with the Moro in the defence of the harbour. It had likewise some batteries that opened upon the country, and flanked part of the town wall. But this wall and the fortifications of the city itself were not in very good condition. The wall and the bastions wanted repair: the ditch was dry and of no considerable width; and the covered way was almost in ruins, but it was utterly impracticable to attack it by sea, the entrance of the harbour being not only defended by the forts, but by fourteen Spanish ships of the line, three of which were afterwards sunk in the channel, and a boom laid across it.

SIEGE OF THE MORO.

LORD ALBEMARLE resolved to begin with the siege of the Moro. He knew that the reduction of that fort must infallibly be followed by the surrender of the city; whereas, if he had attacked the town first, his army might have been so much weakened as to be unable to surmount the vigorous resistance of the fort, defended by the garrison, and by the flower of the inhabitants, zealous to save their own and the public treasure.

All was confusion and alarm, at the first sight of a hostile armament. Common prudence would have suggested the propriety of keeping their fleet ready for action; and as they were not far from an equality, and could be of very little service in the port, they should have put out to sea, and hazarded the issue of an engagement. A battle maintained with spirit, though finally unsuccessful, might have so far disabled their opponents as to entitle them for any farther attempts, after a dear-bought naval victory. The loss of the whole Spanish fleet in this way might have saved the city; but the city once taken, nothing could possibly save the fleet. Either through extreme cowardice or infatuation, the only use they made of their shipping was to sink three of them behind a strong boom at the mouth of the harbour.

When the British commanders had got every thing in readiness for landing, the admiral, with a great part of the fleet, bore away to the westward, and made a feint of disembarking the troops; while a detachment, protected by commodore Keppel and captain Harvey, approached the shore to the eastward, and landed there without opposition, a small fort which might give some disturbance, having been previously silenced. On this side, the principal army was destined to act. It was divided into two bodies; the one being immediately occupied in the attack on Fort Moro, and the other in covering the siege, and in protecting the parties employed in procuring water and provisions. The former corps was commanded by major-general Keppel,

and the latter by Lieutenant-general Elliot. A detachment under colonel Howe, was encamped near the west side of the town, to cut off its communication with the country, and to keep the enemy's attention divided.

The hardships, which the troops sustained in carrying on the siege, are almost incredible. The earth was every where so thin, that it was with great difficulty they could cover themselves in their approaches. The want of water was also very distressing. They were obliged to fetch it from a great distance, as there was not any spring or river near them; and so scanty and precarious was the supply, procured with much labour, that they often found it necessary to have recourse to what the ships could afford. Roads of communication were to be cut through thick woods; and the artillery was to be dragged for a vast way, over a rough rocky shore. In these painful efforts, under a burning sun, many of the men dropp'd down dead with heat, thirst, and fatigue. Every obstacle was at length surmounted by the most astonishing perseverance; and batteries erected along a ridge on a level with the fort, were opened with great effect. The ships in the harbour were driven further back; so as not to be able to molest the besiegers; and a sally made by the garrison was repulsed with great slaughter.

Whilst these works were vigorously pushed on above, the navy, not contented with the great assistance which they had before lent to every part of the land service, resolved to make an attempt which was more directly within their province. Accordingly, on the first of July, the very day that the batteries were opened, three of the largest ships, under captain Harvey, laid their broadsides against the fort, and began a terrible fire which lasted seven hours without intermission. The Moro returned it with great constancy, and being situated on a very high and steep rock, was proof against all efforts. Besides, the guns from the opposite fort of Patal, and from the town galled them extremely; inasmuch, that in order to save the ships from absolute destruction, they were obliged at length, and unwillingly, to bring them off. Even this retreat was not effected without difficulty, as they were very much shattered in so long and unequal a contest. But, though no impression was made on the works which the ships attacked, the attempt was nevertheless of considerable service. The attention of the defendants was so much engaged that they neglected the other side of the fort, and allowed the fire of the English batteries to become superior.

As soon, however, as the Spaniards were released from the ships of war; they returned to their duty on the land side, and revived their defence with great spirit. An unremitted cannonade was kept up by both parties for several days with a fierce emulation; and the military skill and spirit of the assailants were put to the severest trial. In the midst of this sharp and doubtful contention, the capital battery against the fort took fire, and being chiefly constructed of timber and fascines dried by intense heat, the flames soon became too powerful for opposition. The battery was almost wholly consumed. The labour of six hundred men for seventeen days was destroyed in a few hours, and all was to begin anew. This stroke was the more severely felt, as it happened at a time when the other hardships of the siege were become almost intolerable. The diseases of the climate, increased by rigorous duty, had reduced the army to half its number. Five thousand soldiers were at one time unfit for service, through various distempers; and three thousand sailors were in the same miserable condition. The want of necessaries and refreshments aggravated their sufferings, and retarded their recovery. The provisions were bad; and the necessity of bringing, from a distance, a scanty supply of water, exhausted all their force. Besides, as the season advanced, the prospect of succeeding grew fainter. The hearts of the most sanguine sunk within them, when they beheld this gallant army wasting away; and considered that the noble fleet, which had rode so long on an open shore, must be exposed to inevitable ruin, if the hurricane season should come on before the reduction of the place. A thousand languishing and impatient looks were cast out for the reinforcement, which was expected from North America: but none appeared; and the few, who still preserved some remains of strength,

were obliged to bear up under the load of double duty, and of afflicting accidents. Another battery took fire, before the former could be repaired; and the toll of the besiegers unfortunately increased, in proportion as their strength was diminished. Many fell into despair and died, overcome with fatigue, anguish, and disappointment.

But however great the distresses, however small the numbers of those that were left, they made efforts which would not have disgraced the largest and the best appointed army. The rich prize which lay before them, the shame of returning home baffled, and even the strenuous resistance of the enemy, engaged their interest, their honour, their pride; and roused them to the exertion of every nerve. The batteries were replaced: their fire became equal, and soon superior to that of the fort: they silenced its guns; they dismantled its upper works; and, on the twentieth of July they made a lodgment in the covered way. Not many days after, they received a considerable part of the reinforcement from America. Four of the transports had been wrecked in the straits of Bahama; but the men were saved on the adjacent islands, and were happily brought off by five sloops, which the admiral had immediately detached on this service. Five other transports, having about five hundred soldiers on board, had been taken by a French squadron. All the rest of the troops arrived in perfect health.

These favourable events gave fresh vigour to the operations of the siege: but a sudden difficulty appeared, just at the seeming accomplishment of the work. An immense ditch, cut in the solid rock, eighty feet deep, and forty wide, yawned before them and stopped their progress. To fill it up by any means appeared impossible. Difficult as the work of mining was in those circumstances, it was the only expedient. It might have proved impracticable, had not a thin ridge of rock been fortunately left, to cover the ditch towards the sea. On this narrow ridge, the miners, though quite exposed, passed the gulf with very little loss, and buried themselves in the wall.

It now became visible to the governor of the Havannah, that the Moro must be speedily reduced, if left to its own strength. He therefore resolved to attempt something for its relief. Accordingly, on the twenty second of July, before break of day, a body of twelve hundred men, mostly composed of the country militia, mulattoes and negroes, were transported across the harbour, climbed the hills, and made three different attacks on the English posts. The ordinary guards, though surprised, defended themselves so resolutely, that the Spaniards made little impression, and were not able to ruin any part of the approaches. The attacked posts were speedily reinforced; and the enemy, who were little better than a disorderly rabble, and not conducted by proper officers, fell into terror and confusion. They were driven precipitately down the hill with great slaughter: some gained their boats; others were drowned; and they lost in this well imagined, but ill executed sally, upwards of four hundred men.

This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro; which, abandoned as it was by the city, and while an enemy was undermining its walls, held out with a sullen resolution, and made no sort of proposal to capitulate. The mines at length did their business. On the thirtieth of July, a part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch, leaving a breach, which, though very narrow and difficult, was judged practicable by the general and engineer. The troops, ordered on this most dangerous of all service, rejoiced that they had so near a prospect of terminating their dreadful toils. They cheerfully prepared for the assault, and mounting the breach, under the command of Lieutenant Forbes, supported by Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, they entered the fort with so much order and intrepidity, as entirely disconcerted the garrison. Four hundred of the Spaniards were cut in pieces, or perished in attempting to make their escape by water to the city. The rest threw down their arms, and received quarter. The marquis de Gonzalez, the second in command, was killed in making brave but ineffectual efforts to stop the flight of his countrymen; and don Lewis de Velasco, the governor, having collected a small body of resolute soldiers in an intrenchment round the flag-staff, gloriously fell in defending his colours, which nothing could induce

him to strike. The English had but two lieutenants and twelve men killed; and one lieutenant, with four sergeants, and twenty four privates wounded.

SURRENDER OF THE MORO, AND THE ISLAND.

No sooner did the Spaniards in the town and in Port Puntal see the besiegers in possession of the Moro, than they directed all their fire against that place. Meanwhile the British troops, encouraged by their success, were vigorously employed in re-mounting the guns of the captured fort, and in erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the city. These batteries being completed, and sixty pieces of cannon ready to play upon the Havannah, lord Albemarle, willing to prevent an unnecessary carnage, sent his aid-de-camp, on the tenth of August, with a flag of truce, to summon the governor to surrender, and make him sensible of the unavoidable destruction that was ready to fall upon the place. The governor replied, that he was under no uneasy apprehensions, and would hold out to the last extremity. But he was soon brought to reason. The very next morning, the batteries were opened against him with such effect, that in six hours all his guns were silenced: flags of truce were hung out in every quarter of the town; and a deputy was sent to the camp of the besiegers, in order to settle the terms of capitulation. A cessation of hostilities immediately took place; and, as soon as the terms were adjusted, the city of Havannah, and a district of one hundred and eighty miles to the westward included in its government, the Puntal castle, and the ships in the harbour, were surrendered to his Britannic majesty. The Spaniards struggled a long time to save the men of war, and to have the harbour declared neutral; but after two days' altercation, they were obliged to give up those capital points as wholly inadmissible. The garrison were allowed the honour of war, and were to be conveyed to Spain. Private property was secured to the inhabitants, with the enjoyment of their former laws and religion. Without violating this last article, which rendered the property of individuals sacred, the conquerors, who took possession of the city on the fourteenth of August, found a booty there, computed at near three millions sterling, in silver and valuable merchandise belonging to the Catholic king, besides an immense quantity of arms, artillery, and military stores.

This was the most considerable, and in its consequences the most decisive blow which had been struck since the beginning of the war. It united in itself all the honours and advantages that can be acquired in hostile enterprises. It was a military triumph, that reflected the brightest lustre on the courage, steadiness, and perseverance of the British troops. Its effect on the enemy's marine made it equal to the greatest naval victory. Nine ships of the line and four frigates were taken: three of the former description had been sunk by the Spaniards, as already mentioned, at the beginning of the siege, to stop up the entrance into the port; and two more, that were in forwardness on the stocks, were destroyed by the conquerors. The harbour itself was of still greater value than the fleet. It absolutely commanded the only passage by which the Spanish ships could sail from the bay of Mexico to Europe; so that the court of Madrid could no longer receive any supplies from the West Indies, except by such routes as were equally tedious and uncertain. The reduction of the Havannah, therefore, not only distressed the enemy by stopping the sources of their wealth, but likewise opened to the English an easy avenue to the centre of their American treasures. The plunder found at this place should also be taken into the account: it impoverished Spain, and enriched the captors; and though it contributed nothing directly to the public service, it might be said to increase the stock of the British nation, and to supply those prodigious drains of specie, foreign subsidies and foreign armies.

CAPTURE OF THE HERMIONE.

THE capture of the Spanish register ship, the *Hermione*, which happened in the latter end of May, just as she was on the point of entering one of the ports of old Spain, must be added to these resources. She was loaded with treasure and valuable effects, estimated at one million sterling, which was considerably more than had ever before

been taken in any one bottom. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England: and the gold and silver, being conveyed in covered waggons to London, was carried to the Tower with great parade. The waggons entered St. James's street in the morning of the twelfth of August, just after her majesty had been safely delivered of her first son, the Prince of Wales; and the king with many of the nobility, who were present, went to the windows over the palace gate, to see the procession, and joined their exclamations to those of the populace on two such joyful occasions.

INVASION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

BUT these losses though immense, were not the only ones, in which Spain was involved by her treacherous and precipitate junction with France. She soon received another dangerous wound in a very remote quarter, where she little expected so sudden an attack. The plan for invading the Philippine islands, which colonel Draper had laid before ministry upon the first rumour of a war with Spain, was now carried into execution. Nothing was demanded but a light frigate to carry colonel Draper to Madras, where he arrived in the latter end of June, with orders to employ such of the troops and squadron then in India as could be spared, to execute his important project.

This plan seemed the more feasible, as no great force was thought necessary to be kept in the peninsula after the total expulsion of the French and the humiliation of the Dutch in that quarter. The whole force for the land operations amounted to two thousand three hundred men, commanded by brigadier general Draper, who had been promoted to that rank on his arrival: the naval force consisted of nine men of war and frigates, besides some store-ships, under the direction of rear-admiral Cornish. In three weeks the preparations for forming this body, and getting ready all the stores, were begun, completed, and the whole shipped through a raging and perpetual storm.

A ship of force was despatched before the fleet through the straits of Malacca, in order to watch the entrance of the Chinese sea, and to intercept whatever vessels might be bound to Manilla, or sent from the neighbouring settlements, to give the Spaniards notice of the design. The East India company were to have a third of the booty or ransom: the government of the conquered country was also to be vested in them: and the land and sea forces were by mutual consent, to share between them, the several captures according to the rules established in the navy.

The fleet sailed from Madras the first of August. Proper dispositions were made for landing to the south of the town, on the twenty-fourth of September. The garrison consisted of eight hundred regular troops; and as the place was too extensive to be entirely surrounded by the English army, its communication was open with the country, which poured in to its assistance ten thousand natives, a fierce and daring race, as remarkable for their hardness and contempt of death, as most of the other Indians are for their cowardice and effeminacy. Had it been the interest of the Spaniards to have taught them the use of arms, Manilla would have been impregnable. The governor, who was also the archbishop of the Philippine islands, united in his own person, by a policy not wholly without precedent in the Spanish colonies, the civil power, the command of the forces, and the ecclesiastical dignity. But however unqualified by his priestly character for the defence of a city attacked, he seemed not unfit for it by his intrepidity and resolution. In less than two days all the defences of the Spaniards were completely destroyed; and they had no resource left but in vigorous sallies.

MANILLA AND THE PHILIPPINES TAKEN.

GENERAL DRAPER therefore took the most effectual means for carrying the place by assault. The governor retired into the citadel; but as that place was not tenable, he soon surrendered at discretion. The humanity and generosity of the British commanders saved the town from a general and justly merited pillage. A ransom of four millions of dollars was promised for this relaxation of the laws of war. It was stipulated, at the same time, that all the other fortified places in the island, and in all the islands dependent on its government, should also be surrendered to his Britannic majesty.

The whole range of the Philippines fell with the city of Manila.

A valuable addition was made to this conquest, and a fresh wound was given to the enemy by a small part of the victorious fleet. During the siege, admiral Cornish received intelligence by the capture of an advice-ship, that the galleon from Acapulco was arrived at the straits which form the entrance into the archipelago of the Philippines. Two ships of the squadron, the Panther man of war and the Argo frigate were immediately despatched in quest of her. They were out six and twenty days, when the Argo, in the evening of the thirtieth of October, discovered a sail, which they did not doubt to be the same they looked for. Just as the two ships in company were approaching their object, the Panther was driven by the rapidity of a counter current among shallows and obliged to cast anchor. The Argo escaped the danger, overtook the galleon, and began a hot engagement with her, which continued for two hours. But the frigate was so unequally matched and so roughly received by the Spaniard, that she was obliged to desist, and to bring to in order to repair her damage. In this pause of action the current slackened; and the Panther, by strenuous exertion, and judicious management, got under sail with the galleon in sight, and about nine the next morning got up to her. It was not until she was battered for two hours, with half musquet shot, that she struck. So obstinate a resistance, with very little activity of opposition, surprised the English. In her first engagement with the Argo, this galleon mounted only six guns, though she was pierced for sixty. She had but thirteen in her engagement with the Panther. But she was a huge vessel lying like a mountain in the water; and the Spaniards trusted entirely to the excessive thickness of her sides, not altogether without reason, for the shot made no impression upon any part, except her upper works. Another subject of surprise occurred after she struck. Instead of the American galleon as was expected, returning with the treasures of Mexico to the Philippines, she proved to be that from Manila bound to Acapulco. She had proceeded a considerable way on her voyage, but meeting with a hard gale of wind in the great South-Sea, she was dismasted, and obliged to put back to redt. Though the captors were disappointed in their hopes of a ship full of silver, their prize was of immense value, her cargo in rich merchandise being worth more than half a million.

FAILURE OF AN EXPEDITION AGAINST BUENOS AYRES.

Nothing could reflect greater honour on the wisdom and vigour of the administration, under whose auspices so many important enterprises were carried into effect in different quarters of the globe, than the signal success which almost every where attended them. Only one expedition of inferior moment, failed during the whole campaign; and that failure was not owing to the temerity of the attempt, but to an unfortunate accident which could not have been guarded against by any stretch of human foresight. The circumstances attending it were equally melancholy and unexpected.

It was deemed expedient to encourage some private adventurers to add to the other operations against so extensive a sphere of commerce, an attack upon the colony of Buenos Ayres in South America. The conquest of this place was doubly desirable, as it would afford great security to the Portuguese settlements, and prove, at the same time, an excellent station for farther enterprises against the dominions of Spain upon the South-Sea. The Portuguese, therefore, being no less interested than the English in the issue of this undertaking, readily concurred to promote its success. The embarkation was made from the Tagus, on the thirtieth of August, and the force consisted of three stout frigates, and some small armed vessels and store-ships, with five hundred troops on board. They had for their commander captain Macnamara, an officer of courage and experience. Their voyage to the mouth of the Plata was expeditious and favourable. They arrived there on the second of November; but no sooner had they entered that vast river than they were attacked by a violent storm attended with thunder and lightning. The river itself is shoaly, and its navigation dangerous.

The Spaniards were also found better armed and better prepared for resistance than was expected, having even acted on the offensive with success, and taken, some time before, the Portuguese settlement of Nova Colonia, in which they found a very great booty, and a large quantity of military stores. On this view of things, the adventurers consulted together, and, after deliberation, judged it necessary to begin with the recovery of Nova Colonia, before they made any attack upon Buenos Ayres. An English pilot, who knew the place and river, undertook to carry the commodore's vessel into the harbour, and within pistol shot of the enemy's principal battery. They advanced to the attack with the fullest confidence of victory, and began a fierce fire which was quickly returned and supported, on both sides, for four hours with uncommon resolution. The Spanish batteries were almost silenced, when, just as their success seemed certain, the ship by some unknown accident took fire. The same moment discovered the flames and the impossibility of extinguishing them. The scene of horror and confusion that followed is undescribable. The commodore was drowned; and of three hundred and forty souls, only seventy eight in all escaped. The other vessels of the squadron, far from being able to yield any assistance to the sufferers, were obliged to get off as expeditiously as they could, lest they should have been involved in the same fate. As they had also received some damage in the action, it was with great difficulty that they made good their retreat to the Portuguese settlement at Rio de Janeiro.

DISASTERS SUSTAINED BY SPAIN AND FRANCE.

As this was the only check which Great Britain met with in the career of conquest, so it was the only little triumph that Spain enjoyed after a continual series of defeats and disasters. In the course of one year, she saw herself stripped of the most valuable of her distant possessions: her ships of war, her merchant-men, her treasures, had every where become the prey of a watchful, active, and irresistible enemy: the intercourse between the mother country and her remaining colonies was almost totally cut off: Such were the fruits of her treachery to Great Britain,—such the consequences of her yielding to the artful and self-interested suggestions of France.

France had as little reason to exult in the success of her intrigues at the court of Madrid. The Bourbon confederacy served only to involve both powers in the same disasters. The attempts in Germany and Portugal, where their fondest hopes lay, ended in the most mortifying disappointment. The loss of Martinico and its dependencies was a severe blow to France. So far from being able to make any attempts to regain those islands, she had it not in her power to send out a sufficient force to secure the only settlements that still remained to her from sharing the same fate. Her navy was so much reduced, that she could only spare very small squadrons for any undertaking; and she was frequently obliged to trust to single frigates and transports for the conveyance of re-inforcements to St. Domingo and Louisiana. These seldom escaped the vigilance of the British cruisers. Her merchant-ships were, for the same reason, left equally exposed. A detail of all the single captures made upon her trade would be endless. She lost at one time, a fleet of twenty five sail, richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo, which had taken their departure from Cape Francois for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of the merchant-men were surprised and taken in the night by some privateers of New York and Jamaica. Next day commodore Keppel fell in with the remainder, and having captured them and their convoy, sent the whole into Port-royal harbour.

ATTEMPT TO BURN A BRITISH SQUADRON.

If France was thus incapable of defending herself at sea, it was not likely that her offensive operations on the same element could be very vigorous or formidable. She made some attempts, however, which proved ultimately fruitless. Two of them deserve notice. The object of the first was to burn the British ships of war at anchor in Basque-road, where they were stationed to watch the coast of Brittany, and Brest harbour in particular. The enemy prepared three fire vessels,

which being chained together were jowed out of the port, and set on fire, with a strong breeze that wafted them directly towards the English squadron. Through hurry, mistake, or accident, two of them blew up with a terrible explosion; and every person on board perished. The wind, also, suddenly shifting, drove them clear of the ships which they were intended to destroy. Had they been managed with the coolness and intrepidity so requisite upon such occasions, they might have done some execution.

NEWFOUNDLAND TAKEN BY THE FRENCH, BUT RETAKEN.

THE next offensive effort of any moment, which France made upon the ocean, was directed against Newfoundland. Monsieur de Ternay, with a squadron of four men of war, and a proportionable number of land forces under the command of Monsieur de Haesonville, having at first eluded observation in their departure from Brest, and afterwards baffled pursuit in their voyage cross the Atlantic, entered the Bay of Bulls on the 24th of June, and landed some troops without opposition. Having taken possession of an inconsiderable settlement in that bay, they advanced to the town of St. John's, which being in no condition of defence, readily capitulated. One company of soldiers, of which the garrison of the fort consisted, were made prisoners of war. This exercise of their power was of very short duration. As soon as the news reached England, a force was immediately fitted out to retake those places. But the vigilance and activity of general Amherst, who had the chief command in North America, superseded the necessity of this armament. He detached colonel Amherst with a body of forces, and lord Colville with a small, but sufficient squadron, to recover the island. The land forces attacked some detachments of the French advantageously posted in the neighbourhood of St.

John's; and prepared to attack St. John's itself with so much vigour and activity, that Monsieur d'Haesonville, who had remained there as governor, thought proper to deliver up that place on the eighteenth of September, and to surrender himself and garrison prisoners of war, before lord Colville could arrive from the place where the troops had been landed, to co-operate with them. Monsieur de Ternay escaped with the fleet, partly by having gained a considerable distance, by means of a thick fog; and partly because lord Colville, after their having been discovered, did not apprehend that they really were the ships of the enemy.

OVERTURES FOR PEACE.

THUS did all the operations, both naval and military, of the year 1763 remarkably concur to humble the pride, and to dash the hopes of the Bourbon confederacy. France was convinced by woeful experience, that the present at least was not the favourable time for drawing from the family compact all the advantages with which she had vainly flattered herself. Disconcerted in her views of giving the law to Great Britain, she now felt in good earnest those moderate and pacific sentiments, which she had formerly professed, but the sincerity of which was at that time rather questionable. Spain, in like manner, having suffered beyond example, during her short engagement in the contest, and labouring under the most dreadful apprehensions of future misfortunes, keenly repeated of the steps she had taken, and wished to recede. As every day brought intelligence to both of some mortifying stroke, they did not wait for the issue of all the enterprises before related, but endeavoured in the beginning of September, to put a stop by early negotiation to calamities, which they foregave the improbability of averting by war. Happily for them, as well as for the general tranquillity, they found the court of London favourably disposed to listen to their peaceful overtures.

CHAPTER V.

Causes and Effects of the sincere Dispositions of all Parties towards Peace—Motives of national Policy for encouraging Pacific Proposals—Want of perfect Harmony in the Cabinet—Changes in Administration—Dukes of Bedford and Nivernois employed in the Negotiation—Difference between this and the Treaty in 1761—Conduct of the Courts with Respect to their German Allies—Change in the Behaviour of the British Ministry towards the King of Prussia justified—France guided by the same Alteration of Circumstances; and the Peace of Germany restored—The Article relating to Portugal very easily settled—Circumstances which facilitated the Adjustment of Great Britain's direct Concerns—Extent of her Acquisitions in North America by this Treaty—Terms annexed to the Surrender of St. Pierre and Miquelon—Spain's Renunciation of her Pretensions to the Fishery—Arrangement Respecting the French West India Islands—The Havannah restored on very moderate Terms—Cession and Exchange of the other Conquests in Africa, the East Indies, and Europe—Sacrifice made by France to the honour of Great Britain, in suppressing the old Claim on Account of Prizes before the Declaration of War—Preliminaries signed by the British and French Ministers at Fontainebleau—Disputes concerning the Articles of the Peace—Coalition between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt's Adherents—Meeting of Parliament—Conflict in the House of Commons—The Security of our Colonies—Majority in Favour of the Address—Arrival of three Cherokee Chiefs in England.

SITUATION OF THE BELLIGERENTS.

THE delays that frequently took place in the course of the former negotiation, and the pretexts finally made use of to break it off, form a striking contrast, when opposed to the despatch with which concerns of still greater importance were afterwards adjusted, as soon as the intentions of all parties towards peace became cordial and sincere. France and Spain had, indeed, no other resource; and Great Britain herself was not so intoxicated with success, as to prefer the continuance of expensive and hazardous efforts to a satisfactory termination of hostilities. The sentiments of the sovereign, the temper of the people at the time, the state of the nation as well as of parties, and many other motives of humanity, policy, and patriotism concurred to render the ministry very earnest in their advances to the accomplishment of so desirable an object.

In all the king's speeches to parliament, he had constantly expressed an anxious wish to see the tranquillity of his kingdoms restored; and had declared, as before taken notice of, that the only use he proposed to make of the advantages gained over the enemy in war, was to procure for his subjects the blessings of peace, on safe and honourable conditions. The happy moment was now arrived, when the offers made by the humbled house of Bourbon enabled his majesty to demonstrate to the world, that those were not studied or delusive professions, but that he had really spoken the language of his Heart.

There is no doubt but that the country, in the midst of all her successes, had the most urgent occasion for peace. Though her trade had been greatly augmented, a circumstance without example favourable; and though many of her conquests were not less valuable than glorious; yet her supplies of money, great as they were, did not keep pace with her expenses. The supply of men too, which was necessary to furnish the waste of so extensive a war, became sensibly diminished; and the troops were not recruited but with some difficulty, and at a heavy charge. Besides, every end that could be rationally proposed in carrying on the war, was answered: the designs of the enemy were frustrated in all parts of the globe; their daring encroachments had been repressed, and such conquests made upon them, as put it out of their power to insist upon any terms but those which might be dictated by the moderation and generosity of Great Britain. These strong motives of public policy, for encouraging pacific proposals, were farther enforced by other considerations. A change in the system of the British ministry had begun

this war: another change made it expedient to put an end to it.

It has been already observed, that the whole council, except lord Temple, were unanimous in their opposition to Pitt's scheme for precipitating the rupture with Spain. But their unanimity upon that occasion did not imply a perfect coincidence of opinion, or harmony of sentiment in other respects. He was not long removed from office, before it appeared that the remaining part of the system was framed upon principles so very discordant, that it was by no means likely to stand. The liberal ideas of the new king's friends, and the exclusive spirit of the old king's ministers, when brought as it were into immediate collision, kindled a flame, the violence of which was not to be easily subdued by any efforts of human sagacity.

Pitt had originally associated himself with the tory patriots, and first acquired distinction by opposing the corrupt measures of Sir Robert Walpole, the declared head of the whigs. After the latter was driven from the seat of power, Pitt occasionally temporised, being sometimes repated a whig, sometimes a tory, till he got the chief direction of public affairs, when he indiscriminately employed persons of all parties, with equal honour to himself and advantage to the state. Struck with such an example, that justified in practice the wisdom, as well as the liberality of the king's views, his majesty would have gladly availed himself of Pitt's assistance to complete so noble a design; to do away all local and party distinctions; and to establish a plan of administration, which would afford the most impartial encouragement to every man of virtue and abilities throughout the whole empire.

But his majesty's hopes of Pitt's concurrence were unhappily disappointed. This minister was, indeed, of no party; but it was rather owing to a defect, than to any excellence in his character. An imperious and unaccommodating disposition rendered him incapable of acting any otherwise than alone. Placing too great a confidence in the superiority of his own genius, he treated the opinions of others with too little delicacy. The want of more conciliating manners was a bar to any permanent union between him and his colleagues in office. Thus the state was prevented from enjoying the joint fruit of the wisdom of many able men, who might mutually have tempered, and mutually forwarded each other; and Pitt's extraordinary talents became not merely useless, but, upon some occasions, injurious to his country.

Soon after the resignation of Pitt, the duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury, grew extremely jealous of the earl of Bute's influence in the cabinet. This nobleman enjoyed a very dis-

tinguished share of his sovereign's esteem and confidence. His conduct was irreproachable; but he was said to be a tory. On this ground, therefore, the duke who had long been considered as the head of the whigs, hoped he could ruin the credit of his rival, by reviving those factious distinctions, on which his own merit principally rested. A loud clamour was therefore raised by the duke's hirelings against the tory favourites. But their malignant efforts served only to rivet the king's attachment to the object of their unmerited obloquy; and the duke found his own weight in administration daily decline. He accordingly thought himself obliged to resign in the latter end of May; and the earl of Bute was immediately placed at the head of the treasury. Mr. George Grenville, brother to earl Temple, became secretary of state in the room of his lordship; and the place of first commissioner of the admiralty being vacated by the death of lord Anson, that office was bestowed on the earl of Halifax, now returned from Ireland.

CHANGES IN ADMINISTRATION.

THE two last appointments were well calculated to lessen the unpopularity of the earl of Bute's promotion. Grenville's character for integrity and patriotism stood as high in public estimation as that of his brother, lord Temple; and, in point of application and abilities, he was certainly his superior. Any unfavourable impression, therefore, which might be made by the resignation of the one, ought naturally to have been effaced or counteracted by the other's acceptance of an office under the new minister. The earl of Halifax had acquitted himself in a variety of public employments with great applause. Such were the men, whom the earl of Bute was desirous of having associated with him in office; and it is not, perhaps, the least of his praise, that all the vacancies which happened in the higher departments of the state, during his administration, were uniformly filled by men of reputation and abilities.

The earl of Bute also thought it sound policy, in conformity with the system of liberal comprehension already explained, to attempt a coalition with the great body of the Tories, or country gentlemen of ancient families, who were able to yield him effectual support. They readily came into his measures; and as they had long been excluded from any share in the management of the state, they were now doubly zealous to show themselves worthy of the confidence of their king and country. Their efforts, however, were as vigorously opposed by the discontented party.

Whilst the nation was thus distracted by violent cabals, the conduct of a war became difficult; its continuance unsafe; and its supplies uncertain. If the administration failed, their failure would be imputed to incapacity: if they succeeded, their success would be converted into an argument for such terms of peace, as it would be impossible for them to procure. Above all, the ancient and known connection between the chiefs of the monied interest and the principal persons in the opposition, must have been a subject of great anxiety to the ministry. Those motives co-operated to render them most heartily inclined to peace.

The Bourbon courts and that of England thus concurring in the same point, all difficulties were speedily smoothed. Accordingly, on the fifth of September, the duke of Bedford set off for Paris, with the character of ambassador and plenipotentiary from the court of England, to negotiate a peace; and on the twelfth of the same month, the duke of Nivernois arrived in London, with the like commission from the French court.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.

VERY little time was spent in adjusting the outlines of the treaty, or explaining the principles on which it was to proceed. The negotiators seemed, in some measures, to assume as a basis those points which were nearest to a settlement in the treaty of 1761; and to commence where that transaction concluded. The spirit of the two negotiations, so far as regarded the peculiar interest of Great Britain, was almost perfectly similar. There was scarcely any other difference than that Great Britain, in consequence of her successes since that time, acquired more than she then demanded. With regard, indeed, to some of her allies, the principle of the two treaties was greatly varied; but this change was sufficiently

justified by the alteration which happened in the affairs of Germany, during the interval between both. Those, who conducted the negotiation in 1761, were steady in rejecting every proposition, in which they were not left at liberty to aid the king of Prussia with the whole force of great Britain: those, who concluded the peace in 1763, paid less attention to the ambitious or interested views of that monarch, though they did not neglect his safety. At the beginning of the year, and before they had entered into this negotiation, they refused to renew that article of the annual treaty, by which his Britannic majesty would have been engaged to conclude no peace without the king of Prussia; though, at the same time, they declared themselves willing to assist him with the usual subsidy. He, on his part, refused the subsidy unconnected with that article; and a coolness was supposed to take place between both courts for some time after.

The adjustment of affairs in the empire did not form any material obstruction to the progress of the treaty. Both parties readily agreed to withdraw themselves totally from the German war. They thought, and rightly, that nothing could tend so much to give peace to their respective allies, as mutually to withdraw their assistance from them; and to stop that current of English and French money, which, as long as it ran into Germany, would be sure to feed a perpetual war in that country.

When the former negotiation was on foot, the affairs of the king of Prussia were at the lowest ebb: he was overpowered by the whole weight of Austria, of Sweden, of the empire, and of Russia, as determined as ever in her enmity, and then successful; to say nothing of France. It would have been ungenerous, on the part of Great Britain, to have deserted him in that situation. But, at the time of making the last treaty, the condition of his affairs was absolutely reversed. He had got rid of the most powerful, and one of the most implacable of his enemies. He had also concluded a peace with Sweden. The treaty itself freed him from all apprehensions of France. He had, then, none to contend with, but a nominal army of the empire, and one of Austria, which, though something more than nominal, was wholly unable to oppose his progress. His situation from being pitiable, was become formidable. It was, perhaps, good policy to prevent the balance of Germany from being overturned to his prejudice: it would have been the worst in the world to overturn it in his favour. These principles sufficiently explain and justify the British ministry for so remarkable a change in their behaviour towards the king of Prussia.

The conduct of France upon both those occasions may be accounted for, nearly in the same manner. She had very justly excepted to the demand of the evacuation of Wesel, Cleves, and Gueldres, when made by Pitt in the first negotiation; because he refused to put an end to the German war. In this last treaty, the French assented without hesitation or difficulty, to the very same demand; because we agreed, in common with them, to be neutral in the disputes of the empire; the other contending powers being left to themselves, soon terminated their differences.

As the Bourbon confederacy had no pretext for the quarrel with Portugal, but the advantages which Great Britain derived, from her friendly intercourse with that country during the war, that article relating to his most faithful majesty did not admit of the least alteration. Any of his territories or possessions in Europe, or in any other part of the globe, which had fallen into the hands of the French and Spaniards, were to be evacuated by their troops, and restored in the same condition they were in when conquered.

After the concerns of the allies were provided for, the most important part of the treaty still remained, which was to adjust every thing that related to the settlements and commerce of Great Britain and of the Bourbon courts. The circumstance, which so much impeded this adjustment in the preceding negotiation, was the intervention of the claims of Spain. The attempt of the Bourbon powers to intermix and confound their affairs at that juncture, had a share in making the war more general: on this occasion it had a contrary effect. As the whole was now negotiated together, it facilitated the peace, by affording easier methods of regulating the system of compensation, and furnishing more largely to the general fund of equivalents.

The great object, and the original cause of the war, had been the establishment of precise boundaries in America. This was therefore the very first point to be now attended to; and it must be observed, that it was settled much more accurately, than it promised to be in the negotiation of the foregoing year. For the French, not having ascertained the limits between their own possessions with greater exactness, than they had those which separated them from the British possessions, it was not clear in ceding Canada, how much they really gave up. Disputes might have arisen, and, in fact, did immediately arise upon this subject. Besides, the western limits of the southern British colonies were not mentioned; and those limits were extremely obscure, and subject to many discussions. Such discussions contained in them the seeds of a new war. In the present treaty, it was agreed, that a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and thence along the middle of this river, and the lakes of Menapras and Pontchartrain, to the sea, should irrevocably fix the bounds of the two nations in North America. This line included a very large tract of country, which formerly made a part of Louisiana, in addition to what was properly called Canada; and these newly acquired territories of Great Britain, were farther enlarged and completely rounded by the cession of Florida on the part of Spain. As the northern boundaries had been long since settled by the treaty of Utrecht, all occasions of liminary disputes seemed to be effectually cut off; and the British possessions in America were as well defined, as the nature of such a country could possibly admit.

The Newfoundland fishery was a subject of much controversy. In a commercial view it is certainly of great estimation; but it has been considered as even more material in a political light. It is a grand nursery of seamen, and consequently one of the principal resources of the marine. Scarcely any object could be of more importance to two nations, who contended for a superiority of naval power. The English ministry despaired of excluding the French entirely from the fishery, and endeavoured as much as possible to diminish its value to them. In this respect they followed the plan of the former negotiation, except that some improvements were added.

In the first place, that article of the treaty of Utrecht was established, by which the French were admitted to fish, and to dry their fish on the north-east and north-west parts of Newfoundland, from Cape Bonavista to Point Biche; and were excluded from the rest of the island. They were also permitted to fish within the Gulf of St. Lawrence; but with this limitation,—that they should not approach within three leagues of any of the coasts belonging to England.

The second restriction imposed on the French fishery was, that it should not be exercised but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton, which was ceded to England. In return for this, the French obtained the full right of the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, his most christian majesty engaging not to erect any fortifications on these islands, nor to keep more than fifty soldiers there to enforce the police. In this article the plan of the former negotiation was pursued.

With regard to the pretensions of Spain, she entirely desisted from the right she claimed of fishing on these coasts. A more satisfactory, or more unequivocal expression should, and undoubtedly would have been insisted upon, if it had been of any great consequence, in what terms a right was renounced, which for a long time had never been exercised. The claim itself was almost as obsolete as that of the king of England to the dominions of France. The British ministry laid very little stress on such a trifle; but they suffered it to be thrown, as a sort of make-weight, into the scale of Spanish sacrifices.

When the affairs of the West Indies came to be settled, though they caused great difference of opinion among the public, they did not seem to raise any considerable difficulty in the negotiation. There England had made great conquests, and there also she had made great concessions. She restored to France the islands of Martinico, Guadeloupe, and Marigalante, besides an assignment, or surrender of the neutral island of St. Lucia. Of

her late acquisitions she only retained Dominica, Tobago, St. Vincent's, and the Grenades. To the three former she had an old claim, which was now confirmed; the latter were ceded and guaranteed to her in full right.

As the intelligence of the success of the British arms at the Havannah had arrived before the settlement of this part of the treaty relative to the West Indies, it was in order to obtain the restoration of that valuable conquest, that Spain agreed to some articles before enumerated, namely, the evacuation of all conquests made upon Portugal, or her foreign colonies; the cession of Florida, with the forts of St. Augustine and Pensacola; the renunciation of the rights to the Newfoundland fishery; and, in addition to these, Spain also consented not to disturb the English in their occupation of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, and to permit them to build houses there for the convenience of their trade. It was stipulated, however, in this last grant, that they should demolish their fortifications on that coast, as a tacit acknowledgment, that the privilege they were now suffered to enjoy was not founded upon right, but derived from favour.

In Africa, Goree was restored to France, and Senegal remained to Great Britain. In the East Indies, all the factories and settlements taken from the French since the beginning of the war, were given up to them, on condition of their engaging in the first place, not to erect any forts, nor to keep any number of soldiers whatsoever in the province of Bengal; and secondly, to acknowledge the reigning sultan of Bengal, Decan, and the Carnatic, as the lawful sovereigns of these countries. In Europe, Minorca and Belleisle were to be restored to their former possessors; and the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk were to be demolished, agreeably to the stipulations of former treaties.

There was one article totally omitted in the present treaty, though it had been the subject of the most warm and obstinate controversy in the former negotiation. This was the restitution of the prizes made by England previous to the declaration of war. On this point, the ministers of the two courts appeared at that time equally positive, the one to demand, the other to refuse such a restitution. It was, indeed, impossible, for the former to relinquish, or for the latter to admit the claims, without bringing some reproach on their respective governments. France could not now make a greater sacrifice to the honour of Great Britain in the eyes of all Europe, than by passing over that matter in total silence.

But if the honour of the British crown was consulted with so much delicacy in this very disputable affair, the fears of the Bourbon courts were not less effectually removed by another article, which stipulated, that the conquests not included in the treaty, either as cessions, or restitutions, should be given up without compensation. France and Spain knew themselves exposed in almost every quarter: they had no armament on foot, from which they could expect any considerable advantages: whereas the British ministry had great reason to hope, that the important expedition against the Philippines could not fail of success. The reduction of Manila had actually taken place; but the news, though conveyed with extraordinary despatch, did not reach England till the April following.

PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE SIGNED.

SUCH were the chief articles of a treaty which put an end to the most sanguinary and expensive war in which Great Britain had ever been engaged. But, to her honour, it must be added that her efforts had not, in any contest, been ever crowned with greater glory and success. The preliminaries were signed by the British and French ministers at Fontainebleau, the third of November; and the twenty-fourth of the same month, the duke of Nivernois, who had been employed in the negotiation at the court of London, as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary from the most christian king, made a speech to his Britannic majesty on the occasion.

But however highly the French ambassador might estimate the blessings of peace, the people of England were very much divided in their sentiments respecting the merits of the treaty. This clash of contending interests and opinions excited throughout the kingdom the most violent heats

which were blown into a combustion by every art, and every instrument of party, that had ever proved effectual upon similar occasions.

CHANGES IN THE CABINET.

In the course of these political conflicts, and particularly after the signing of the preliminaries had been formally announced to the public, some efforts were used to bring about a coalition between the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, who had hitherto kept aloof from each other, at the head of their respective adherents. They were not so irreconcilable, so completely hostile to one another, as each of them was to the earl of Bute. Common enmity therefore united the two parties; and they joined their endeavours to persuade the people, that the parliament would never ratify, or, at least, pass over without heavy censure, the conditions of a peace so inadequate to the successes of the war, so far below the just expectations of the nation.

The ministry, thus threatened by a formidable opposition, did not fail to take the most effectual steps for securing the approbation of the legislature. Mr. Fox was eminently useful to them on this occasion. Though he continued in his old place of pay master, he undertook to conduct the affairs of government in the house of commons, for which no man could be better qualified. George Grenville, whose employment would naturally have engaged him in that task, resigned the seals of secretary of state, and was appointed first lord of the admiralty. The earl of Halifax had vacated his seat at the head of this board, in order to accept of Grenville's place, as joint secretary with the earl of Egremont. This exchange, as it may be called, was made in order to give full scope to Mr. Fox's talents, with which the useful parliamentary duties of a secretary of state, if a commoner, might in some degree interfere. Other arrangements were also made, and almost the whole landed interest was found to be well affected to the measures of administration.

PARLIAMENT MEETS, DISCUSSIONS ON THE PEACE.

WHILE the most vigorous preparations were thus making by both parties for a trial of strength, the parliament met on the twenty-fifth of November; and the session was opened by a speech from his majesty.

In answer to this speech, each house prepared an address, containing general compliments of congratulation on the approach of peace, and on the birth of the prince of Wales.

That part of the public, which had been flattered with the hope that the peace would be severely censured by parliament, was totally disappointed, when the preliminary articles came to be taken into consideration by both houses. The opposition in the lords was feeble, and the house did not divide, but approved of the preliminaries, without any qualification or reserve.

The triumph of the minister in the commons was not so easily obtained. The chancellor of the exchequer had laid a copy of the preliminary articles before the house on the twenty-ninth of November, and on the ninth of December they were taken into consideration, and the house was moved to concur in an address to his majesty expressive of their approbation of such advantageous terms. This motion was made by Fox, who took the lead in support of the peace, and was strongly resisted by Pitt, at the head of the few who disapproved of the conditions.

The first article which the censurers of the peace attacked was the regulation of the cod fishery. They compared it with what had been proposed in the former treaty. "At a time," they said, "when Great Britain had not half so much right as at present to prescribe terms to her enemies, she only consented to give up one small island, that of St. Pierre, as a shelter to the French fishing boats, and with indispensable restrictions. If these were deemed expedient in the cession of one island, they were doubly necessary in the cession of two. But nothing could justify the absolute, unconditional surrender of St. Pierre and of Miquelon, which would enable France to recover her marine, and by degrees to acquire the best part of a fishery, from which she ought," as they alleged, "to have been entirely excluded."

In reply to this, it was asserted, "that France would never have agreed to a total dereliction of the fishery: that the cession, on her part, of the

isles of Cape Breton, and St. John to England was more than an equivalent to the sheltering places of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which she was not allowed to fortify, nor to keep any troops in; except such a small number as were barely necessary to enforce the police."

But the restitution of the conquests, particularly of those which had been made in the West Indies, was the object of the severest and most vehement censure. "The authors of such an infamous and imprudent treaty," said the opponents of administration, "seem to have lost sight of that great fundamental principle, that France is chiefly, if not solely to be dreaded by us in the light of a maritime and commercial power. By the impolitic concessions made to her in the fishery, and by restoring all her valuable West India islands, we have put into her hands the means of repairing her prodigious losses, and of becoming once more formidable at sea. The fishery trained up an innumerable multitude of young seamen; and the West India trade employed them when they were trained. France," they observed, "had long since gained a decided superiority over us in this lucrative branch of commerce, and supplied almost all Europe with the rich commodities, which are produced only in that part of the world. By this commerce she enriched her merchants, and augmented her finances; whilst, from a want of sugar-land, which has been long known and severely felt by England, we at once lost the foreign trade, and suffered all the inconveniences of a monopoly at home."

They looked upon the concessions made to Spain, in the same part of the world, as equally unjustifiable. "Florida," they maintained, "was no compensation for the Havannah. The Havannah was an important conquest. From the moment it was taken, all the Spanish treasures and riches in America, lay at our mercy. Spain had purchased the security of all these, and the restoration of Cuba also, with the cession of Florida only. It was no equivalent. There had been a bargain; but the terms were inadequate. They were inadequate in every point, where the principle of reciprocity was affected to be introduced."

They represented the privilege obtained from Spain, in favour of our logwood-cutters, as too uncertain and precarious to be considered among the list of equivalents. "Instead of establishing," said they, "a solid right in this long contested trade, we have engaged to pull down our forts, and to destroy the only means of protecting it. What security have we, that our logwood cutters shall not be molested in their naked and defenceless situation? The king of Spain's promise! It is not words, but the power of repelling force by force, that can prevent hostilities or injustice."

They concluded their strictures on the subject of restitutions with asserting that Goree on the coast of Africa had been surrendered without the least apparent necessity; that in the East-Indies, though the treaty mentioned an engagement for mutual restitution of conquests, the restitution was all from one side. We had conquered every thing, we retained nothing. In Europe, France had only one conquest to restore, Minorca; and for this island, we had given her the East-Indies, the West Indies and Africa. Belleisle alone, they affirmed, was a sufficient equivalent.

The advocates for the peace defended all those concessions on the following grounds:

"The original object of the war," said they, "was the security of our colonies upon the continent of America. The danger to which these colonies were exposed, and, in consequence of that danger, the immense waste of blood and treasure which ensued in Great Britain, together with the calamities which were, from the same source, poured upon the four quarters of the world, left no sort of doubt that it was not only our best, but our only policy, to guard against all possibility of the return of such evils. Experience has shown us, that while France possesses any single place in America, whence she may molest our settlements, they can never enjoy any repose; and, of course, that we are never secure from being plunged again into these calamities, from which we have at length, and with so much difficulty, happily emerged. To remove France from our neighbourhood in America, or to contract her power within the narrowest limits possible was, therefore, the most capital advantage we could obtain, and was worth purchasing by almost any concession (1)."

They insisted that the absolute security derived from this plan, incited in itself an indemnification: they pointed out the great increase of population in those colonies within a few years. They showed, that their trade with the mother country had uniformly increased with this population. North America alone would supply the deficiencies of our trade in every other part of the world.

Having, for these reasons, made very large demands in North America, it was necessary to relax in other parts. France would never be brought to any very considerable cession in the West Indies: but her power and increase there could never become formidable, because the existence of her settlements depended upon ours in North America, she not being any longer left a place, whence they can be supplied with provisions.

They did not deny the importance of the Havannah; but they, at the same time, insisted upon the value of the objects which had been obtained in return for it. The whole country of Florida, with fort St. Augustine and the bay of Pensacola, was far from being a contemptible acquisition. It extended the British dominions along the coast to the mouth of the Mississippi: it removed an asylum for the slaves of the English colonies, who were continually making their escape to St. Augustine: it afforded a large extent of improvable territory, a strong frontier, and a good port in the bay of Mexico, both for the convenience of trade, and the annoyance of the Spaniards in any future contest. The liberty and security, which the king of Spain engaged to afford to the English logwood-cutters, was another material consideration; and though the fortifications on the coast were to be demolished, it did not appear by what other means a claim of such a peculiar nature could be adjusted. "We never," said they, "set up any pretensions to the territory, nor even directly to the produce; but only a privilege of cutting and taking away this wood by indulgence. That privilege is now confirmed. What more, consistently with reason and justice, could we demand? The right of erecting fortifications would imply an absolute, direct, and exclusive dominion over the territory itself, to which we had not even the shadow of a claim."

They asked, whether his catholic majesty could have made a fuller or more adequate compensation for the Havannah, without dismembering his empire, or exposing its commerce to inevitable ruin?

"Had Great Britain," as they argued, "fought for herself alone, and restricted her efforts to her own element, she might have assumed a more peremptory tone in dictating the terms of the treaty; and, if they were not acquiesced in, she might have resolved to keep all her conquests, and to prosecute hostilities to the full accomplishment of her wishes. But she was saddled with the protection of her allies; and, on their account, involved in a double continental war, the expense of which overbalanced all the advantages she could derive from the success of her arms. France and Spain had declared, in plain terms, that, without the restitution of the islands and of the Havannah, peace could be of no service to them; that they would rather hazard the continuance of the war, which, in the long run, must exhaust the finances and credit of England; and, in the mean time, redouble their efforts in making an entire conquest of Portugal, which it could not be in the power of the British auxiliaries to prevent."

With respect to the other cessions, they thought the rock of Goree of very little consequence, while Great Britain retained the possession of Senegal, which gave her the command of the chief trade of the interior parts of the country. The article which related to the East Indies, was, in their opinion, perfectly agreeable to the wishes of the directors of the English company; and did not afford all those advantages to France, which might be imagined at first view. "If," said they, "we examine this matter closely, we shall find, that our late enemies have not gained much by having their factories and settlements restored to them: first, because the fortifications, erected at a vast expense in all those settlements, have been totally destroyed; and it cannot be expected, in the present situation of the French company, that they can, in the course of many years, if at all, rebuild them in the same manner. Besides, they are restrained by an express article from even making the attempt in the province of Bengal, and the kingdom of Orissa, or

from keeping the least military force in either. Secondly, they have also agreed to acknowledge the reigning Subas of the chief provinces in the Peninsula, as the lawful sovereigns; and these princes are all in our interest, as either owing the acquisition, or depending for the preservation of their power on our arms; by which means our company is become, in effect, arbiter of that great and opulent coast, from the Ganges to Cape Comoria, and from the same Clippe to the mouth of the Indus. What important sacrifices, then, have we made in the East Indies? And, if the points yielded by Great Britain in all other parts of the globe are so fully justifiable on the principles of sound and liberal policy, surely, the most wilful perverseness will not dare to deny that in Europe the balance is considerably in her favour, the island of Minorca having been given her in exchange for Belleisle, besides obliging France to demolish the works belonging to the harbour of Dunkirk."

When the house divided, there appeared three hundred and nineteen for the address, and sixty-five against it. A committee was appointed to prepare it; and on its being reported next day, another debate ensued, in which nothing new was introduced, except a reproach on the ministry for not having insisted on the dissolution of the family compact. It was not likely, that such an extravagant and presumptuous idea should have occurred to them in the course of the negotiation. The compact, after all the noise it made in the political world at that time, was nothing more than a defensive alliance between the two branches of the house of Bourbon for the mutual guarantee of their respective dominions, which any two nations have a right to contract: and a mutual concession of commercial privileges, with which every power has an undoubted right to indulge its allies, without giving just cause of offence to any neighbouring nation. On the twenty-first of December both houses adjourned to the twentieth of January.

THREE CHEROKEE CHIEFS ARRIVE IN ENGLAND.

PUBLIC curiosity was soon after amused by the arrival of three Cherokee chiefs from South Carolina, the object of whose embassy was to settle a lasting peace with the English nation. They arrived in May, but had not their first audience of the king till the sixth of July. The principal person of the three, called Oontate, or Man-killer, on account of his martial exploits, was introduced by lord Eglington, and conducted by the master of the ceremonies. The king received them with great affability, and directed that they should be entertained at his expense. Their behaviour in his presence was remarkably decent. They expressed no emotions of surprise at any object, however curious in its own nature, or seemingly adapted to strike the imagination of a savage. This was accounted for by some people from their total ignorance of our language, and their want of means to express their sentiments otherwise than by their gestures. But even these would have served to indicate, however imperfectly, the impression made upon them by such sights. Their indifference to all those objects of novelty and grandeur was therefore ascribed to a sort of brutal insensibility, which seems to be the character of the North American tribes in general, notwithstanding all the encomiums which some writers have lavished on the natural good sense and sagacity of those savages. They carried home with them articles of peace between his majesty and their nation, with a handsome present of warlike instruments, and such other things as they seemed to place the greatest value on.

In vain have some cynics, as if actuated by a wish to degrade their own species, drawn laboured and disingenuous parallels between savage and civilised life, in which they strove to turn the scale in favour of the former. Such men wrote from their closets, and wrote the dictates of ignorance, affectation, or malignity. Their fanciful remarks want the necessary foundation of facts, or experience, for their support. Every opportunity of intercourse with the savages of North America has shown them to be stupid and unsocial in time of peace, and in war capable only of acts of treachery and ferocity. Such were the impressions made upon the minds of the most accurate observers by

the Cherokee chiefs, during their singular embassy in England; and such is the general testimony of those who have intermixed much with the savages in their own country, or have ever been engaged

in hostilities against them. But war between civilized nations frequently presents, in the midst of all its horrors, objects which afford exquisite pleasure to the feeling heart.

NOTE TO CHAPTER VI.

1 It was, however, strongly suspected by a few politicians, that the idea of security to the English colonies in North America had been carried too far by the peace-makers, and

would prove the source of new evils. They thought that the total expulsion of the French would embolden these colonies to shake off the control of the mother coun-

try, since they no longer stood in need of her protection against a restless, active, and warlike neighbour. The conjecture has since been verified by events.

CHAPTER VI

Philosophical Survey of Europe at the Close of the War—State of Russia—Of Denmark—Of Sweden—The King of Prussia and the Empress—Internal Distractions of France—Situation of Spain; and Security of Great Britain—Multiplied Concerns of the English Government—Plan of Economy pursued by the Ministers—Scheme of the Supplies—Proposed System of Finance censured by the Opposition—Instructions and Petitions of the City of London against the Cyder Tax—Earl of Bute's Resignation—His Majesty's Speech at the Close of the Session—Some Account of Mr. Wilkes, and of the Libel entitled "The North Briton"—Wilkes's Commitment to the Tower—Writ of Habeas Corpus for bringing Wilkes before the Court of Common Pleas—He is remanded to the Tower—His second Speech at the Bar of the Court—Mr. Wilkes's Case considered under three Heads by Lord Chief-Justice Pratt—Commitment not illegal—The Specification of Passages in the Libel not necessary in the Warrant—Validity of the Plea of Privilege allowed in Cases of Libels—Attempts to bring about a Coalition of Parties—Promotions occasioned by Lord Egremont's Death—King's Speech at the Meeting of Parliament—Message about Wilkes to the House of Commons—The North Briton voted a Libel—Wilkes's Complaint of a Breach of Privilege—Debate on the adjourned Consideration of his Majesty's Message—Pitt's Speech on the Surrender of Privilege—Other Arguments in support of Parliamentary Privilege—The Resolution, "That Privilege does not extend to Libels," carried in the Commons, and concurred in by the Lords—Concurrence of the Lords in other Resolutions of the Lower House concerning the Libel—The Sheriffs obstructed in burning the North Briton—Duel between Martin and Wilkes—The King's Message on the Marriage of the Princess Augusta to the Hereditary Prince (now Duke) of Brunswick—Verdict obtained by Wilkes in the Court of Common Pleas—Lord Chief-Justice's Opinion on the Illegality of General Warrants—Proceedings of the Commons to ascertain the State of Wilkes's Health—His Letter from Paris deemed nugatory, and he himself found guilty of a Contempt of the Authority of Parliament—Convicted of being the Author of the condemned Libel, and expelled—His "Essay on Woman" laid before the House of Lords, who proceed against him for a Breach of Privilege, while he is indicted in the Courts below for Blasphemy—The Ministry very hard pushed in the Debate on General Warrants—New Plan of National Supplies—Resolutions concerning the American Trade—Bill for restraining Abuses and Frauds in the Practice of Franking—Observations on General Conway's Dismission.

SURVEY OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

SOON after the close of so fierce and general a war, Europe exhibited a reviving prospect to the philosophical observer. Nations, tired of hostile strife, began now to confine their efforts to objects of nobler emulation,—to the arts of utility and happiness,—to the pursuits of industry, genius, and science. Even the most ambitious among their sovereigns appeared to be at length convinced, that extent of dominion was too dearly purchased by the lives of thousands; that sanguinary glory was equally pernicious and contemptible; and that more wealth and real power could be derived from the honest endeavours of their subjects to enrich themselves, than from making use of their servile assistance to plunder, destroy, or enslave others. In short, a calm and benign peace seemed spreading over this quarter of the globe; and the internal states of every country afforded the best pledge for the continuance and increase of his blessings.

RUSSIA.

RUSSIA, though at a distance from the theatre of war, had felt its havoc in the most sensible and tender part,—the decrease of inhabitants. The particular situation of the empress, also, concurred with these motives of national policy to render her averse to any precipitate quarrels with her neighbours. She could not look upon herself as sufficiently secured from domestic danger to provoke the attacks of a foreign enemy. It was necessary, for some time at least, that she should confine her views solely to her own safety.

DENMARK.

THE attention of Denmark and Sweden was not less engrossed by objects of domestic concern. His Danish majesty, Frederic V. having amicably settled with Russia whatever was in dispute concerning the dutchy of Holstein, resumed his former measures for promoting the happiness of his people, and converting, to the most profitable account, the opportunities of a friendly intercourse with the na-

tions round him. His death, which happened about three years after the peace, did not produce any change in the system of administration. Christian VII. assumed desirous of treading in his father's footsteps, or rather of improving upon his pacific and beneficent plans. All his councils were directed to the encouragement of agriculture, to the relief of the peasantry from some remaining oppressions, and to the most effectual means of inviting foreign merchants to his ports, as well as of giving new life and vigour to the commerce of his own subjects. His marriage to the Princess Caroline Matilda of England was another very pleasing circumstance at that time, though it ended unfortunately, through the intrigues, as it was said, of his stepmother, the queen dowager. But his public conduct, in the early part of his reign, appeared to be guided by a strict regard to his father's dying admonitions. "My dear son," said that amiable monarch, "you will soon be king of a flourishing people; but remember, that to be a great monarch it is absolutely necessary to be a good man. Have justice and mercy therefore constantly before your eyes; and above all things reflect, that you were born for the welfare of your country, and not your country created for your mere enjoyment. In short, keep to the golden rule of doing as you would be done by; and whenever you issue an order as a sovereign, examine how far you would be willing to obey such an order, had you been a subject yourself."

SWEDEN.

THE genius of the Swedes had too long been turned to arms. Dazzled by the splendour of occasional, but extraordinary success, they had fancied themselves born only to conquer, and to regulate the destinies of empires. The hope of plunder had been united to the love of glory. It required the experience of a century and a half to undeceive them in their false notions of grandeur, and to convince them that their natural poverty was not to be remedied by martial exploits. The exhausted state of the kingdom, the loss of former conquests, the

elevation of Russia, and the near example of Danish industry, made them sensible that it was time for them to lay aside the military character, and to betake themselves to the useful arts. Peace was become the wish of the whole nation; and their king favoured this rational propensity, not only from a just perception of its advantages, but from being constantly harassed by factions in the senate, and by the jealousy or intrigues of his enemies at home, without seeking abroad for others to contend with.

PRUSSIA.

WITH regard to the king of Prussia, after having exhausted all the resources of his genius in the course of a long and dreadful struggle, toward the close of which his salvation was entirely owing to an incident beyond the reach not only of human foresight, but of hope itself, it was not probable that he would be very forward again to commit his affairs, so miraculously preserved, to the chances of war. The empress queen, on her part, had as little temptation to disturb the general tranquillity. Since she failed to reduce Silesia, or even to recover the smallest particle of her losses, with such an exertion of her own strength, and with such an alliance as never was seen united before, she must have been satisfied of the folly and madness of renewing the calamities, with which Germany had, for the last six years, been unceasingly afflicted. To this consideration was also added her natural desire to settle her numerous offspring, and particularly to secure the archduke Joseph's succession to the imperial diadem, by having him previously elected king of the Romans. She herself had experienced the difficulty of establishing the claims of birth, even under the sanction of assenting powers, at the death of her father, who left no male issue. It was therefore necessary to behave in the most conciliating manner towards the electors, in order to prevent any opposition to the choice of her son. In consequence of her prudent policy, he was crowned at Frankfort, the third of April 1764; and the year after, on the death of his father, he ascended the throne with as little noise and bustle as if it had been hereditary.

FRANCE.

In France, the prevalence of interior dissensions afforded some farther pledges of her external inefficacy. The king of France had hardly put an end to foreign hostilities, when he was engaged in a contest almost as perplexing with his own parliaments. These parliaments, according to their original constitution, were supreme courts of justice, and had no share in the other concerns of government. But since the meetings of the states had been laid aside, the parliaments became in fact the only guardians of the rights of the nation; and though they did not deny that the whole legislative as well as executive power resided in the king, yet they contrived a method of controlling the crown in the exercise of both, and of interposing their authority in every matter of religion, of civil police, of revenue, and even, in some instances, in matters of state. As no edict, or arrest, had the force of law, till it was registered by them, they gradually assumed the liberty of suspending the registry for some time, and of remonstrating against the measure, if unpopular or oppressive. The court often found it expedient to act with seeming concession, till the parliaments, encouraged by success, carried their resistance to greater lengths. Soon after the peace, the king issued an edict for the continuance of some taxes which were to have ended with the war, and for imposing new ones. Some regulations were made in like manner for enabling the crown to redeem its debts at twenty years purchase of their then produce, which was very low. The parliaments considered those edicts as burdens on the people, and as violations of the public faith. Without any previous concert, they all resolved on the most strenuous opposition, and determined to take this opportunity, not only of frustrating the immediate plans of despotism, but of settling up their own authority at so high a point, as to prevent all abuses of the same kind in future. They peremptorily refused to register the edicts, and prepared remonstrances, in which the language of fair argument derived irresistible force and animation from the spirit of manly freedom. [See note A, at the end of this Vol.] The court was alarmed,

yet did not tamely give up the point. Governors were sent down into the several provinces with orders, in the king's name to enforce obedience. But the parliaments, rather provoked than terrified by such proceedings, issued arrests for seizing and imprisoning any of the governors who dared to become the instruments of arbitrary power. In short, a civil convulsion seemed almost inevitable, when the king thought proper to compromise the dispute; and from that moment it was evident, that any rash attempt of Lewis to embroil himself with his neighbours, and consequently to increase the burdens of his subjects, would endanger the overthrow of the French monarchy.

SPAIN.

As to Spain, the wounds she had lately received were so deep and so dangerous, that a great deal of time and the utmost care were necessary to heal them. She could not want any fresh proofs of the ruinous consequences of pride, treachery, and precipitance. As she also remained under the influence of French councils, there was the strongest reason to believe, that as long as France found it her interest to continue punctual in the observance of the peace, Spain would not take any step to violate it. Thus Great Britain had little to apprehend from the turbulence of the German powers, or from the intrigues of the house of Bourbon, especially as her moderate demands, and her generous concessions in the late treaty, could have left no just causes of irritation to rankle in the breasts of her humbled enemies.

GREAT BRITAIN.

BUT, while the aspect of the great political bodies of Europe was so perfectly favourable towards each other, the British government never felt greater occasion, than in the midst of this surrounding tranquillity, for the exertions of its vigilance and wisdom, to extinguish the flames of a new war, which suddenly burst out from the ashes of the former, with most of the savage nations in America; to regulate the distracted affairs of the East Indies; and, above all, to defeat at home the designs of the factious. As these domestic struggles were objects of the most immediate and pressing concern, they claim the first place in the following narration.

The issue of the debates on the preliminary articles, in both houses, afforded a very clear proof, that the opposition which was made to any approbation of the peace, had been much more warm than effective. It was absolutely necessary that the nation should repose itself for a long time. The conditions of the peace at least, had a general merit sufficient to dispose the people to acquiesce in them. But the spirit of the party was not exhausted in the former attempt. They lay in wait to fall upon the administration in the most critical time, and to wound them in the most sensible part, the supplies. For though taxes were full as necessary at the conclusion as during the continuance of the war, that necessity was not, to every person, so glaringly evident; nor were they by any means so palatable, as when victory and plunder seemed to pay, in glory and profit, for every article of national expense. The advantages of the peace, though far more certain and solid, were less sudden and less brilliant.

In these dispositions, the people were ready to fall into very ill humours, upon any plan of supply which could be suggested. The administration was fully aware of this; and, therefore, determined to lay as few new taxes as the public service could possibly admit. Every scheme of economy, every mode of retrenching superfluous expenses, had been carefully studied, and carried into effect, before government could be reconciled to the ungracious necessity of increasing the burdens of the subject. The profusion of the two late reigns, in supporting the parliamentary interest of the court, had, indeed, left considerable room for retrenchment. The sums lavished in that manner were found, upon minute inquiry, to be extravagant almost beyond belief, as a chain of venal dependency reached from the highest minister down to the meanest domestic, each being allowed, without any restraint or examination, to accumulate, in the most shameful manner, profits and perquisites amounting often to ten times the value of their offices, and of these impositions which, instead of contributing to the dignity and support of the executive power, de-

based and weakened it, occasioned an outcry from the numerous dependants of the late ministers, who pleaded practice and prescription in their favour. Many of them even alleged, that they had bought their posts from their superiors in office, and that they had therefore a right to make as much of them as they could. In leaping off those excrescences of corruption, a due regard was paid to the just claims of individuals. Though useless offices were abolished, an equitable compensation was made to the persons dismissed; and with regard to such as were retained, care was taken that the servants of the state should receive no more than their lawful wages.

SUPPLIES FOR THE YEAR.

THE savings by all these laudable means, great as they were, did not prove adequate to the necessities of the public: some national method of supply became, of course, unavoidable. In this, however, the ministry were doubly perplexed, not only on account of the difficulty of opening new resources at the close of a very expensive war, but also in consequence of their own repeated declarations, that a peace was necessary, in order to lighten the pressures of the people. The following expedients appeared to them most eligible. They proposed to take two millions from the sinking fund; to issue exchequer bills to the amount of one million eight hundred thousand pounds, chargeable on the first aids to be granted the next session; to borrow two millions eight hundred thousand pounds on annuities; and, lastly, to raise the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds by two lotteries in the course of the year. To defray the interest of these loans, amounting in the whole to seven million, three hundred thousand pounds, an additional duty of eight pounds a tun was to be laid on French wines, and four pounds a tun upon all other wines. No objection could well be urged against such imposts; but as they alone would have been insufficient, another duty was added, which gave the discontented an opportunity of raising a popular clamour, and of inflaming the whole nation. This was a duty of four shillings a hoghead on cyder and perry, to be paid by the maker, and to be subjected, with certain qualifications, to all the laws of excise.

No sooner was this last tax laid before the house of commons than opposition unmasked, as it were, all its batteries, and attacked not only the ways and means proposed, but the very basis of economy and frugality on which the whole plan of the supplies was founded. They proceeded to examine its several branches, and differed in opinion with the ministry upon every particular.

But the cyder-tax was the chief subject of declamation and invective. The opposition contended, that this tax was, with regard to its object, partial and oppressive; with regard to the means of collecting it, dangerous and unconstitutional; that it laid the whole burden of expenses, incurred in the general defence of the kingdom and in the protection of the national commerce, on a few particular counties, which in every other article of the public charge contributed their full share.

The friends of administration were not deficient in reply. "Can any thing," they asked, "be so flagrant as to argue that the tax is unequal,

that it lies heavy on some particular counties; when every body must know, that it does not even bring them on a par with all the other counties, where the people drink beer? In these counties, all private, as well as public consumption, is charged in the malt-tax: the charge on cyder is not so great: it has exemptions in favour of the poor, which are not indulged in the malt-tax: so that the cyder counties have rather reason to be thankful for their long immunity, than querulous that they are at last obliged to contribute rather less than their proportion towards the support of the national burdens."

As the main point insisted upon by the opposition was the mode of levying the tax, by making it a branch of the excise, the proposers of the new duty said, "that a very unfair advantage had been taken, in this controversy, of the loose sense of the words, 'extension of the excise laws.' If those words meant simply, that the excise was extended with regard to its object, the fact was true: but if they were made use of to insinuate, that the powers of the excise were also extended, nothing

could be more false. Instead of being extended, those powers were, in many material circumstances, with regard to this new object, very much contracted; and the makers of cyder were far more favoured than any other class of people under the jurisdiction of the excise. To call it therefore a dangerous precedent must be the effect of wilful misrepresentation, or of a total ignorance of English history. The excise is coeval with the establishment of civil liberty in this country; and the enlightened sons of freedom, who brought about the glorious revolution, could never believe that they sacrificed any essential part of their rights, by adopting the cheapest and most productive means of collecting certain branches of the public revenue."

Whatever impression those arguments must have made on the majority of both houses of parliament, it is certain that they were found insufficient to quiet the clamours which had been excited, and of which the subject of complaint relative to the supplies had been the pretence only, and not the cause. The lord mayor, aldermen, and commons, of London, instructed their representatives, in terms that conveyed no favourable ideas of the intentions of the government, to oppose the cyder-bill; and many other members, in consequence of having received similar instructions from their constituents, did not support the ministry on this occasion. The latter, however, steadily pursued their point, and accomplished it, though petitions against the bill from the city of London were presented to both houses. These having proved ineffectual, the city carried up a similar petition to his majesty, the very instant it was known the bill had passed the lords, imploring him not to give his royal assent to so much of it as subjected the makers of cyder and perry to the laws of excise. The cooler and more disinterested part of the public could not help considering this last step as extremely presumptuous and indecent. It meant nothing less, in fact, than beseeching his majesty to prefer the advice and opinion of the corporation of London to that of both houses of parliament.

LORD BUTE RESIGNS.

A FEW days after the passing of this bill, in which alone the minister had not so considerable a majority as usual, the earl of Bute resigned his office of first lord of the treasury, and sir Francis Dashwood that of chancellor of the exchequer. The resignation of the latter excited very little surprise. The business of finance was neither suited to his inclination, nor to his talents; and as he had accepted the place solely in compliance with the importunities of the minister, who had a high and very just opinion of his integrity, the example of his friend now afforded him the best excuse for retirement. But the earl of Bute's conduct was the subject of much astonishment and criticism. The assertions which gained most ground among the credulous multitude were, that the earl of Bute, being alarmed at the rising tempest of popular fury, and afraid of a parliamentary inquiry into some of his late measures, had bargained for his personal safety with his successors in office; and that, though he had quitted an ostensible situation, every thing was still governed by his secret influence. The earl of Bute was not driven from office: he left it with a powerful majority in his favour; so that his divesting himself of that support, and retiring to a private station, might rather be looked upon as a bold challenge to his enemies, and as dictated by a consciousness of unimpeachable rectitude. But whatever might have been the cause of his resignation, it certainly did not abate the popular ferment, as the words of the popular leaders were met in any respect answered by it. The door still remained shut against their admission into office. Grenville was appointed first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and his former seat at the head of the admiralty was filled by lord Sandwich. The earls of Halifax and Egremont continued to be the two secretaries of state: Fox was removed to the upper house, on being created lord Holland; but as no new characters were introduced, the conduct of public affairs did not appear to be in the smallest degree affected by the late minister's retirement.

SESSION CLOSES.

ON the nineteenth of April, just three days after those arrangements in administration had taken place, his majesty went to the house of lords, and

closed the session with a speech, stating, that an establishment of peace, upon conditions so honourable to my crown, and so beneficial to my people, was highly increased by my receiving from both houses of parliament the strongest and most grateful expressions of their entire approbation. These articles have been established, and even rendered still more advantageous to my subjects, by the definitive treaty; and my expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this salutary measure. The powers at war with my good brother the king of Prussia have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation as that great prince has approved; and the success, which has attended my negotiation, has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe.

"I acquainted you with my firm resolution to form my government on a plan of strict economy. The reductions necessary for this purpose shall be completed;—although the army maintained in these kingdoms will be inferior in number to that usually kept up in former times of peace, yet I trust that the force proposed, with the establishment of the national militia, (whose services I have experienced, and cannot too much commend,) will prove a sufficient security for the future.

"I have seen, with the highest concern, the great anticipations of the revenue, and the heavy debts unprovided for during the late war, which have reduced you to the unhappy necessity of imposing further burdens on my people. Under these circumstances, it is my earnest wish to contribute by every means to their relief. The utmost frugality shall be observed in the disposition of the supplies which you have granted; and when the accounts of the money arising from the sale of such prizes as are vested in the crown shall be closed, it is my intention to direct that the produce shall be applied to the public service."

THE NORTH BRITON.

THIS speech, though breathing the true spirit of a patriot king, and carrying with it an indisputable proof of its sincerity in the promised application of the French prize-money to the public service, was a few days after criticised with the utmost malignity and insolence in a periodical publication entitled *The North Briton*. The author of so shameless a libel was John Wilkes; he was at that time a member of parliament for Aylesbury. Though he had no pretension to genius, or eloquence, he possessed the more dangerous talent of expertness in seasoning his writings to suit the taste, and to inflame the minds of the vulgar. Perceiving the stoical indifference of the ministry with regard to their own persons, he aimed his abuse at majesty itself, and in the forty-fifth number of his paper, animadverted upon the king's speech with such daring acrimony, that the secretaries of state thought themselves obliged, in vindication of the grossly insulted honour of the sovereign, to take up the author. The process for this purpose was a loose office form, which had been constantly practised ever since the revolution, and never, in any instance, censured during that period. It was a warrant of a general nature, signed by lord Halifax, and directed to four of his majesty's messengers, commanding them to apprehend, without specifying any names, the authors, printers, and publishers of that seditious and treasonable paper.

WILKES SENT TO THE TOWER.

In consequence of these orders, George Kearsley the publisher, and several printers were apprehended; and their examination affording sufficient ground for fixing upon Wilkes as the author, the messengers went to his house on the twenty-ninth of April, late at night, and produced their warrant. Wilkes excepted to its generality, and as his name was not mentioned in it, he threatened the first man who should offer violence to his person in his own house at that unreasonable hour. The messengers thought proper to retire; but they returned next morning, and carried him in a coach before one of the secretaries of state, partly, as he alleged, by force. On his refusing to answer any questions relative to the charge brought against him, the following warrant for his commitment was signed by both the secretaries of state, and

was addressed to the constable of the Tower, or his deputy:

"These are, in his majesty's name, to authorise and require you to receive into your custody the body of John Wilkes, Esq. herewith sent you, for being the author and publisher of a most infamous and seditious libel, entitled, *The North Briton*, No. XLV; tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against the government: and to keep him safe and close, until he shall be delivered by due course of law; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at St. James's, the thirtieth of April 1763, in the third year of his majesty's reign."

A copy of this warrant was readily granted to Wilkes's solicitor by Major Rainford, the commanding officer at the Tower; but no persons were admitted to speak with the prisoner. Though the like measures had been constantly adopted upon similar occasions; and though the seal and indignation of the secretaries of state against so audacious a delinquent might well excuse much greater severity; yet the refusal of admittance to Wilkes was represented as an infringement of the rights of the subject, and a wanton stretch of tyrannical cruelty. The seizure and sealing up of his papers, a thing never omitted upon taking into custody any person charged with being the author of a treasonable libel, was called downright robbery, notwithstanding the peculiar delicacy that was observed in the present case: for the under-secretary of state, and the solicitor to the treasury attended, and invited the friends of Wilkes to be present at sealing up his papers, an operation which had in past times been always performed by the messenger, were he ever so rude or illiterate. Even the commitment to the Tower, which was chosen from respect to the person of a member of parliament, was employed by the agents of faction to excite terror, and to swell the popular alarm.

Immediately on the first intimation of Wilkes's having been apprehended by the king's messengers, a motion was made in the court of common pleas for an *habeas corpus*, which was granted; but the prothonotary's office not being open, the *habeas corpus* could not be sued out till four o'clock in the afternoon, before which time Wilkes had been committed to the Tower. The Monday morning after, the court of common pleas ordered a return to the writ, which having been served upon the messengers only, their return was, that Wilkes was not then in their custody. The court not judging that return to be sufficient, would not suffer it to be filed; and another writ of *habeas corpus* was granted, directed to the constable of the Tower and his officers; in consequence of which the prisoner was brought up next day, May the third, to Westminster-hall.

As soon as Wilkes was conducted to the bar of the court, he made a formal speech, replete with virulent expressions against the ministry, affected compliments to the king, and laboured encomiums upon himself as a dauntless champion and persecuted sufferer in the cause of liberty. Pleadings followed on both sides; and the prisoner was remanded to the Tower, till Friday the sixth of May, that the judges might have leisure to consider the case, and to form their opinion; but, in the intermediate time, his friends and lawyers were to have free access to his person.

When Wilkes was again brought to Westminster-hall, he made a second speech, of the same inflammatory tendency as the former, and of which, as it was then cried up as a master-piece of oratory, it may be proper to subjoin a copy.

"My lords," said the prisoner, "far be it from me to regret that I have passed so many more days in captivity, as it will have afforded you an opportunity of doing, upon mature reflection and repeated examination, the more signal justice to my country. The liberty of all peers and gentlemen, and what touches me more sensibly, that of all the middling and inferior class of people, who stand most in need of protection, is in my case this day to be finally decided upon: a question of such importance as to determine at once, whether English liberty be a reality or a shadow. Your own free-born hearts will feel with indignation and compassion all that load of oppression under which I have so long laboured. Close imprisonment, the effect of premeditated malice, all access

for more than two days denied to me, my house ransacked and plundered, my most private and secret concerns divulged, every vile and malignant insinuation, even of high treason itself, no less indubitably than falsely circulated by my cruel and implacable enemies, together with all the various insolence of office, form but a part of my unexamined ill-treatment. Such inhuman principles of star-chamber tyranny will, I trust by this court, upon this solemn occasion, be finally extirpated; and henceforth every innocent man, however poor and unsupported, may hope to sleep in peace and security in his own house, unviolated by king's messengers and the arbitrary mandates of an overbearing secretary of state.

"I will no longer delay your justice. The nation is impatient to hear nor can be safe or happy till that is obtained. If the same persecution is, after all, to carry me before another court, I joy I shall find that the genuine spirit of Magna Charta, that glorious inheritance, that distinguishing characteristic of Englishmen, is as religiously revered there, as I know it is here, by the great personages before whom I have now the happiness to stand; and (as in the ever-memorable case of the imprisoned bishops) that an independent jury of free-born Englishmen will persist to determine my fate, as in conscience bound, upon constitutional principles, by a verdict of guilty, or not guilty. I ask no more at the hands of my countrymen."

The sentence of the court is the best comment on this speech, which, though seemingly addressed to the judges, was in reality an appeal to the passions of the multitude.

Lord chief-justice Pratt, in delivering the opinion of the court, stated the case under three heads, which had been chiefly insisted upon in the pleadings: first, the legality of Wilkes's commitment; secondly, the necessity for a specification of those particular passages in the forty-fifth number of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel; and, thirdly, Wilkes's privilege as a member of parliament.

In regard to the first, his lordship remarked, that he would consider a secretary of state's warrant, through the whole affair, as nothing superior to the warrant of a common justice of the peace; and that no magistrate had, in reality, a right *ex officio*, to apprehend any person, without stating the particular crime of which he was accused: but, at the same time he observed, there were many precedents where a nice combination of circumstances gave so strong a suspicion of facts, that though the magistrate could not be justified *ex officio*, he was, nevertheless, supported in the commitment, even without receiving any particular information for the foundation of his charge. The word *charge*, his lordship took notice, was in general much misunderstood, and did not mean the accusation brought against any person taken up, but his commitment by the magistrate before whom he might be brought. Upon the whole of this point, according to the customary rule which had been for a series of years observed by the sages of the law, his lordship was of opinion, that Wilkes's commitment was not illegal.

As to the second point in discussion, which Wilkes's counsel had contended, that a specification of the particular passages in the North Briton which were deemed libellous, ought to have been inserted in the body of the warrant, his lordship did not think any such specification necessary; for even supposing the whole of the obnoxious paper to have been copied into the warrant, yet it by no means came under the cognisance of the court at that time. The matter then in consideration was, not the nature of the offence, but the legality of the commitment; the nature of the offence not resting in the bosom of a judge without the assistance of a jury, and not being a proper subject of inquiry, till regularly brought on to be tried in the usual way of proceeding.

With respect to the third head, which was the plea of privilege, his lordship remarked, that there were but three cases which could possibly affect the privileges of a member of parliament, and these were treason, felony, and the peace. The peace, as it is written in the institutes of the law, his lordship explained to signify a breach of the peace. He said that the commitment of the seven bishops for endeavouring to disturb the peace happened in an arbitrary reign, when there was but one honest

judge out of four in the court of king's bench, and he had declined giving any opinion. "If then," continued his lordship, "the privilege of parliament is to be held sacred and inviolable, except in the three particular cases wherein it is forfeited, it only remains to examine how far Wilkes's privilege is endangered in the present instance. He stands accused of writing a libel. A libel, in the sense of the law, is a high misdemeanor, but does not come within the description of treason, felony, or breach of the peace. At most, it has but a tendency to disturb the peace, and consequently cannot be sufficient to destroy the privilege of a member of parliament."

WILKES DISCHARGED

THE court then discharged Wilkes, who returned the judges his thanks in the name of the public, of the whole English nation, and of all the subjects of the English crown, for his liberty; though it is very evident, that he obtained it only under the circumstance of his being a member of parliament.

In the morning after Wilkes's release from the Tower, he wrote a letter to the two secretaries of state, complaining, that, during his confinement, his house had been robbed; and that, being informed the stolen goods were in the possession of their lordships, he insisted upon restitution. Next day he repaired to a justice of peace, and demanded a warrant to search the houses of the two secretaries; which was refused by the magistrate. Though nothing could be more impotent and extravagant than such proceedings, yet the secretaries of state thought proper to return, under their own hands, a serious answer to his absurd charge. They took notice of the indecency and scurrility of his language; but they very candidly explained the legal motives for the seizure of his papers, informing him, that such of them as did not lead to a proof of his guilt should be restored, but that the rest would be delivered over to those whose office it was to collect the evidence, and to manage the prosecution against him.

Another circumstance happened about the same time, which Wilkes laid before the public. One of the secretaries of state had written to earl Temple, who was lord-lieutenant of the county of Buckingham, signifying to him his majesty's pleasure, that Wilkes should be dismissed from being colonel of the militia for that county. This order was communicated to Wilkes with much seeming concern by his lordship, who was himself soon after removed from the lieutenancy of the county, to make way for lord Desperencer, late Sir Francis Dashwood. The letters that passed on this occasion were printed and industriously circulated, as a farther proof of the cruel persecution Wilkes suffered. The rabble, whose pity he thus endeavoured to secure, were incapable of reflecting, that the libeller of the king and government of any country is a very improper person to be intrusted with the chief means of its internal security and defence.

The re-appearance of the North Briton, with all his farther efforts to increase the number of his seditious adherents, was so far from intimidating ministry, that an information was filed against him in the court of king's bench, at his majesty's suit, as the author of the aforesaid libel.

The printers, and some other persons, who, as well as Mr. Wilkes, had been taken up by general warrants, sought redress at law; and such was the temper of the times, which, by being diffused among the people, was supposed to have influenced the juries, that they obtained damages greatly beyond their real sufferings, and, possibly, beyond their own most sanguine hopes. These actions were prosecuted in such a manner, that the public attention to them was kept constantly alive. It seemed as if freedom had every day a new conflict to undergo, and obtained every day a new victory. Administration, on the other hand, opposed them by all the advantages, which the law allows to those who act on the defensive; and sometimes by the interposal of privilege kept this matter still longer in agitation; inasmuch that, until the meeting of parliament scarcely any thing else could enter into the thoughts or conversation of the people. On this point, therefore, it was expected the great trial of strength and skill in the ensuing session would be made.

CHANGES IN THE MINISTRY.

WHILE both parties were vigorously preparing for the intended struggle, an event took place, which for a few days diverted their attention to another object, and seemed at first likely to occasion a change in the ministry. This was the earl of Egremont's sudden death, of a fit of the apoplexy, on the twenty-first of August. His majesty, upon this event, gave way to some overtures for a coalition of interests. The proposal, which was first made to Pitt by the earl of Bute, was readily embraced by the former, and he appeared at court with great alacrity. Grenville offered, for the tranquillity of his majesty's government, to resign his place of first commissioner of the treasury, and to accept of any post that was not utterly inconsistent with his rank in life. The accommodation appeared the more practicable, as none of the great leaders testified the smallest unwillingness to be again associated in office with the earl of Bute. But when Pitt, at a second interview with the king, came to propose the particular arrangements, it appeared that he wished to engross for himself and his friends all the important offices of the state, and that none but subordinate situations were to be left for those to whom the king thought himself bound by the strongest ties of honour and justice. The treaty, therefore, proved ineffectual; but his majesty's firmness made up for all inconveniences, and the administration soon returned to its natural channel.

There were at this time two very important vacancies, that of secretary of state occasioned by lord Egremont's death, and that of president of the council, which had not been filled since the decease of lord Granville. The seals of the former office were given to lord Sandwich, who had been named to go ambassador to Spain; and the duke of Bedford succeeded to the president's chair. Some other promotions took place on the same occasion, the most remarkable of which were the removal of lord Egmont from the post-office to the admiralty, the duke of Marlborough's acceptance of the privy seal, and the appointment of the earl of Hillsborough to be first lord of trade and plantations, in the room of lord Shelburne. The earl of Bute's continuance in retirement, and several other circumstances which appeared while the late treaty was on foot, made it evident to the world that the subsisting administration did not, from the beginning, by any means act under the influence, nor altogether in concurrence with the opinion of that minister, whose resignation had raised them to the direction of affairs.

Pitt, the duke of Newcastle, and their respective friends, had looked upon the proposals made to them as an acknowledgment, that the persons then in office could not go on without the accession of their strength; and this mistaken idea had occasioned the unreasonable demands of the popular leaders, which amounted to little short of a proscription of the king's most faithful servants. But as soon as the negotiation was broken off, and when they saw the helm of state, which they had just fancied to be within their grasp, intrusted to other hands, they determined to rally all their forces; to renew their attacks on the infirmities of the peace (1); to destroy the credit of the magistracy, by representing every step taken to preserve good order as so many strides towards the establishment of despotism; and to render the late exercise of the royal prerogative odious.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

AT the meeting of parliament on the fifteenth of November, the king made a speech to both houses, stating, amongst the usual matters, as follows:—"To ease my people of some share of those burdens I have directed, as I promised at the end of last session of parliament, that the money arising from the sale of the prizes vested in the crown should be applied to the public service. It is my intention to reserve for the same use, whatever sums shall be produced by the sale of any of the lands belonging to me in the islands in the West Indies, which were ceded to us by the late treaty."

PROCEEDINGS RESPECTING WILKES.

THE instant commons were returned to their own house from the lords, and before the king's speech was reported to them, according to the usual

form, the chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the house, by his majesty's command, "that his majesty having received information, that John Wilkes, a member of that house, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel, published since the last session of parliament, he had caused the said John Wilkes, to be apprehended and secured, in order to his being tried for the same, by due course of law; and Wilkes, having been discharged out of custody, by the court of common pleas, upon account of his privilege as a member of that house; and having when called upon by the legal process of the court of king's bench, stood out, and declined to appear and answer to an information, which was exhibited against him, by his majesty's attorney general, for the same offence; in this situation his majesty, being desirous to show all possible attention to the privileges of the house of commons, in every instance wherein they can be supposed to be concerned; and, at the same time, thinking it of the utmost importance not to suffer the public justice of the kingdom to be eluded, had chosen to direct the said libel, and also copies of the examinations upon which Wilkes was apprehended and secured, to be laid before that house for their consideration." Grenville concluded this message with laying the papers on the table; and with moving a resolution, to which the house unanimously assented, viz. "that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to return him the thanks of the house for his most gracious message, and for the tender regard therein expressed for the privileges of the house, and to assure his majesty that the house would forthwith take into their most serious consideration the very important matter communicated by his majesty's message."

Then the house proceeded to examine the papers, which were copies of the North Briton, No. XLV, and of the examinations of Richard Balfe, the printer, and of George Kearsley, the publisher; by which it appeared, that government had been well founded in the proceedings against Wilkes, as the author of that production. A very long and warm debate ensued. It was strongly urged by the opposition, that no greater liberties had been taken by the author of the obnoxious paper, with regard to his majesty's speech, than what had been common upon former occasions of the same kind; and that the speech of the king had never been considered in any other light than that of the minister, and had always been treated with equal freedom. But these arguments were easily refuted by a reference to the words of the libel itself, which far surpassed, in the virulence of its abuse, and the grossness of its scurrilous reflections on the king's probity as well as his person, the most daring invectives that had ever been uttered against government. It was therefore resolved by a majority of two hundred and seventy-three, against one hundred and eleven, "That the paper, entitled the North Briton, No. XLV, is a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, containing expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his majesty, the grossest aspersions upon both houses of parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature; and most manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his majesty, to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws of the realm, and to excite them to traitorous insurrections."

In consequence of this resolution, an order was agreed to by the house, that the said paper should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Wilkes, who had several times stood up, being now admitted to speak, complained to the house of breach of privilege, by the imprisonment of his person, the plundering of his house, the seizure of his papers, and the serving him with a subpoena upon an information in the court of King's Bench. As no legal conviction yet lay against Wilkes, of his being the author of the paper, his complaint was perfectly regular. A more particular hearing of it, and the farther consideration of the king's message were adjourned to the twenty-third of November.

The commons met on the sixteenth. The address contained nothing remarkable, except the congratulations of the house on the auspicious birth of another prince, and on the queen's happy recovery.

PRIVILEGES OF PARLIAMENT.

On the twenty-third of November, the commons

resumed the adjourned consideration of his majesty's message of the fifteenth; and a motion was made, "That privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws, in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence." As this resolution tended to confine within narrower limits the supposed privileges of every member of the legislature, and was also diametrically opposite to the late determination of the court of common pleas, the ministry were deserted by a few of their usual supporters, and the opposition made a vigorous, though finally ineffectual stand against it. Pitt asserted himself with extraordinary ardour in this debate; and as the extent of his conceptions, the acuteness of his remarks, and the powers of his eloquence left very little to be said by any other person, on the same side of the question, his speech, which has been faithfully preserved, precluded every vain attempt to give a more impressive form to the chief arguments that were urged against the surrender of privilege.

He represented such a surrender "as highly dangerous to the freedom of parliament, and an infringement on the rights of the people. No man," he said, "could condemn the paper or libel more than he did; but he would come at the author fairly,—not by an open breach of the constitution, and a contempt of all restraint. This proposed sacrifice of privilege was putting every member of parliament, who did not vote with the minister, under a perpetual terror of imprisonment. To talk of an abuse of privilege, was to talk against the constitution, against the very being and life of parliament. It was an arraignment of the justice and honour of parliament, to suppose that they would protect any criminal whatever. Whenever a complaint was made against any member, the house could give him up. This privilege had never been abused: it had been reported in parliament for ages. But take away this privilege, and the whole parliament is laid at the mercy of the crown. Why," continued he, "is a privilege, which has never been abused, to be voted away? Parliament has no right to vote away its privileges. They are the inherent right of the succeeding members of this house, as well as of the present members; and I very much doubt whether a sacrifice made by this house is valid and conclusive against the claim of a future parliament."

With respect to the paper itself, or the libel which had given pretence for this request to surrender the privileges of parliament, he observed that the house had already voted it a libel—he joined in that vote. He condemned the whole series of North Britons: he called them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable. He abhorred all national reflections. "The king's subjects," he said, "were one people. Whoever divided them was guilty of sedition. His majesty's complaint was well founded: it was just: it was necessary. The author did not deserve to be ranked among the human species—he was the blasphemer of his God (G) and the libeller of his king. He had no connection with him: he had no connection with any such writer: he neither associated nor communicated with any such. It was true that he had friendships, and warm ones; he had obligations, and great ones; but no friendships, no obligations could induce him to approve what he firmly condemned. It might be supposed, that he alluded to his noble relation [lord Temple]. He was proud to call him his relation: he was his friend, his bosom friend, whose fidelity was as unshaken as his virtue. They went into office together, and they came out together: they had lived together, and would die together. He knew nothing of any connection with the writer of the libel. If there subsisted any, he was totally unacquainted with it. The dignity, the honour of parliament had been called upon to support and protect the purity of his majesty's character; and this they had done by a strong and decisive condemnation of the libel which his majesty had submitted to the consideration of the house. But having done this, it was neither consistent with the honour and safety of parliament, nor with the rights and interests of the people, to go one step farther. The rest belonged to the courts below."

The other arguments made use of by the opposers of the resolution were little more than repetitions of the doctrine so lately confirmed by the court of

king's bench; that the privilege of parliament extended to all cases, except treason, felony, and those offences, in which sureties of the peace might be demanded; that libels were breaches of the peace only by inference, and by construction, not actually, and in their own nature; that this doctrine was supported by the highest law authorities, by the records of parliament, and particularly by two plain resolutions of the house of peers, so far as the question concerned their privilege; and that to relax the rule of privilege, case by case, would be attended with the greatest inconvenience, by rendering the rule itself precarious, in consequence of which the judges would neither know how to decide with certainty, nor the subject to proceed with safety in this doubtful and perilous business.

With whatever plausibility and eloquence Pitt and his party endeavoured to support these opinions, the advocates for the motion very fully demonstrated their fallacy, and established the contrary doctrine on every ground of popularity, liberty, law, precedent, and reason. They first took a view of the nature of the offence, and showed that a libel was not only productive of consequences injurious to the peace of individuals, but in many cases, pregnant with danger to the safety, and to the very being of the commonwealth. They asserted, that the distinction between actual and constructive breaches of the peace was trifling and sophistical: that the question was concerning the nature and weight of the offence, and not the name by which it was called: that it would be ridiculous to allow a seditious libeller advantages which were denied to an ordinary breaker of the peace when sedition was a crime of much greater guilt and importance than a menacing gesture, or even an actual assault: that the privilege of parliament was a privilege of a civil nature, instituted to preserve the member from being distracted in his attention to the business of the nation, by litigations concerning his private property, but by no means to prove a protection for crimes. "If," said they, "this distinction of breaches of the peace were to hold, members of parliament might not only libel public and private persons with impunity, but might, with the same impunity, commit many other misdemeanors and offences of the grossest nature, and the most destructive to morality and order; because they, as well as libels, are breaches of the peace, but by construction, and in their consequence. If privilege were of this nature, the freedom of the members would be the slavery of the subject, and the danger of the state."

"Privilege of parliament," they added, "being defined solely by the discretion of either house for itself, was a matter of the most delicate nature: it was therefore to be used with the utmost moderation. If it should be so exercised as to appear incompatible with the public peace or order, or even, perhaps, with the safety and quiet of individuals, the people might come to think that they lived under a constitution, injudiciously, and even absurdly framed, in which the personal liberty of the representatives of a free people might become inconsistent with their own. That the house, instead of enlarging its immunities beyond their original intention and spirit,—instead of claiming an inviolable and no very honorable privilege, ought to stand forward in giving a noble example of its moderation and its regard to justice. By agreeing to the resolution, it would give this practical lesson, and, at the same time, this comfortable security to the people, that no situation was a sanctuary for those, who presumed to violate the law in any of its parts."

Such were some of the chief points insisted on by those who justified the proposed resolution; and the debate being adjourned till a 2d day, the question was carried by a majority of one hundred and twenty five. One of the members was then nominated to go up to the house of lords, to desire a conference for obtaining the concurrence of their lordships; which was accordingly granted; and their lordships, in a few days after, agreed to the resolution, though not without a more obstinate and violent struggle than even that which had taken place in the commons. The protest, signed by seventeen of them, affords a proof of what has been already remarked, that Mr. Pitt left very little room for the display of novelty, or of originality on that side of the question. But the speech of lord Lyttleton in support of the resolution and published, by himself,

though less ardent than Pitt's, has been generally deemed more convincing and unanswerable.

NORTH BRITON BURNED BY THE COMMON HANGMAN.

THE majority of the lords concurred in the resolution of the commons on the question of privilege, and in other resolutions of the lower house relative to the libel,—in the order for its being burned by the common hangman; and in the propriety of addressing the king to testify their indignation at such unparalleled insolence.

But though both houses of parliament, actuated by the strongest motives of loyalty and of true patriotism, had resolved that no plea of privilege should obstruct the regular course of justice in matters of such high concern to the public, and had also ordered the North Briton, No. XLV, to be burned by the common hangman; yet, when this order was on the point of being executed at the Royal Exchange, under the immediate direction of the city sheriffs, Harley and Blunt, the mob became so riotous as to rescue the paper from the executioner before it was consumed, and to fling a billet snatched from the fire at Harley's chariot, in consequence of which he was slightly wounded. This riot being reported to the lords and commons, they took up the matter with becoming seriousness; and resolved, after the Lords had examined Harley, "that the rioters were perturbators of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of this country, and obstructors of the national justice." The sheriffs, at the same time, had the thanks of parliament for their spirited conduct on the occasion; and both houses unanimously joined in an address to his majesty, that he would give directions for the discovery of the rioters.

DUEL BETWEEN MARTIN AND WILKES.

AFTER these steps taken by the whole legislative body to brand the libel itself with the strongest marks of their abhorrence, the commons proceeded in the complaint against Wilkes as the author of it. But their earnestness in the prosecution was for some time checked by an accident, which, though perilous to Wilkes, proved very useful to his party, by keeping the hopes and spirit of the mob alive, which would probably have expired under an early and final decision of the house against him. In the course of the first day's debate on the king's message respecting the libel, Samuel Martin, member of parliament for Camelford, and late first secretary of the treasury, whose character had been virulently attacked in some of the early numbers of the North Briton, took an opportunity of remarking, "that the author of these papers was a malignant and infamous coward." When the house was up, Wilkes sent a note to Martin, acknowledging himself to be the author. A duel with pistols ensued, in which Wilkes was so dangerously wounded, that he could not appear in the house of commons, when the matter of his complaint was to be heard. In consequence, therefore, of a letter from Wilkes to the speaker, requesting that the farther consideration of his case might be deferred until he was able to attend, the commons put off the hearing of evidence on the charge against him as the author of the libel; but decided the other questions respecting the plea of privilege, and the criminality of the paper, as has been already related.

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCESS AUGUSTA.

DURING this delay of the direct proceedings of the commons against Wilkes, they received another message from the king, to inform them that his majesty, having received proposals for a marriage between the princess Augusta and the hereditary prince of Brunswick, had agreed to the same; and as he could not doubt but that such an alliance would be to the general satisfaction of all his subjects, he promised himself the assistance of that house, to enable him to give his eldest sister a portion suitable to the honour and dignity of the crown. The commons, therefore, as well as the lords, to whom the like information was communicated, unanimously resolved to address the king to declare their entire satisfaction at the prospect of an alliance with so illustrious a protestant family, which had so signally distinguished itself in the defense of the liberties of Europe. The address was presented by the whole house; and they voted eighty thousand pounds as a dowry to her royal highness. The

prince arrived in England the twelfth of January following: the nuptials were celebrated on the evening of the sixteenth in the most splendid manner.

GENERAL WARRANTS DECLARED ILLEGAL.

LEGAL.

MR. WILKES, though confined by his wound, and almost deserted by his party in both houses of parliament, made an effort of another kind, which was crowned with temporary success. Encouraged by the verdicts which had been given in favour of several persons taken up, like himself, on general warrants, he commenced an action in the court of Common Pleas, against Robert Wood, Esq. the late under secretary of state, for seizing his papers; and on the sixth of December, after a hearing of near fifteen hours, before lord chief justice Pratt, and a special jury, he obtained a verdict with 1000*l.* damages, and costs of suit. In the charge given on this occasion by the judge to the jury, his lordship pronounced the warrant, under which Wilkes had been apprehended, unconstitutional, illegal, and absolutely void; but he also declared, that he was far from wishing a matter of such consequence should rest solely on his opinion, as he was only one of the twelve judges, and as there was also a still higher court, before which the question might be canvassed. "If," said he, "these higher jurisdictions should declare my opinion erroneous, I submit, as will become me, and kiss the rod: but I must say, I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain." It is but justice to so truly respectable a character to observe, in direct contradiction to the insinuations at that time thrown out by some of the intemperate friends of the ministry, that this opinion was not tinctured with party spirit, nor influenced by party attachments. It was the result of the most profound knowledge, and of the fullest conviction (4). It was the very opinion, which this great lawyer, when attorney general, had stated, with equal candour and firmness, to Pitt, who was at that time secretary of state, and who, notwithstanding his learned friend's declaration against the legality of general warrants, thought himself justified by the practice of office, and by the exigency of the occasion, in having recourse to such extraordinary acts of power. So solemn a decision was considered by the opposition as a matter of great triumph.

WILKES AVOIDS THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

ON the sixteenth of December, the house of commons, being tired out by repeated delays of Wilkes's appearance on account of his wound, and suspecting that there might be some collusion between him and such of the faculty as attended him, made an order that doctor Heberden and Mr. Hawkins, the former a physician and the latter a surgeon, should observe the progress of his cure, and report their opinion to the house. Wilkes declined to admit them, though he had before received their visits at the request of Martin. But in justification of the characters of his own medical attendants, and of the reports they had made from time to time of the state of his health, he sent for doctor Duncan, one of his majesty's surgeons in ordinary, and Middleton, one of his majesty's sergeant surgeons, observing, in his usual strain of sarcastic humour, "that, as he found the house of commons thought it proper he should be watched, he himself thought two Scotchmen must proper for his spies." It seems, however, that the superior powers of Scotch surgery, or the kind care and concern of the house of commons for Wilkes's speedy recovery, had the happiest effect: for the house having on the twentieth of December adjourned during the Christmas holidays, Wilkes found himself well enough, on the twenty-fourth, to set out for France, in order to visit his daughter, who, he said, was then dangerously ill at Paris. The truth is, that Wilkes, very justly intimidated by the decision of all the preliminary questions relative to his case, and by the sentence passed on his seditious libel, seized the present opportunity afforded him by the adjournment of the commons, to make his escape.

During the recess, it was very confidently asserted by several of Wilkes's friends, that he would attend the house on the nineteenth of January, which was the last day fixed for his appear-

ance. But, when that day arrived, the speaker produced a letter he had received by the post from Wilkes at Paris, stating the impossibility of his attending his duty in parliament at the time required, with a paper inclosed, purporting to be a certificate of one of the French king's physicians, and of a surgeon of the French army, relating to the state of Wilkes's health, but not authenticated before a notary public, nor the signature thereof verified in any manner. These papers being read, some medical gentlemen who attended according to order, were called in and interrogated at the bar. It appeared by their testimony, that Wilkes had refused to admit surgeons appointed by that house to examine into the state of his wound; and his retreat into France rather indicating a distrust of his cause, than any thing amiss in his constitution, the house resolved, that in so doing, he was guilty of a contempt of their authority, and that they would therefore proceed to hear the evidence in support of the charge against him. They considered the letter and the apology he had sent for his non-appearance, together with the certificate that accompanied it, as quite nugatory. If his wound had been in the condition in which he represented it, a journey to Paris was a strange measure; and the consequences arose from his own voluntary act.

WILKES EXPELLED.

AFTER the examination of the witnesses against Wilkes had been entered upon by the house, repeated efforts were made by a few of his friends to interrupt, or to procure an adjournment of the farther hearing of evidence: but, to no purpose. The witnesses were all successively called in; and their information appearing satisfactory as to the author of the libel, on the atrocious criminality of which the house had already passed sentence, the expulsion of Wilkes was voted by a very considerable majority; and a new writ was ordered for electing another member for Aylesbury in his room.

To complete the degradation of this late idol of the populace, a book, entitled "An Essay on Woman," which he had privately printed and dispersed amongst his friends, was presented by one of the secretaries of state to the house of lords. This book, full of the most indecent and profane ribaldry, reflected on the character of a right reverend member of that house (B), whose vast extent of erudition and genius added dignity and lustre to his high station. The peers proceeded against the author for a breach of privilege, while he was indicted in the courts below for blasphemy. The warmest of his former advocates were now ashamed to utter a word in his favour; and even the mob, though they did not disavow faction, could not digest profaneness; they could forgive party-malice, but were shocked at offences against morality, religion, and common decency. Wilkes was soon run to an outlawry for not appearing to the indictments against him; and the suits, which he had carried on against the secretaries of state, fell of course to the ground.

GENERAL WARRANTS.

So far the triumph of the ministry was complete. Sentence was passed on the cause, as well as on the person of their most malignant slanderer. But the secretaries of state were soon attacked on a point, which could hardly be defended by the utmost exertions of their strength and influence. On the fourteenth of February, a motion was made in the house of commons, "that a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, was not warranted by law." The friends of administration were far from vindicating the practice of general warrants; but they thought that the abuse of them could not be effectually prevented by a resolution of one branch of the legislature on a single case, and that the remedy should be provided by an act of parliament, distinguishing cases, and specifying those discretionary powers, which the contingent exigencies of government might require to be vested in a secretary of state. They also insisted very strongly on the impropriety of deciding in the house of commons a question then depending in a court of judicature. It was then they endeavoured to ward off the intended blow; and having, though by a small majority, procured an adjournment of the question till the seventeenth, one of their friends moved, that after

the words, "That a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious and treasonable libel, together with their papers is not warranted by law; might be added, although such warrant had been issued according to the usage of office, and hath been frequently produced to, and, so far as appears to this house, the validity thereof hath never been debated in the court of king's bench, but the parties thereupon have been frequently bailed by the said court." This state of the question subjected it to new and insurmountable difficulties, because a resolution of the commons, so worded, would imply no less than an imputation of perjury on the court of king's bench, for admitting to bail persons committed upon such illegal warrants, instead of giving them a free discharge. It was likewise thought a little extraordinary, that the word "reasonable," contained in the earl of Halifax's general warrant, was omitted in the original motion. After a very long and warm debate, it was carried, that the farther consideration of the question should be adjourned for four months, which was in the usual phrase, civilly dismissing it. The minority, however, on this point, was so very considerable, being two hundred and twenty against two hundred and thirty four, that the ministry may rather be said to have escaped than conquered. The whole fabric of their power seemed to be shaken by this contest; but the progress of the session showed that the formidable numbers of their opponents were mustered only on this single occasion. On all others there was no great difficulty; and the whole scheme of the supplies in particular met with the most perfect acquiescence. A short account of the plan, on which they were raised, will show how far they were deserving of general approbation.

NEW PLAN OF SUPPLIES.

IN contriving this new scheme, the ministry found means to cut off one of the principal sources of popular clamour. Agreeably to the principles which they had laid down in the former session, in which they declared for the most sparing use of taxation, and from the experience concerning the taxes they had then ventured to propose, they now resolved neither to open a loan, nor to have recourse to a lottery; though it is well known, that, in some respects, these loans and lotteries afford no unpleasant opportunities to a minister of obliging his friends, and strengthening his connections. The objects, to which they confined their attention, were first, the settlement of exchequer bills to the amount of one million eight hundred thousand pounds, which had been issued by virtue of an act passed in the preceding year, and then made chargeable on the first aids to be granted in the present session; secondly, the discharge of two millions of a debt contracted on account of the war, and which still remained to be satisfied; and, thirdly, the ways and means for the service of the ensuing year. As the bank contract was to be renewed, the treasury availed itself very prudently of so favourable a conjuncture, and stipulated that this body should take a million of the exchequer bills for two years, at an interest reduced by one-fourth, and should also pay a fine, on the renewal, of one hundred and ten thousand pounds. This was certainly the most beneficial contract ever before made with that corporation, whose vast money trade is supported by the credit of government. For the rest of the exchequer bills, they struck new ones. They brought to the service of the nation about seven hundred and twenty three thousand pounds, the produce of the French prizes taken before the declaration of war, and which the king generously bestowed upon the public. They also brought to account what had been long neglected, to the detriment of the service, and the reproach of former administrations, the saving on the non-effective men; and this saving amounted to one hundred and forty thousand pounds. With these resources, with the land-tax now grown into a settled and permanent revenue of four shillings in the pound, with the duty upon malt, with two millions taken from the sinking fund, being the overplus of that fund, joined to some other savings, they paid off the before mentioned debt, and provided for the current service in all its establishments and contingencies. They justified their employment of the overplus of the sinking fund by former precedents, by the propriety and wisdom of the measure itself, but principally on the credit of having augmented

it by near four hundred thousand pounds in the single article of tea, an immense quantity of which had been brought to pay duty by the prudent measures taken for the prevention of smuggling, and the vigilant collection of the revenue.

Nothing could more evidently demonstrate the malignant purpose of those writers than their total silence. The points which did the ministry indispensible honour, were the application of the French prize money by the favour of the crown, at a time when there were, perhaps, other calls, plausible and pressing enough, to divert it another way; the beneficial contract with the bank, by which one hundred and ten thousand pounds were brought to the service of the year, besides the transfer and delayed payment at reduced interest of a million of exchequer bills; and the saving on the non-effective mace, which amounted to so large a sum; were matters of such striking merit and importance, that none but the devoted tools of a party could pass them over unnoticed.

Among the ways and means of this session were some regulations of the American trade, and some duties imposed on various articles of import and export in that extensive sphere of commerce, which, though they occasioned but little debate at the time, proved very soon afterwards a source of the most violent contests, and gradually led to all the horrors and calamities of a civil war.

The fourteenth resolution of the committee of ways and means which stated, "that towards farther defraying the said expenses, it might be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations," was thrown out, or rather postponed to the next session, in order to give the colonies an opportunity of petitioning against it, should they deem it exceptional, and of offering some equivalent for the supposed produce of such a tax.

But a bill was passed for restraining the increase of paper money in the colonies, by declaring that any such paper, which might be in future issued there, should not be considered as a legal tender in payment. It is remarkable, that all those measures, many of which were extremely delicate and hazardous, were proposed, acquiesced in, and passed into laws, without the least animadversion, as if the leaders of party, who had been so clamorous about trifles, anticipated with silent joy the fatal issue of such experiments, and looked upon them as the probable means of introducing themselves into power, even through the distresses and convulsions of the whole empire.

Among the bills prepared for the royal assent at the close of the session on the eighteenth of April, was one which had for its object the increase of the revenue of the post-office, by correcting and restraining abuses and frauds in the practice of franking. Upon the whole it was estimated, that the loss to the revenue, in consequence of franking

amounted to one hundred and seventy thousand pounds annually. It therefore became necessary for a government, which valued itself upon economy, to check these abuses, and to regulate the privilege. It was made felony and transportation for seven years to forge a frank.

GENERAL CONWAY DISMISSED.

It is unnecessary to make any remarks on the speech, with which his majesty closed this session, as it contained only the usual return of thanks to both houses for their wise and public spirited exertions; a renewal of the assurances which his majesty continued to receive of the public confidence of foreign powers; and an exhortation to employ this season of tranquillity in considering of the most effectual means for perfecting the works of peace, so happily begun. Thus ended the parliamentary campaign for this season; and the ministry, to whose duration a very short date had been assigned by their adversaries, not only weathered the storms of the session, but seemed to gather new strength to contend with future tempests. In the moment of triumph, and of indignation also at those who had deserted them in the hour of greatest danger, they showed their power and resentment, perhaps too indiscreetly, by dismissing some persons of high military rank from the service, and, among the rest, Lieutenant-general Conway, an officer of distinguished merit and abilities. So harsh a step admitted, however, of some little excuse. In the debate on general warrants, the division in the commons ran so near, as before observed, that the ministry carried the question only by a majority of fourteen. Had the question been decided in favour of the opposition, the monument was to have been illuminated in the same manner as in the year 1732, when the famous excise scheme was defeated; and the greatest testimonies of joy were to have been displayed. Preparations for those purposes having been openly made, were considered as so many insults upon government; and however the zeal of the citizens or of the uninformed populace might influence them, it was thought indecent in any of the king's servants to countenance such proceedings. The general officer already mentioned was represented as being an important acquisition to the minority, and was charged with not only voting against the court in the debate on general warrants, but with speaking in the most disrespectful terms of the minister's person and capacity for business. The general and his friends very properly insisted upon his being as independent as any other gentleman in the house of commons, and that he ought to be as free in giving his vote. The ministry were far from disputing that principle; but they said, that the king ought to have an equal freedom in employing whom he pleased in the departments that were in his disposal (6).

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

- 1 All Mr. Pitt's former harsh and outrageous censures of the peace were softened into this courtly phrase, in his conversation with the king.
- 2 The present duke of York.
- 3 The orator here alluded to Mr. Wilkes's famous, or rather infamous "Essay on Woman."
- 4 His lordship acquired great popularity by his judicial decisions on the illegality of general warrants. The corporation of Dublin took the lead in voting him the freedom of their city in a gold box, accompanied with the thanks of

the sheriff and common council for his just and spirited conduct in the late trials. The lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London improved upon the example by a vote, that the freedom of the city should be presented to his lordship, and that he should also be requested to sit for his picture, to be placed in Guildhall, as a lasting memorial of their gratitude. Similar compliments were transmitted to him from some other communities in England and Ireland; and the seal of royal approbation

was soon after affixed to those testimonies of popular esteem, by creating him a peer of the realm.

- 5 Dr. Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, whose name was most scurrilously inserted in the title page as the author of the notes. The complaint could not otherwise have been properly brought before the house of lords.

- 6 In little more than a year after, the general had ample amends made him for the unpleasantness of this dismissal, by being appointed one of the secretaries of state.

CHAPTER VII.

Inquiry into the Causes of the Renewal of Hostilities with the Savage Tribes in America—Extent of the Governments of Quebec, of East and West Florida—Incitements to War on the Part of the Indians—Military Operations against the Indians, and Peace with them—Impolitic Suppression of the commercial Intercourse between the British and Spanish Plantations, and between the American Colonies and the French Islands—Colonists refuse Compensation for the Stamp Duties—State of the British Logwood-cutters in the Bay of Honduras—French atone for outrage at Turk's Islands—Progress of American Stamp Act through both Houses—Prevention of Smuggling—Purchase of the Sovereignty of the Isle of Man—A Regency Bill recommended by his Majesty—New Administration formed by the Duke of Cumberland.

CAUSES OF DISTURBANCES WITH THE INDIANS.

1763. **T**HE renewal of hostilities on the part of the savages in America was barely noticed, early in the last chapter, among the important concerns of the British ministry; but any farther details on that head were then postponed, on account of the more immediate and more interesting pressure of domestic occurrences. In order now to lead the reader to a proper idea of the events of that savage war, it will be necessary to trace out the causes which probably gave rise to it; and to explain the measures, which were cautiously though at first unsuccessfully designed to prevent any such disturbances.

By the fourth and seventh articles of the treaty of peace, Canada was ceded to Great Britain in its utmost extent. This stretched the northern part of her possessions on the continent of America from one ocean to the other. The cession of Louisiana to Mississippi, and of the Spanish Florida on both sides made her American empire complete. No frontiers could be more distinctly defined, nor more perfectly secured. The only care which seemed left for Great Britain, was to render these acquisitions as beneficial in traffic, as they were extensive in territory. In order to come at an exact knowledge of every thing necessary for this purpose, it was judged expedient to divide the new acquisitions on the continent into three separate and independent governments.

The first and most northerly of these divisions was called the government of Quebec, the limitation of which within narrower boundaries than those formerly assigned by the French to Canada, excited some surprise and no inconsiderable clamour at home. The southern divisions were more easily adjusted, as the two provinces of East and West Florida were regularly parted by the river Apalachicola. The coast of Labrador from the river St. John to Hudson's Straits, and all the neighbouring islands in the gulph of St. Lawrence, were subjected to the authority and inspection of the governor of Newfoundland, their value depending wholly on the fishery. The islands of St. John and Cape Breton were annexed, as their situation required, to Nova Scotia.

This distribution of the newly acquired territories was announced to the public, in a royal proclamation of the seventh of October, 1763. Most people were, indeed, astonished to find, that the environs of the great lakes, the fine countries on the whole course of the Ohio and Ouabache, and almost all that tract of Louisiana which lies on the hither branch of the Mississippi, were left out, and, as it were, disregarded in this boasted plan of territorial reparation. But the ministry had many reasons for such an apparent omission. A consideration of the Indians carried with it no small weight, because it might have given a sensible alarm to that people,

if they had seen their whole country formally canted out into regular establishments. It was in this idea that the proclamation strictly forbade any purchases or settlements beyond the limits of the three before mentioned governments, or any extension of the old colonies beyond the heads of the rivers which fall from the westward into the Atlantic ocean; reserving expressly all the territories behind as an hunting ground for the Indians. Another reason, probably, why no disposition had been made of the inland country, was, that the charters of many of the old colonies gave them no other bounds to the westward but the South Sea; and consequently comprehended almost all the conquered districts. But where the western boundary ought to be settled, was a matter which admitted of great dispute; and, to all appearance, could only be finally adjusted by the interposition of parliament.

That the ministry were not guilty of any blameable neglect is evident from their earnest attention to the improvement of those parts which they could perfectly command. In order to invite soldiers and seamen, who had served in the American war, to settle in the country they had conquered, lots of land were offered to them as the rewards of their services, and in proportion to the rank they held in the army or navy. Every field officer was to have five thousand acres, every captain three thousand, every subaltern two thousand, every non-commissioned officer two hundred, and every private soldier or seaman fifty. But as no encouragement unconnected with the idea of liberty could be flattering to Englishmen, a civil establishment, comprehending a popular representative, agreeable to the plan of the royal governments in the other colonies, was directed as soon as the circumstances of these countries would admit of it; and in the mean time, such regulations were provided as held out to every individual the full enjoyment and benefit of the laws of England. And, lastly, that nothing might be wanting for the security of new settlers, and for awing as well as protecting the Indian nations, a regular military establishment also was formed there, consisting of ten thousand men, divided into twenty battalions, part of whom were to be employed in the defence of the West India islands.

THE INDIANS COMMENCE HOSTILITIES.

BUT though the most prudent steps were thus taken, to avoid giving offence to the Indians on the one hand, and to intimidate their ferocity on the other, they suddenly fell upon the frontiers of the most valuable settlements, and upon all the outlying forts, with such a unanimity in the design, and such persevering fury in the attack, as had not been experienced even in the hottest times of any former war. Various causes concurred to urge them on to this very unexpected violence. The English had treated the savages at all times with

too much indifference, but more especially since the close of the French war. The usual presents were omitted. Contrary to the intentions of government, settlements were attempted beyond the just limits. Purchases, indeed, were made of the lands, and sometimes fair ones. But the Indians, conscious of the weakness and facility of their own character in all dealings, have often considered a purchase and an invasion as nearly the same thing. They expect, that the reason of enlightened nations will rather aid, than take advantage of their imbecility, and will not suffer them, even when they are willing, to do those things which must end in their ruin when done. They were also alarmed at seeing all the places of strength in the possession of the British troops, and a chain of forts drawn round the best hunting country they had left, which was an object of the more serious concern to them, as such ground became every day more scarce, not only from the gradual extending of the British settlements, but from their own bad economy of this single resource of savage life. It was therefore very natural for them to look upon every garrison as the first advances of an encroaching colony; and, in the midst of all these fears, a report having been spread amongst them, that a scheme was formed for their entire extirpation, they did not hesitate a moment longer to take up the hatchet.

The Delawares and Shawanees, who, as the cultivation of Pennsylvania advanced, had retired, and settled upon the Ohio, took the lead in this renewal of hostilities. They had even the address to engage the Senecas, one of the five nations to whom they themselves had been formerly tributaries, to espouse their quarrel, and to join in the proposed attack on the British forts and colonies.

General Amherst, the commander in chief, sensible of the danger to which all the British conquests were exposed by the sudden breaking out of this war, sent off detachments as early as possible to strengthen the chief posts. Detroit was the first, where one of the detachments arrived on the twenty-ninth of July, and where a plan was immediately formed by captain Dalyel, who had the command of these troops, for surprising the savages in their camp, which was about three miles from the fort. The captain set out at the head of two hundred and forty-five men, between two and three o'clock in the morning, with all the precautions possible. He was also attended by two armed boats, to co-operate with the land forces, whose march lay along the bank of the lake, or to cover, if necessary, their retreat. They were not far from the Indian quarters, when they received a brisk fire in their front. Instantly after it began upon their rear. They were attacked on all sides, and their commander fell early in the action. The darkness of the night hindered their seeing the enemy; and the whole party was on the point of falling into irremediable confusion. The Indians had been apprised of their design, and had, with their usual subtlety, posted themselves in such a manner behind hedges, and in huts on each side of the road, as gave them a considerable advantage over the exposed assailants. In this emergency, captain Grant, on whom the command of the British troops devolved, saw that nothing was left but a retreat. He also saw that even this could be effected only by first making a spirited attack on the enemy's posts, which was done with great order and resolution. The Indians were driven from the road, and at length repulsed every where. Captain Grant then made good his retreat to the boats, which carried off the wounded; and the rest of the detachment regained the fort, though with great difficulty, and considerable loss, as very near a third of their number fell in the action. At the very time when one party of them was thus foiled in their stratagems near Detroit, another more numerous and formidable body invested fort Pitt, at the distance of more than two hundred miles from the former place.

In the mean time general Amherst, fully persuaded, from the importance and situation of fort Pitt, that it would become one of the principal objects of savage fury, ordered colonel Bouquet to march to its relief, with a large quantity of provisions and stores under a strong escort. The Indians, who had their scouts all over the country, were no sooner informed of the march of the English troops, than they abandoned the blockade of the fort, in order to seize the first favourable oppor-

tunity of cutting off the intended reinforcement. Colonel Bouquet having advanced as far as Ligonier, on the extreme verge of the British settlements, without receiving any intelligence of the position or motions of the enemy, very prudently resolved to disencumber himself there of the waggon and of a considerable part of the ammunition and provisions; while he proceeded with the troops, and about three hundred and forty horses loaded with flour and such other supplies as were absolutely necessary. Being thus disburdened, the English army entered a rough and mountainous country. Before them lay a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek, several miles in length, commanded the whole way by high and craggy hills. It was therefore deemed most advisable not to attempt passing this defile but by night, in order, if possible, to elude the vigilance of their alert enemies.

While the colonel and his party were making the necessary arrangements to refresh themselves, after a fatiguing march of seventeen miles, the Indians made a sudden attack on his advanced guard, which being speedily and firmly supported, the enemy was beat off, and even pursued to a considerable distance. As soon as the savages were driven from one eminence, they immediately occupied another; still by constant reinforcements, they were able to surround the whole detachment, and to attack the convoy in the rear, which forced the main body to fall back for its protection. The action now became general; and though the savages poured down on every side in considerable numbers, and fought with unusual regularity and spirit, the superior skill and steady courage of the British troops at length prevailed. Above sixty of the English were killed or wounded; and as the ground, on which they stood, was not ill adapted to an encampment, the convoy and the wounded were placed in the centre; and the troops, forming a circle, encompassed the whole. In this manner, and with little repose, they passed an anxious night, obliged to the strictest vigilance by a daring enemy, who, notwithstanding this first check, seemed to wait only for the morning to complete their destruction.

Those who have only experienced the severities and dangers of a campaign in Europe, can scarcely form an idea of what is to be done and endured in an American war. To act in a country cultivated and inhabited, where roads are made, magazines are established, and hospitals provided; where there are strong towns to afford refuge in case of misfortune; or, at the worst, a generous enemy to yield to, from whom no consolation, but the honour of victory, can be wanting; this may be considered as the exercise of an active and adventurous mind, rather than a rigid contest for mutual destruction; and as a dispute between rivals for glory, rather than a struggle between sanguinary enemies. But in an American campaign, every object is terrible; the face of the country, the climate, the enemy. There is no refreshment for the healthy, no relief for the sick or wounded. A vast inhospitable desert, unsafe and treacherous, extends on every side. Victories are not decisive, but defeats are ruinous; and simple death is the least misfortune that can befall a soldier. This forms a service truly critical, in which all the firmness of the body and mind is put to the severest trial; and all the exertions of courage, perseverance, and address are called forth by the unceasing perils of every moment. Some remarks of this kind seemed necessary, to place in a proper light the dreadful situation and unparalleled efforts of the brave detachment under colonel Bouquet.

At the first dawn of light, in the morning of the sixth of August, the savages, at the distance of about five hundred yards, emitted the most horrid shouts and yells, in order to intimidate by an ostentation of their numbers and their ferocity. After this alarming preparative, they rushed on with the utmost fury, and, under the favour of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate into the camp. They were repulsed in every attempt, but by no means discouraged from new ones. The British troops, continually victorious, were continually in danger.

Colonel Bouquet, seeing that all depended on bringing the savages to a close engagement, and that when pressed, they always flew off in order to rally with the greater effect, formed a plan for giving new strength to their audacity by making

dispositions for an apparent retreat. The savages gave entirely into the snare : imagining that those movements were sure indications of an attempt to escape, they rushed from the woods which had hitherto covered them, and hurrying on headlong with the utmost intrepidity, galled the English with their heavy fire. But at the very instant, when they thought the victory certain, and the camp taken, the two first companies made a sudden turn, and rallying out from a part of the hill which was not observed, fell furiously upon their right flank. The barbarians made for a little time a desperate stand, returning the first fire with great resolution ; but they fled at the second volley. As they turned their backs, two other companies presented themselves in their front, and totally routed them with great slaughter. The victorious army, notwithstanding this advantage, had suffered so much, and had lost so many horses, that, before they could move, they were obliged to destroy the greatest part of their flour and provisions, and consequently to give up one of the principal objects of their expedition. About two miles farther on, at a place called Bushy Run, the savages made another attack upon them, but less vigorously than before ; after which they suffered little molestation during the rest of their march, but arrived safe at fort Pitt, in four days from the action. The loss sustained by the English in these engagements was fifty killed, and about sixty wounded : that of the savages was not much greater, owing to their manner of fighting ; but their tribes being very thin, they thought it an almost irreparable havoc, particularly as some of their bravest leaders had fallen upon the occasion.

Though the two forts of Detroit and Pitt were thus secured by timely reinforcements, the Indians in other parts of the country were not discouraged from farther attempts. Niagara was a place equally worthy of their regard ; and they endeavoured to distress it by every method, which the meanness of their skill in attacking fortified places would permit. They chiefly directed their attention to the convoys, hoping to starve what they could not otherwise reduce. The vast distance of the forts from each other, and of all of them from the settled countries, favoured their design. Near the carrying place of Niagara, a body of five hundred of them surrounded an escort consisting of two companies of English soldiers, on the fourteenth of September, and killed seventy-two of the privates, besides officers and sergeants. On the lake Erie, with a crowd of canoes, they attacked a schooner, which was conveying provisions to fort Detroit ; but here they were not so successful. Though in this savage navy they had employed near four hundred men, and had but a single vessel to engage, they were repulsed, after a hot engagement, with great loss. The schooner was to them as a fortification on the water ; and they knew not how to make their approaches, or onsets, with the same advantage as upon the convoys by land.

TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

WHILE the war was thus raging in the remotest parts of the colony, Sir William Johnson applied himself with indefatigable seal to secure the attachment of such of the Indians as had not yet commenced hostilities. For this purpose he opened conferences at the German Flats, in the beginning of September, with the Six Nations and some others, who appeared desirous of continuing in quiet dependance upon England. They could not, however, prevent the Senecas and their allies from continuing their depredations and massacres. Vigorous measures were therefore adopted to reduce these refractory savages to reason ; and it was not till they severely felt the scourge of powerful vengeance, that the Senecas were induced to solicit peace. In the treaty concluded between them and Sir William Johnson, all occasions of future dispute were removed ; their boundaries were precisely ascertained ; their past transgressions were forgiven ; and in consequence of their solemn engagements never more to make war upon the English, or to suffer any of their people to commit any acts of violence on the persons or properties of any of his Britannic majesty's subjects, they were not only admitted once more into the covenant chain of friendship, but were to be indulged with a free, fair, and open trade.

This treaty took place in April 1764 ; and one of the most considerable succours being thereby with-

drawn from the other hostile tribes, it was not likely that they would hold out much longer. Colonel Bradstreet was ordered to advance with a large body of men from Niagara to the countries of those savages ; and colonel Bouquet set out with another body for the same purpose from Canada, intending to carry the war through their most remote habitations, if they did not submit in time. Such appearances of determined resolution produced the proper effects : for when colonel Bradstreet arrived at Presque Isle in August despatches from the several nations waited upon him, and engaged by solemn treaty to deliver up all the prisoners in their hands, and to renounce all claim to the posts and forts possessed in their country by the English, who should be at liberty to erect as many more as might be thought necessary for the security of their trade, with as much land to each fort, for raising provisions, as a cannon shot can fly over. Some other conditions were added, tending to inspire the barbarians with a sense of humanity and justice, and to give them some idea of the English government. Colonel Bouquet was equally successful, though the savages, against whom he marched, were by far the most perfidious and intractable. He penetrated into the very heart of their country about the latter end of October : and when they found that he was neither to be checked by any show of resistance, nor amused by delusive promises, they agreed to treat in good earnest, faithfully giving up all their prisoners, even the children born of white women, admitting detachments of his army into their towns, giving some of their chiefs as hostages, and appointing deputies finally to settle the terms of peace with Sir William Johnson. These wise and resolute measures restored security to the interior colonies, or back settlers in North America.

DISSATISFACTION OF THE COLONISTS.

BUT while the British government was thus taking the most effectual steps to secure the peaceable submission of the American savages, a spirit of much more dangerous resistance began to appear among its civilised subjects on the same continent. This was first excited by some attempts made to break off all kind of commercial intercourse between the British colonies and the French and Spanish settlements. The trade was certainly illicit ; but as many parts of it were highly beneficial to those who carried it on, and ultimately to the mother countries in Europe, every restraint ought to have been imposed with the utmost delicacy and caution.

The first branch of commerce which felt the weight of the blow was that which had been for a long time carried on between the British and Spanish plantations, to the great advantage of both, but especially the former, the chief materials of it being, on the side of the British colonies, British manufactures, or such of their own produce as enabled them to purchase those manufactures ; and, on the part of the Spaniards, gold and silver in bullion and in coin, cochineal, and medicinal drugs, besides live stock and mules, with which the West India islands used to be supplied by the same channel, and which were still more necessary than the precious metals. Though this trade did not clash with the spirit of any of the prohibitory acts, yet it was found to vary from the letter of them sufficiently to afford the revenue officers a plea for doing that from duty, which they had strong temptations to do from motives of interest. Accordingly they seized, indiscriminately, all British as well as foreign ships engaged in that traffic.

The same mistake attended the trade carried on by the American colonies with the French West India islands, and which was no less lucrative than the former. It depended on a mutual exchange of articles which would have otherwise remained useless incumbrances on the hands of the possessors, so that it united all the advantages which liberal minds include in the idea of a well regulated commerce. It had been interrupted during the war, but was soon likely to flourish again, had not the clamour of some selfish West Indians prevailed upon government to issue orders for its suppression, as not being strictly conformable to law. Sound policy would rather have connived at such a resource, which not only prevented the North American colonies from being drained of their current cash by the calls of the mother country upon them, but afforded supplies of specie for the purposes of

internal circulation. This was of the greater importance, as their domestic trade necessarily increased from day to day, in proportion to the remarkable increase of mankind in that part of the world, where the cheapness of land determines the greater part of the inhabitants to the exercise of the rural arts, so favourable to population.

In consequence of these prohibitions, which were for some time enforced by the naval officers with the utmost severity, not only all the contraband, but the fair and lawful trade of the Americans was threatened with irrecoverable ruin. It is not therefore, to be wondered at, that the inhabitants of many of the colonies, being no longer able to make the usual remittances to the mother country for the usual supplies, began to turn their thoughts to retrenchment and industry; and renouncing all luxury, came to a resolution not to buy any clothes, or other articles which they could possibly do without, that were not of their own manufacturing. Though the English ministry, on the first intimation of those grievances, immediately softened the rigour of their former orders, and prepared those regulations of the American commerce, mentioned in the preceding chapter, which were passed into laws before the close of the session in April; yet all these expedients were not attended with the desired effect. The Americans still complained, that the mode of restriction was only changed, and that the show of indulgence was rather an aggravation of their distresses. They did not deny that their intercourse with the other European colonies was now rendered in some respects legal; but they said, that the best part of it was loaded with duties so far above its strength to bear, as became in reality prohibitions to all intents and purposes. They were equally dissatisfied with being obliged to pay those duties, in specie, into the English exchequer, though it was expressly stated in the act, that the money arising from them was to be reserved for defraying the charges of protecting the colonies on which it was levied. They laid but little stress on the laws made at the same time for the encouragement and increase of their commercial intercourse with the mother country; because, as they alleged, the benefits to be derived from that farther intercourse were, at best, very remote, if not uncertain, whereas the effects of the laws for restraining their foreign trade and cramping domestic industry by the want of specie and the destruction of paper currency, were certain and instantaneous.

THE ASSEMBLIES REFUSE COMPENSATION FOR THE STAMP ACT.

BUT the object, against which the colonists raised the loudest clamour, was the postscript intention of charging them with stamp duties. That measure had, as before intimated, been delayed by the minister, till the sense of their several assemblies could be taken, how far they were willing to make a compensation in any other form, for the revenue that such a tax might produce. This was so uncommon an instance of condescension, that the agents for the colonies residing in London thought it their duty to wait upon him, and to return him thanks in the name of their constituents. He took that opportunity to inform them, that it was then in the power of the colonies, by agreeing to that tax, to establish a precedent for their being consulted for the future, before any tax was imposed upon them by the British parliament. The candour and generosity of this proceeding did not make a suitable impression on the minds of the Americans, prejudiced and irritated, as they were, by the late commercial restrictions. So far from complying, they resolved to remonstrate: and some of their assemblies sent over petitions, to be presented to the king, lords, and commons, positively and directly questioning the authority and jurisdiction of parliament over their properties. Even those provinces, that were most moderate in their remonstrances, did not instruct their agents either to agree to the tax in question, or to offer any compensation to be exempted from it. Two of the agents, indeed, answered for the colonies they served, bearing of their proportion of the stamp-duty by methods of their own; but they did not venture, when questioned, to say, that they were authorized to agree for any particular sum. All imaginable methods were taken, though to little purpose, to convince the colonists of their mistake, before the matter came under a parliamentary consideration.

1768. After a much longer relief from public duty than the parliament had for some years experienced, it met on the tenth of January, when his majesty opened the session with a speech, informing both houses among other usual topics that his majesty had agreed with his good brother the king of Denmark, to cement the union which had long subsisted between the two crowns, by the marriage of the prince royal of Denmark with his sister the princess Caroline Matilda, which would be solemnized as soon as their respective ages would permit.

PETTY DISTURBANCES FROM SPAIN AND FRANCE APOLOGIZED FOR.

BY accounts received from the West Indies in the month of June, it appeared that, in consequence of an order from Don Remires, the Spanish governor of Jucatan, the English logwood cutters had been not only disturbed in their business, contrary to the last treaty, but ordered to remove suddenly from their usual places of settlement, on pretence of their having nothing to prove their being subjects to his Britannic majesty; and granting they were, they had roved too freely about the country, gathering the fruits of it, as if it belonged to them. The sufferers joined in a petition to the governor of Jamaica, under whose protection they were, representing the distresses to which they were reduced by such capricious and arbitrary proceedings. Governor Lyttleton having satisfied himself of the truth of the complaint, sent off despatches to England, in consequence of which the earl of Rochford, then ambassador at the court of Madrid, was ordered to make serious remonstrances to that court on the subject. The reply of the Spanish ministry was, that they had not received any advice from the governor of Jucatan relative to this affair; but that the Catholic king had certainly given him positive orders to abide by and observe the seventeenth article of the definitive treaty; and that his majesty would not approve of the conduct of any of his governors, ministers, or subjects, who acted in contravention to it. But this answer not being deemed sufficiently explicit or satisfactory by some of the English ministry, the ambassador was directed to renew the remonstrances; upon which orders were despatched by his Catholic majesty to Remires, censuring his behaviour towards the logwood cutters; expressing a desire of giving the king of England the greatest proofs of friendship, and of preserving peace with the British nation; and commanding Remires to re-establish the logwood cutters in the several places from which he had obliged them to retire, and to let them know that they might return to their occupation, without being disquieted under any pretence whatsoever.

In another instance, which occurred about the same time, the Spanish government showed an equal readiness to remove any just cause of complaint on the part of Great Britain. The commodore of some Spanish xebecs, that were cruising against the Algerines in the Mediterranean, attacked an English merchant ship, commanded by one captain Sybrand, who immediately hoisted English colours, but having no guns on board, cried out for mercy. This, however, had no effect on the Spaniards, who continued their fire, till the English ship was rendered almost a wreck; many of the crew were wounded; one of the passengers lost his arm; and the ship was carried into Carthage. On the discovery of the mistake, into which the very unpardonable precipitancy of the Spanish commodore had hurried him, the damages done to the English ship were immediately repaid out of the arsenal at Carthage; and in consequence of the strong representations made on that head by lord Rochford to the Catholic king, his majesty defrayed the expense of curing the wounded English; indemnified their captain for the interruption of his voyage; and gave the passenger a gratification for the unfortunate loss of his arm.

Some proceedings of the French in the West Indies afforded fresh matter for increasing the apprehensions of a war. At no great distance from the coast of Hispaniola are several small islands, the most considerable, or rather the least insignificant of which is called Turkey Island, and gives its name to the rest. Though it is an uncomfortable barren spot, with very little fresh water, without any vegetables except low shrubs, or any animals except lizards, and land-crabs; yet the coast

abounds with fish, turtle, and sea-fowls; and the soil itself produces salt. As it was impossible for any settlement to subsist upon the island, the property of it remained undetermined: but the Bermudians and other British subjects used to resort thither annually in March for the benefit of gathering salt in the dry season. Their manner of living was the most wretched that can well be conceived: they dwelt in huts covered with leaves: a kettle and a knife were their only utensils: salt pork, and now and then a turtle, or a lizard was their food; and their dress consisted of a straw hat, a check shirt, and a pair of coarse linen trowsers. Their chief customers were the people of New England, who purchased the salt for their fisheries, at the rate of from four pence to six pence a bushel, and paid a small part in money, and the rest in bad rum, and worse provisions. Here was nothing to invite invasion, or rapine. Yet, on the first of June, the crews of a French seventy four gun ship, and of two or three small vessels in company, landed on the island; plundered and burnt all the cabins that were erected there; and carried off the inhabitants, about two hundred in number, with nine English vessels which they found off the coast, to cape Francois, where they released them next day, with orders not to return to Turk's island. Governor Littleton, on being informed of these unaccountable hostilities, lost no time in communicating his intelligence to the ministry, nor they in transmitting it to the earl of Hertford, the English ambassador at the court of France. The gazette of the eleventh of September informed the nation, that the court of France, in answer to the earl of Hertford's demand of immediate satisfaction and reparation for these acts of violence, had disavowed the whole proceedings; had disclaimed all intention, or desire of acquiring or conquering the Turk's islands; and had given orders to the count d'Estaing, governor of St. Domingo, to cause the said islands to be immediately abandoned on the part of the French, to restore every thing therein to the condition in which it was on the first of June last, and to make reparation of the damages which any of his Britannic majesty's subjects should be found to have sustained, in consequence of the said proceedings, according to an estimation to be forthwith settled by the said governor with the governor of Jamaica.

To these proofs of the sincere intentions of France to preserve the peace, and to fulfil her engagements, another very strong and unequivocal one was lately added, in the proposal submitted to his majesty by the French ambassador for the discharge of the balance due for the subsistence of French prisoners in the British dominions during the last war. His excellency was authorised by his court to offer six hundred and seventy thousand pounds in acquittal of the whole demand, one hundred and thirty thousand pounds to be paid immediately, and the remainder at the rate of forty thousand pounds a quarter.

THE AMERICAN STAMP ACT PASSED.

BUT the attention of parliament was soon called to a subject of much greater importance, the propriety of laying nearly the same stamp duties upon the British colonies in America as were payable in England. No less than fifty five resolutions of the committee of ways and means, relative to that branch of the revenue, were agreed to by the house on the seventh of February; and were afterwards formed into a bill, which met with fewer checks or delays in its progress through both houses than the most trifling measure which had been hitherto proposed by government. Petitions, indeed, as before intimated, had been sent over by several of the provincial assemblies, directly questioning the jurisdiction of the British parliament: but they were not suffered to be read in the house of commons; nor did any member at that time stand forward to defend such pretensions. Grenville, at the head of the treasury, felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable, and at the same time of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade, and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire which had benefited most by the expenses of the war, should contribute something to the expense of the peace; and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in parliament to raise the contribu-

tion. But unfortunately for this country, Pitt and lord Camden were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the colonies; and while perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other.

MEASURES FOR PREVENTING SMUGGLING, &c.

GRENVILLE'S plans for the increase of the revenue at home, and for the prevention of smuggling on the British coasts, were attended with much greater facility and success. The Isle of Man, which was not subject to the custom-house laws, as not only the property but the sovereignty of it belonged to the duke of Athol, lay so conveniently for the purpose of smuggling, that it defeated the utmost vigilance of government. Grenville presented to the house of commons, "a bill for more effectually preventing the mischief arising to the revenue and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, from the illicit and clandestine trade to and from the Isle of Man." It was obvious that no effectual remedy could be applied, but by vesting the sovereignty of the island in the crown of Great Britain. Before the second reading of the bill, the duke and dutchess of Athol presented a petition for liberty to be heard by counsel against it. The object was to obtain a proper compensation or equivalent for the surrender of their hereditary rights and title. An abstract of the clear revenue of the island for the last ten years, and the proposals of the duke and dutchess in their correspondence with the commissioners of the treasury on the subject, were also laid before the house; and the result of all was, that on the sixth of March, two resolutions were agreed to, and afterwards passed into a law, for vesting in the crown all rights, jurisdictions, and interests, in and over the said island and its dependencies, excepting what related to the landed property; and for allowing the proprietors seventy thousand pounds as a full compensation for those rights. The liberality of government went still farther, and in addition to the former sum, granted a pension of two thousand pounds a year to the late duke, and to the dutchess his wife, during their lives, by way of douceur for their relinquishment of titular royalty.

REGENCY ACT.

BEFORE the bills, founded on the above proceedings and resolutions of the commons, could go through all the necessary stages, another matter of great national concern engaged the attention of the public at large, as well as of parliament. Towards the spring of the year, his majesty was attacked with an illness, which excited the greater alarm, as nothing could be gathered from the newspapers, but that the state of his health was precarious. The first day that his health would permit him to appear abroad, which was on the twenty-fourth of April, he repaired to parliament, where, after giving his assent to the bills that were ready, he made a speech to both houses, in which he told them, that the tender concern he felt for his faithful subjects made him anxious to provide for every possible event, which might affect their happiness, and security: that his late indisposition, though not attended with danger, had led him to consider the situation in which his kingdoms and his family might be left, if it should please God to put a period to his life whilst his successor was of tender years: and as his health, by the blessing of God, was now restored, he took the earliest opportunity of meeting them, and of recommending to their most serious deliberation the making such provision as would be necessary, in case any of his children should succeed to his throne before they should respectively attain the age of eighteen years. To this end his majesty proposed to their consideration, whether, under the present circumstances, it would not be expedient to vest in him the power of appointing, from time to time, by instrument in writing, under his sign manual, either the queen, or any other person of his royal family usually residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of the person of such successor, and the regent of these kingdoms, until such successor should attain the age of eighteen years, subject to the like restrictions and regulations, as were specified in the act made on occasion of his father's death; the regent so ap-

pointed to be assisted by a council, composed of the several persons, who, by reason of their dignities and offices, were constituted members of the council established by that act, together with those whom they might think proper to leave to his nomination.

This affecting and gracious speech having been answered, as soon as forms would admit, by a joint address from both houses, well adapted to express those sentiments which it deserved, and those emotions which the occasion of it had so justly excited, the lords ordered a bill to be brought in, conformable to his majesty's recommendation; and when passed their house, sent it to the commons. But when the bill came down to them for their concurrence, it gave rise to very long debates, the clauses of it being so worded as to exclude the princess dowager of Wales from any share in the guardianship or regency, though, next to the queen, it was most natural for his majesty to wish his own mother invested with such trusts. An amendment was therefore moved, and carried by a majority of a hundred and sixty seven against thirty seven, for inserting the name of the princess dowager of Wales, next after that of the queen, as one of the persons whom his majesty might appoint to the guardianship of his successors under age, and to the regency of his realms. The bill, so amended, was returned to the house of lords; and, that amendment being approved by their lordships, received the royal assent on the fifteenth of May.

NEW ADMINISTRATION.

SINCE the earl of Bute's retirement from public business, the agents of faction had been indefatigable in their endeavours to make the multitude believe, that no important measure was determined upon by government without his private advice; and that his successors in office were but nominal substitutes, or rather mere puppets exhibited on the stage, while he stood behind the curtain managing the wires that regulated all their motions. The great popular speakers in both houses of parliament took care to countenance, and as far as they were able, to strengthen those reports by frequent insinuations of a secret influence. Such reproaches, however groundless and absurd, could not be very agreeable to any of the ministers; but they were particularly stinging to the duke of Bedford, a man almost as proud, as irritable, and as jealous of his independency as Mr. Pitt himself. From too violent a desire to wipe off the aspersion, and to afford the most unquestionable proofs of disregard for the earl of Bute, his grace contrived to have that nobleman's brother turned out of a very honourable and lucrative employment, enjoyed by him in his own country, and in the discharge of which he had not

given the least room for complaint. It was impossible this step should not be considered by the king as an affront put upon himself. But the duke and his colleagues went still farther; and dismissed lord Holland and the earl of Northumberland, for no other reason but because they were supposed to be the earl of Bute's friends. About the time these changes took place, parliament was prorogued with the usual acknowledgments from the throne.

The ministry did not long enjoy those gratifications. Offers were made to the principal members of the opposition, and, though declined by Mr. Pitt and lord Temple, were accepted by the duke of Newcastle, the marquis of Rockingham, and their friends. General Conway, who at the close of the last session had been deprived of all his employments, and the duke of Grafton were made secretaries of state. Lord Weymouth's late appointment to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland was superseded by that of the earl of Hertford, general Conway's brother. The president's chair, lately filled by the duke of Bedford, was given to the earl of Winchelsea; and the places, which Grenville had united in his own person, were now divided, the marquis of Rockingham becoming first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Dowdeswell chancellor of the exchequer. Most of the other great offices of state were also filled with new men, except that lord Egmont was continued at the head of the admiralty, and the duke of Newcastle chose to be lord privy seal, a place of ease well suited to his years, and yet of honour and confidence, the things of which his grace had ever appeared most ambitious. It was upon the same occasion that the very popular chief justice of the Common pleas obtained a peerage.

This arrangement, or alteration of the ministry was entirely the work of the duke of Cumberland, who continued for some time to assist them with his advice, but did not live long enough to see the consequences of the most important of their deliberations. On the evening of the thirty first of October, as his royal highness was preparing to assist at a council on affairs of state which was to be held at his own house in upper Grosvenor-street, he was seized with a disorder, of which he had some symptoms the night before, and in a fit of shivering, sunk senseless, almost instantaneously, in the arms of the earl of Albermarle. In less than two months after, the royal family sustained another loss in the death of prince Frederick William, his majesty's youngest brother. This event, following the former at so short an interval, thickened the glooms of melancholy round the court, and damped the joy which had been lately felt there, as well as throughout the kingdom, in consequence of the queen's happy delivery of a third son, prince William Henry, since created duke of Clarence.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mir Cassim's Endeavours to shake off the India Company's yoke—Military operations which effected the entire Conquest of Bengal—Appointment and Departure of a select Committee for Bengal—Treaty concluded by Lord Clive with the Nabob of Oude—Violent Proceedings against the Stamp Act in North America—Debates and proceedings in England as to right of taxing the Colonies—Causes of a sudden Change in the ministry.

DURING the painful suspense which the people of England must have felt with regard to the effects of the stamp act in America, and while the most enlightened patriots saw with concern some heavy clouds collecting over the western hemisphere, a brighter prospect presented itself in the east, where the affairs of the India company were said to go on in a brilliant career of success.

MIR COSSIM'S ATTEMPT AGAINST THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

IN some former remarks on the occurrences of the year 1761, it was observed that Mir Cassim, the subah of Bengal, who had been enabled by the assistance of the English to check Sha Zaddah's progress, was influenced by private motives to treat the conquered prince with extraordinary respect. Mir Cassim, though indebted to the English for the acquisition of the subahship in the first instance (1), and for the secure possession of it afterwards, conceived the design of freeing himself from what he thought the chains of ruinous and dishonourable dependence. Instead, therefore, of imposing hard terms on the Mogul prince, he strove to secure his friendship, of which he foresaw the value as soon as he should be prepared to avow his intentions. But there he artfully concealed for some time, and even continued to avail himself of the power of the English, whilst he found it serviceable to him. By their means he cleared his government of invaders, and strengthened his frontiers: he reduced the rajahs or independent Indian chiefs, who had rebelled during the feeble administration of his predecessor; and by compelling them to pay the usual tribute, repaired his exhausted finances, and thus secured the discipline and fidelity of his troops. Peace and order being restored to his province, his next step was to remove his court from Murshudabad, the vicinity of which to Calcutta gave the factory an opportunity of watching his conduct too narrowly, and of crushing all his efforts on the first suspicion. He moved two hundred miles higher up the Ganges, and fixed his residence at Mongheer, which he fortified as strongly and expeditiously as he could. Here he began to form his army on a new model. He drew together all the Persians, Tartars, Armenians, and other soldiers of fortune, whose military spirit he wished to infuse into his Indian forces, and whose example might, he hoped, teach them to overcome their natural timidity. Sensible of the superiority of European discipline, he neglected nothing to acquire it. Every wandering Frenchman, every seapoy who had been dismissed from the English service, he carefully picked up, and distributed amongst his troops, in order to train them to the most perfect exercise. He changed the fashion of the Indian muskets from matchlocks to firelocks; and because his cannon was nearly as defective as his small arms, he procured from the English a pattern of one, on which he formed an excellent train of artillery. Attentive to his army, he was not forgetful of his court, the treachery and factious dissensions of which had hitherto been more fatal to the Indian princes than the feebleness of their arms. He, therefore, cut off without remorse or throw into prison, every considerable

person in his dominions, who had shown any attachment to the English. Thus strengthened by every measure, which a subtle and enterprising man, unchecked by conscience, could take, he began to exert that authority, which he thought so firmly and so justly established. His revenue, though on a much better footing than that of his predecessor, still fell very short of its ancient limits. The free trade, which his own and his father-in-law's necessities had extorted in favour of the company's servants, threatened to annihilate his customs, as it diverted all the domestic and foreign commerce of Bengal into a channel from which he could derive no benefit. To remedy this evil, he subjected all the English private traders to the regular and equal payment of duties throughout his dominions; and issued an order, that their disputes, if they happened in his territories, should be decided by his magistrates.

The English factory took the alarm. Mr. Vansittart, the governor, went in the latter end of the year 1762, to Mongheer, in order to expostulate with the subah, who answered his remonstrances with a command of temper equal to the force of his reasoning. "If," said he, "the servants of the company were permitted, as they now desire, to trade custom-free in all parts, and in all commodities, they must of course draw all trade into their own hands; and my customs would be of no little value, that it would be more for my interest to lay trade entirely open, and to collect no duties upon any kind of merchandise. This would invite numbers of merchants into the country, and increase my revenues by encouraging the cultivation and manufacture of goods for sale, at the same time that it would cut off the principal source of our quarrels, an object, which I have more than any other at heart." The truth of these remarks could not be controverted; but Mir Cassim's conduct was still a direct violation of the treaty, or bargain he made with the company's servants on his obtaining the subahship, by which they were entitled to the privileges in question. The matter, however, was evidently in his power, unless a war prevented him. The governor, though long accustomed to dictate on such occasions, submitted to certain regulations, which, if not unreasonable, were very unpleasant. These were instantly put in execution; and the Indian magistrates began to exercise their power with a proper spirit, as they said, but, as the English traders complained, with partiality and rigour.

As soon as the effect of the negotiation was made known at Calcutta, it threw the factory into a flame. They were filled with indignation and astonishment, at finding, that an Asiatic prince, created by themselves, had dared to assert his independency. They began to repent of their late change, and to wish that they had left the timid and indolent Mir Jaffer to slumber quietly on his throne. The council disavowed the proceedings of the governor; sent orders to all the factories, forbidding them to submit to any of the proposed restrictions; and solicited Cassim to enter into a new agreement. But now grown confident of his strength, he charged them with inconsistency and insolence, and refused to negotiate with their deputies. The English factory, yielding

in nothing to his spirit, prepared to draw their army into the field, and once more proclaimed Mir Jaffer subah of Bengal.

In this war, the first blow was struck by the English. At Patna, a great commercial city, three hundred miles up the Ganges, they had a fortified factory, and some European as well as Indian soldiers. These suddenly attacked the town on the twenty-fifth of June 1763, and made themselves masters of it without much difficulty, notwithstanding its fortifications had been newly repaired, and that it was defended by a strong garrison. The Indian governor and his troops fled at the first assault into the country; but being reinforced, he returned in a few hours to Patna, and surprised the English, who had neglected every precaution, and were wildly dispersed on every side, wasting and plundering that opulent and feeble city. Many of them were cut to pieces, the rest took refuge in the fort. But even this they soon abandoned, so spiritless did they become in consequence of the unexpected turn of their affairs. Crossing the Ganges, they marched for three days without interruption; but were at length overtaken by a superior force. In the first engagement fortune proved favourable; in the second they were entirely routed, and shared that fate which might naturally be expected from so rash and precipitate a resolution. At a distance from all succour, and in the heart of the enemy's country, they had no safety to hope for, but from the defence of their factory, where they might have maintained themselves for a long time, the Indians being very inept in the art of reducing fortified places.

Though the deputies, sent to Mongheer, had the nabob's pass, and ought to have been by the law of nations sacred, they were attacked in their return, and miserably slaughtered with their attendants. This act of barbarity hastened the march of the army under major Adams, who, at first, had only one royal regiment, a few of the company's forces, two troops of European cavalry, ten companies of seapoys, and twelve pieces of cannon. With these he proved victorious in several brisk skirmishes, and cleared the country as far as the Cossimbuzar, a branch of the Ganger, which it was necessary to pass, before any attempt could be made on Murahadab, the capital of the province. The enemy did not oppose his passage; but had drawn out their army, consisting of ten thousand men, in an advantageous post at a place called Ballasara, between the river and the city. By a judicious movement, he obliged them to begin the action, which they did with great spirit, and bore the cannonade very firmly; but, at the distance of fifty yards, they received such a storm of musketry, as made them retreat in the utmost confusion and precipitancy. Adams, with that rapidity which is always useful in war, but was here indispensable, as the periodical rains began to fall, marched forward; but found the enemy again in his way, defended by an intrenchment fifteen feet high, and by a numerous artillery. It would have been an unjustifiable boldness to think of forcing so strong a post: he had recourse to a stratagem, which succeeded. He made a feint of attacking them where their principal strength lay, while the body of his army marched in the night to the opposite quarter of their line, and mastered it at day-break with little difficulty. Astonished at this stroke, the Indians fled, and abandoned the camp, and the city which it covered, to the conqueror.

So considerable an advantage, which the English gained on the twenty-third of July 1763, did not slacken, but increased their diligence and exertions. They penetrated into the inmost recesses of the province, and crossing the numerous and wide branches of the Ganges, sought out the subah through marshes and forests. He was not remiss in his own defence. Knowing the inferiority of his troops, and the slight attachment of Indian subjects to their prince, he never ventured the final decision of the war on a single battle, nor hazarded his person in any engagement. The faithlessness of his grandees, who might by treason erect their own fortune on his ruin, deterred him from the latter; and the former could never be deemed advisable by a man, whom the experience of others had taught that an immense multitude of undisciplined troops only confounds veterans, and contributes to the greatness of a defeat. In short, his whole conduct was formed upon wise principles; but his

troops had not time to be completed in their new exercise. The English were also in the career of victory, and nothing could stand before them. Yet they found a sensible difference in the opposition they now met with, though it was not able fully to obstruct their progress. Ten days after their late victory, they found twenty thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, excellently posted on the banks of the Nuncaas Nullas, well defended by a formidable train of artillery, divided into regular brigades, armed and clothed like Europeans, and in every respect displaying the same order and spirit as themselves. What was never before observed in India, the enemy did not discharge a cannon, till the English began the attack. A constant fire was kept up on both sides for the space of four hours, during which time the Indian cavalry charged the European regulars, at the distance of twenty yards, with uncommon resolution. But in spite of all the efforts of their improved discipline and courage, they were at length compelled to fly, with the loss of all their artillery.

After this decisive proof of the superiority of the English forces, the Indians never attempted a regular engagement in the open field during the remainder of the campaign. But they showed more than want of spirit nor skill in defending their towns and fortresses. At Auda Nulla particularly, they held out with wonderful art and perseverance, baffling every operation against them, from the twenty-first of August till the fourth of September, when being overpowered by one of major Adams's well-concerted stratagems, they suffered an incredible slaughter. The carrying of this strong hold laid open the whole country to the victorious arms of the English as far as the gates of Mongheer, which surrendered to them after only nine days open trenches.

Nothing now remained to complete the reduction of the whole province, but the taking of Patna. This was the last hope of Mir Cossim, who had accordingly taken every possible precaution to strengthen and secure it. He placed in the city a garrison of ten thousand men, and hovered at some distance with several large bodies of horse to annoy the besiegers. But this barbarian merited by his cruelties the ill success which constantly attended all his measures, however well chosen. Irritated at the progress of Adams, and unable to avenge himself in the field, he issued orders for massacring about two hundred Englishmen, who had been made prisoners at Patna, in the beginning of the troubles. One Someraw a German, who had deserted from the company's service, was chosen for the perpetration of this horrid villany. On the day intended for butchering these unfortunate persons, he invited forty of the most considerable to supper at his house; and, in the midst of convivial mirth, when they thought themselves protected by the laws of hospitality as well as of war, the ruffian ordered the Indians under his command to cut their throats. These barbarous soldiers revolted at the savage order: they refused at first to obey, desiring that arms might be given to the English, and that they would then engage them. Someraw, fixed in his purpose, compelled them by threats and blows to the accomplishment of that odious service. The unfortunate victims, though suddenly attacked and wholly unarmed, made a long and brave defence, killing some of the assailants with their plates and bottles. In the end they were all murdered; and the rest of the prisoners met with the same fate.

This enormous crime was not long unrevenged. Adams soon laid siege to Patna; and notwithstanding the strength of the garrison, and the unusual intrepidity and success of some of their sallies, he took the place by storm in eight days, and forced the perfidious Cossim to seek an asylum in the territories of Sujah Doula, a neighbouring subah, who voted as vizir to the great Mogul.

No campaign had ever been conducted with more ability; no plan better laid, or more systematically followed; no operations more rapid. In less than four months major Adams completed, the first of any European, the entire conquest of Bengal. He gained in that time four capital victories, forced the strongest intrenchments, stormed two fortified cities, took five hundred pieces of cannon, and drove into exile the most artful, resolute and implacable enemy the English had ever before encountered in India.

Mir Cossim's expulsion was not, however, at-

traded with any lasting security to the company's affairs in the east: it seemed rather than extinguished the fire. The Indian princes sensible that, against European invaders, the cause of one was the cause of all, were alarmed for their own independence, and at the instigation of the fugitive nabab took up arms against the English. The death of Adams, whose name was so terrible to them, contributed very much to this resolution. The Shah Zeddah, and the nabob Sujah Doulah united their forces, and threatened to restore the exiled Cassim, at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, with a suitable train of artillery. Major Munro, who succeeded Adams, showed himself by no means unworthy of such an appointment. He marched directly in quest of the enemy, and came up with them on the twenty second of October 1764, at a place called Buxar, on the banks of the Camassary, about one hundred miles above Patna, where they were encamped with all the advantages nature and art could bestow. Before them lay a morass judiciously lined with cannon, which could neither be passed nor doubled without extreme danger. At the only end by which they seemed accessible, stood a wood occupied by a large body of Indians, who were destined to gall the English in their approach. The first appearance of such a situation was alone sufficient to make major Munro defer an attack, till it could be properly explored. On the day, therefore, of his arrival in sight of the enemy, he pitched his tents just out of the reach of their cannon, and disposed his men so as to be ready to form on any emergency. This precaution was far from being superfluous; for going out next morning at daybreak to reconnoitre the enemy, he found them already under arms. Upon their returning to his camp, he called in all his advanced posts, and, in consequence of the wise dispositions made the day before, saw his line of battle completely formed in less than twenty minutes. The Indians began to cannonade the English at nine o'clock; and in half an hour after the action became general. For above two hours it was impossible to press forward against the regular and galling fire of the enemy in front; till Munro, by a variety of manœuvres directed with judgment and executed with intrepidity, having cleared the left wing of the morass, the small arms began, and the whole Indian army was soon put to flight, leaving six thousand men on the spot, with a hundred and thirty pieces of cannon, a proportionable quantity of military stores, and all their tents ready pitched. This advantage cost the victors, in killed and wounded, but one hundred and nine Europeans, and seven hundred Indians.

The indefatigable Munro followed the blow by an attempt on the only fort which was still left to Sujah Doulah on the same side of the river Camassary. This fort, called Chanda Geer, was a place of very great strength from its elevated and almost inaccessible situation on a craggy rock; and, as it appeared afterwards, was still stronger by the courage and fidelity of the Indian officer who commanded there. A practicable breach in the walls being effected by artillery, a party of the English forces was sent to storm it in the night time; but while they were vainly endeavouring to clamber up the steep ascent, the Indians with equal vigilance and activity, poured down upon them such torrents of stones, as forced them to desist, after many were buried under the rubbish made by their own cannon. Shame and a sense of honour tempted them to renew the attack on the ensuing night, but they met with no better success. Munro, therefore, finding it to be a place which no art was requisite to defend, though a great deal to take it, drew off his troops, resolving to reserve their courage and conduct for some better occasion; and encamped in the neighbourhood of Benares, an almost open and opulent city, which it was of importance to protect against the incursions of a plundering enemy.

Affairs were thus circumstanced in the beginning of the year 1765, when major Munro being recalled home, the temporary command of the army devolved on sir Robert Fletcher; who emulous of the glory gained by his predecessors, resolved to do something to signalize himself, before general Carnac, named by the governor and council of Bengal, could arrive to preclude him. With this view, he broke up his camp near Benares at midnight of the fourteenth of January, and marched in

quest of the enemy, whom he chased before him. He next turned his thoughts to the reduction of the fort, the siege of which Munro had found it so imprudent to continue. As he attacked it in the same manner, he would probably have found it equally impregnable: but great dissensions now prevailed among the garrison, in consequence of their having received no pay for six months, so that they no longer thought it worth their while to expose themselves to any more trouble or danger in such unprofitable service. Three breaches being made in the walls, the governor came, in sight of his troops, to sir Robert, and delivered up the keys, with tears in his eyes, and a speech, which, at the same time that it contained the highest compliment to his enemy, argued the greatest nobleness of mind in himself. "I have," said he, "endeavoured to act like a soldier; but deserted by my prince, and threatened by a mutinous garrison, what could I do? God and you (here he laid his hand on the koran, and pointed to his soldiers) are witnesses that I yield through necessity, and that to the faith of the English I now trust my life and fortune." The surrender of this fort was quickly followed by a much greater, though not a more difficult conquest. Sir Robert met with little resistance in making himself master of the enemy's capital, called Ehiabad, a large and strong city about seventy miles higher up the Ganges, and of such importance as seemingly to complete the ruin of Sujah Doulah.

Soon after the taking of Ehiabad, general Carnac assumed the command of the army, and made the best dispositions for securing the new conquests, as well as for restoring order and government to the country. Nothing occurred for some time to give him the least molestation. Sujah Doulah was not in a condition immediately to oppose him. The battle of Buxar had given a terrible blow to the nabob's credit and power: Shah Zadda, the mogul, had then deserted him, and gone over to the English: his forces had also gradually crumbled away by frequent and bloody defeats: still finding a resource in his own steadiness and courage, he resolved not to fall in a weak and inglorious manner. He gathered together, with great assiduity, the remains of his routed armies, and as he knew that they alone could not prop his falling fortune, he applied for assistance to the Marattas, the inhabitants of the mountainous country to the south-west of Oudé, his province. They are an original tribe of Indians, who were never perfectly subdued by the mogul Tartars. Their principal strength consisted in their horse, with which they over-ran, and rendered tributary several provinces, spreading terror and devastation around them. But their fame in arms ceased, when they encountered the English. Meeting Carnac at Calpi on the twentieth of May, they were totally routed, and obliged to seek for shelter in their own mountains.

Foiled in all his military attempts, Sujah Doulah took a resolution altogether worthy of the spirit and policy of his character. Thinking it better to throw his life and fortune upon the generosity of a brave enemy, than to wander a forlorn exile, dependent on the uncertain hospitality of neighbours, who might purchase their own safety by his ruin, he determined to anticipate his fate, and to surrender himself. Having with a spirit of fidelity unusual in that country allowed Cassim and the assassin Someraw to escape, he appeared three days after the action at Calpi, in general Carnac's camp, nothing being previously stipulated in his favour, but that he should await lord Clive's determination.

A SELECT COMMITTEE APPOINTED FOR BENGAL.

ON the first intelligence received by the India company that this war had broken out, they were struck with the utmost consternation. Under the influence of such a panic, nothing seemed to them capable of re-establishing their affairs but the name and fortune of lord Clive, to whom former success had given the character of invincible among the superstitious Indians. The company forgot, that other officers had gained equal honour, though not equal fortunes, in that part of the world. As if the enemies were at their gates, they created a dictator: they invested him and four other gentlemen with unlimited authority to examine and

determine every thing, independently of the council, as long as Bengal remained in a state of war or confusion. These extraordinary powers were not granted without a vigorous opposition. Two considerable proprietors, who entered a strong protest against them, represented the commission as illegal and inexpedient: but the general fear overruled their objections; and the select committee, as it was called, sailed for Bengal.

Before the committee's arrival there, Mir Jaffer, who had experienced such a variety of fortunes, died, and nominated his son, Najem Doula, his successor. The council of Calcutta, after some deliberation, confirmed his choice, even to the exclusion of the male issue of a deceased elder son, because it was conformable to the Mussulman custom, which permits the latter to leave the succession to any of his own surviving sons, in preference to his grandson in the elder branch; and because, from the favourite son's personal character, he seemed likely to be contented with a moderate share of power. But previous to his receiving this honour, the terms were prescribed, on which he was to be admitted to it.

He objected to several of the regulations that were proposed, in regard to the collection of the revenues; and insisted on the sole and uncontrolled nomination of his own officers. But the force of his remonstrances on any of those points was of little service to him; and his attempts to soften the deputies, who had been sent to negotiate the treaty, proved equally fruitless. Not the smallest relaxation was to be obtained; and disagreeable as the terms were, he found it necessary to sign them, or to relinquish all his fondest hopes and pretensions. Large presents were also bestowed, according to constant practice, on the English negotiators, who, though inflexible with respect to the articles, were ready to accept of any other acknowledgments from the nabab, as the price of his elevation. Being in a country distinguished for riches and venality, — a country where the feeble protection of the laws, and the precariousness of private property have always rendered sumptuous presents customary, they did not think themselves obliged to give the natives an example of self-denial or disinterestedness.

Among various abuses, which had lately engaged the attention of the company, this very practice of receiving presents, however beneficial to private persons, was deemed most injurious to the general interest. Covenants were therefore sent out from England to be signed by all the company's servants, not to accept of any such presents for the future. These instruments, though they had arrived, were not signed before the date of the treaty with Najem Doula; and, as particular mention was made that they should affect no previous acts, the negotiators did not imagine that their late conduct could be called in question. Matters appeared in a different light to the secret committee. They began a rigorous inquiry into the whole proceedings, and passed several resolutions severely reflecting on the council and its deputies. Their pretence was, that luxury, corruption, and the avidity of amassing large fortunes in a little time, had so universally infected the company's servants, that nothing less than a total reform, a perfect eradication of these vices could preserve the settlement from immediate ruin. "Fortunes of a hundred thousand pounds," said lord Clive, "have been acquired in the space of two years; and individuals, very young in the service, are returning home with a million and a half." The charge was retorted by the accused party with no inconsiderable force. "Such objections," said they, "come with a very bad grace from men who are much more culpable. Have not you, who arraign us, amassed princely fortunes by the very same means? Yet you cannot boast superior merit. The danger, which was removed by the battle of Plassey, was not greater than what threatened us before the battle of Buxar. Why should you monopolise rewards? The present happy situation of affairs is owing to our conduct, spirit, and industry. We cannot be bound by covenants which we did not sign. The presents, which we received, were conformable to the custom of the country, and to the practice of the company's servants in all former periods; and they were accepted with great honour, as all the proposed articles were previously settled,

without giving up a single point, though large offers had been made for that purpose."

TREATY WITH THE NABOB OF OUDE.

IN the mean time, lord Clive repaired to the army at Eliabad; full powers being invested in him and general Carnac by the select committee to conclude a peace with Sujah Doula, whom the council, on account of his obstinacy and implacability, had deprived of his dominions. The Shah Zadda, who had now succeeded his father as mogul, and had remained with the English since the battle of Buxar, was to take possession of the deposed nabob's territories, as he had discovered an attachment to the English, and engaged in the war against his inclination. These arrangements were entirely disapproved of by lord Clive: he restored his province to Sujah Doula, and disappointed the sanguine hopes of the mogul. He said, that the company's affairs were likely to be involved in an inextricable labyrinth; that the success of their arms promised nothing but a succession of future wars; and that to ruin Sujah Doula was to break down the strongest barrier which the Bengal provinces could have against the invasions of the Marattas, Afghans, and other powers, who had so long desolated the northern districts.

The advantages accruing to the company from this treaty were said to be immense. According to the noble lord, who concluded it, they would receive a clear yearly income of one million, seven hundred thousand pounds, exempt from all charges, expenses, and deductions. By such a large accession of treasure, they would be enabled to make proper investments from Bengal to China, without draining England of its silver, for the payment of the great balance in trade, which is constantly due to that country. The security and permanence, which the company were likely to acquire in consequence of the treaty, tended greatly to enforce the policy of such a measure. But the discontented party at Calcutta represented the treaty in a very different light, as equally inconsistent with the honour and interest of the company. Major Munro might long before have obtained as advantageous terms; but, as a previous condition, he insisted that Cossim, the author of the war, and Someraw, the murderer of seventy-two English gentlemen, should be delivered up. Have not then the honour and justice of the nation been again betrayed, in departing from those requisitions.

The shameful connivance at Someraw's escape from justice will excite particular indignation in the breast of the English reader: his astonishment, however, will cease, when he reflects that the negotiation was chiefly, if not wholly directed by Clive, who was himself said to be deeply stained with innocent blood. But whatever horror many parts of Clive's conduct must excite, he certainly introduced at that time several judicious regulations into the army. He put the troops in the country on a new footing: he ordered barracks to be built for them in proper places; he also divided them into three parts, each of which was to consist of one regiment of European infantry, one company of artillery, and seven battalions of seapoys, each battalion to consist of seven hundred rank and file. One of these divisions was stationed at Eliabad, a second at Patna, and the third in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. These arrangements were well calculated to preserve the tranquillity of the empire, and to secure to the company the fruits of their late acquisitions. What steps were afterwards taken by the English ministry to render the prosperity of the company subservient to the welfare of the nation at large will be a subject of future consideration. Their thoughts were at that time unfortunately, though unavoidably, engaged by objects of keener and more immediate concern.

DISTURBANCES IN NORTH AMERICA.

ALMOST every day brought alarming intelligence of the violent proceedings of the populace against the stamp-act in North America. When the report of its having received the royal assent first reached Boston, the ships in the harbour hung out their colours half mast high, in token of deep mourning: the bells being muffled rang a dumb peal: the act itself was printed with a death's head impressed upon it, in the place where it is usual to fix the stamp; and was publicly cried about the streets by

the name of the "fully of England and ruin of America:" essays, denying not only the expediency, but the equity and legality of the measure, appeared in various newspapers: to these were added caricatures, pasquinades, puns, criticisms, and such vulgar sayings fitted to the occasion, as, on account of their brevity, were easily circulated and retained, and from their inflammatory tendency could not fail of preparing the minds of the rabble to take fire the moment any attempt should be made to carry the act into execution. The ferment gradually spread to the middling and to the higher ranks of the people; and when authentic copies of the act from the king's printing house appeared amongst them, it was treated with all the contempt and indignation, which could be expressed by public authority against the most offensive libel. It was burned in various places with the effigies of the men supposed to be most active in getting it passed: and the warmest gratitude and respect were testified towards those who had made the most strenuous opposition to it in the English house of commons. But the general assemblies went still farther. Instead of barely concurring in the tumultuous acts of the people in support of what was termed independence, they proceeded to justify them by arguments; and though they resolved to petition the legislature of Great Britain against the stamp-act, it was in such terms as served rather to express their weakness than their submission. Committees of correspondence were established in the different colonies, and select persons were deputed from them to a congress at New York, where they met in October, and signed one general declaration of their pretended rights, and one general petition expressive of their alleged grievances. The merchants also entered into solemn engagements not to order any more goods from Great Britain; to recal the orders already given, if not executed by the first of January 1766; and even not to dispose of any British goods sent them on commission after that time, unless not only the stamp-act, but the sugar and paper-money acts were repealed. The people of Philadelphia resolved, though not unanimously, that, till such repeal, no remittances should be made to England for debts already contracted, nor any lawyers be suffered to commence a suit against a resident in America, in behalf of British claimants. Societies in like manner were formed for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and plans adopted for shaking off all dependence on the mother country for any of the necessities or conveniences of life.

But by whatever motives the majority of the American malcontents were actuated, the effects of their disaffection and resistance were quickly and severely felt by the mother country. Her manufactures were at a stand; the principal sources of her commerce were cut off: a numerous populace was thrown out of employment; while provisions became extravagantly dear; and public credit received a dreadful shock by the total stoppage of remittances from the colonies. The situation of the ministry was at this juncture peculiarly critical. Surrounded with difficulties, many of them young in office, and without having had sufficient time to secure the confidence of either the sovereign or the people, they had to decide upon a question of the utmost delicacy and magnitude: and they foresaw, that whatever line they might resolve to pursue, they should meet with a formidable opposition. They knew that the framers and supporters of the stamp-act, who certainly formed a very numerous party, would embark warmly in the vindication of their own measures, and would insist on the policy and necessity of quelling at the very outset the daring resistance of the colonists to the legislative authority of Great Britain. They were also aware, that Pitt and his adherents would carry the contrary doctrine to a pitch of enthusiastic extravagance, and would contend for the absolute surrender or disavowal of the right of taxing the Americans. Between these opposite extremes, they thought it safest to choose a middle course, and neither to precipitate affairs with the colonists by the rashness of their councils, nor to sacrifice the dignity of the crown or nation by irresolution or weakness. Their despatches to the American governors were written with spirit, yet with temper, so as not to engage the executive power too deeply, but to leave it still at the option of the supreme legislature to adopt specific measures. The only strong objection which

could be urged against such a mode of proceeding was, that when the authority of any government is openly despised, ridiculed and trampled upon, moderation may cease to be the dictate of either wisdom or virtue.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

In this situation were affairs when the parliament met on the seventeenth of December. Particular notice was taken from the throne of the importance of the matters which had occurred in North America, and which were given as a reason for assembling the two houses sooner than was intended, that they might have an opportunity to issue the necessary writs on the many vacancies that had happened since the last session; and proceed immediately after the recess to the consideration of the weighty matters that should then be laid before them, for which purpose the fullest accounts of the American affairs should be prepared for their inspection. The house then issued the necessary writs, and adjourned for the holidays.

1766. When both houses met on the fourteenth of January, according to their adjournment, a second speech from the throne, pointed out to them the American affairs as the principal object of their deliberations. The address was agreed to without a division, but not without a warm debate. Pitt seized this opportunity of declaring his own sentiments on the subject. He condemned in the gross all the capital measures of the late ministry. He said he was ill in bed, when the resolution was taken in the house to tax America, or he should have borne his testimony against it. As, from the nature of his infirmities, he could not depend upon health for any future day, he begged leave to say a few words at present on one point, which he thought was not generally understood—the point of right. It was his opinion that Great Britain had no right to tax the colonies. At the same time he asserted the authority of the mother country over the colonies to be sovereign and supreme, in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever: but he pretended, that taxation was no part of the governing or legislative power. In support of this paradox, he had recourse to some ingenious arguments. "This kingdom," said he, "as the supreme governing and legislative power, has always bound the colonies by her laws, by her regulations, and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in every thing except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent." But as the duties imposed for the regulation of trade certainly took money out of their pockets, he endeavoured to get clear of the palpable absurdity of admitting that right in one instance, and positively denying it in another, by a subtle distinction between internal and external taxes, the former being levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, while the latter were laid on for the accommodation of the subject, though some revenue might incidentally arise from them.

As all these remarks were directly pointed at George Grenville's favorite measure, that gentleman made a very spirited reply. He censured the new ministry severely for delaying to give earlier notice to parliament of the disturbances in America. "They began," said he, "in July; and now we are in the middle of January; later; they were only occurrences; they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name to take that of revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution will take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and only differ in name. That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. It cannot be denied; and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of the legislation. It is—it has been exercised over those who are not, who were never represented." Here Grenville pointed out several instances in support of his assertion, and added, "When I proposed to tax America, I asked the house, if any gentleman would object to the right? I repeatedly asked it; and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America: America is bound to yield obedience." He then observed how ready the Americans had always been to ask pro-

tection, and how constantly it had been afforded them by the mother country: but when she called upon them to contribute a small share towards the public expense, an expense arising from themselves, they renounced her authority, insulted her officers, and broke out into open rebellion. The cause was very obvious. "The seditious spirit of the colonies," said he, "owes its birth to the factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say; provided it answers the purposes of opposition. We were told we trod on tender ground: we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this but telling the Americans to stand out against the law—to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence? Let us only hold out a little, they would say, our friends will soon be in power." He concluded with some observations on the ingratitude of the Americans, after so much had been done in their favour; and with a short vindication of his own character from the unjust charge of having been an enemy to their trade. The impression, which such a speech must have made on every unprejudiced mind, could not be effaced by all the powers of Pitt's oratory. He made a second harangue of considerable length to justify the resistance of the Americans, and to apologise for the silence of his own party, when the question of right had been repeatedly submitted to the consideration of the house.

While the attention of the commons was very earnestly engaged in examining the papers relative to the American troubles, which were laid before the house by his majesty's order, petitions were received from most of the commercial and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, setting forth the great decay of their trade in consequence of the new laws and regulations made for America; and earnestly soliciting the immediate interposition of parliament. There were also petitions received from the agents for Virginia and Georgia, representing their inability to pay the stamp-duty; and one from the agent for the island of Jamaica, explaining the bad effects of a similar tax which had been laid on in that island by the assembly, but was soon suffered to expire, on being found unequal and burdensome; and suggesting the probability, that the like experiment in the colonies would be attended with still greater inconveniences.

Though the urgency of the matter occasioned the house to attend to it with unwearied application, and till a very late hour every night; yet the nature of the inquiries, the number of petitions received, and the multitude of papers and witnesses to be examined, were attended with long and unavoidable delays. In the mean time there were continued debates; and all the partisans of the late administration made the most strenuous efforts for enforcing the stamp-act, and for preventing the repeal. Those who contended for the repeal, were divided in opinion as to the right of taxation: the more numerous body, of whom were the new ministry, insisted that the legislature of Great Britain had an undoubted right to tax the colonies; but relied on the inexpediency of the tax in question, as ill adapted to the condition of the colonies, and built upon principles ruinous to the trade of Great Britain: those, who denied the right of taxation, were not so numerous; but they consisted of some very popular characters.

The advocates for the right of taxation took occasion to show how little Pitt's distinction was between internal and external taxes. "Such a distinction," said they, "is as false and groundless as any other that has been made. It is granted that restrictions upon trade, and duties upon the ports are legal, at the same time that the right of the parliament of Great Britain to lay internal taxes upon the colonies is denied. What real difference can there be in this pretended distinction? A tax laid in any place is like a pebble dropped into a lake, and making circle after circle, till the whole surface from the centre to the circumference is agitated: for nothing can be more evident than that a tax laid upon tobacco either in the ports of England or Virginia, is as much a duty laid on the inland plantations of the latter, as if it were collected a hundred miles up the country, on the spot where the tobacco grows. The truth is illustrated by this case. The postage was an internal tax on paper folded like letters, the stamp-act on paper unfolded. Wherein lay the difference? To allow the authority

of the supreme legislature in the one, and to deny it in the other, must be the effect of wilful perverseness and flagrant inconsistency."

In summing up these different arguments, their collective force was irresistibly felt. The most satisfactory demonstrations seemed to have been given, that protection was the only true ground on which the right of taxation could be founded: that the obligation between the colonies and the mother country, was natural and reciprocal, consisting of defence on the one side, and obedience on the other: that they must be dependent in all points on the parent state, or else not belong to it at all: that the distinction between internal and external taxes was not more repugnant to common sense, than to facts, and to the frequent and unopposed exercise of the parliamentary authority of Great Britain in the one case, as well as in the other: and that the far greater part of the people of England, who were now electors, might with as much reason object to taxes, on the ground of being only virtually represented, as the inhabitants of the colonies. Upon the question being put, the power of the legislature of Great Britain over her colonies, in all cases whatsoever, and without any distinction in regard to taxation, was confirmed and ascertained, without a division in either house.

The grand committee, who had passed the resolutions on which the foregoing question was debated, had also passed another for the total repeal of the stamp-act; and two bills were accordingly brought in to answer these purposes. By the resolutions, on which the former was founded, it was declared that tumults and insurrections of the most dangerous nature had been raised and carried on in several of the colonies, in open defiance of government, and in manifest violation of the laws and legislative authority of the mother country; and that these tumults and insurrections had been encouraged and inflamed by several votes and resolutions, which had been passed in the assemblies of the said colonies, derogatory to the honour of government, and destructive to their legal and constitutional dependency on the crown and parliament of Great Britain. By the bill itself, all these votes, resolutions and orders of the American assemblies were annulled and reprobated; and the ministry having thereby secured, as they imagined, the dependence of the colonies, and provided for the honour and dignity of Great Britain, and its constitutional superiority over them, contended for the expediency of repealing an act, which they said was injudicious, oppressive and incapable of being enforced but by fire and sword. The late ministry and their friends, who supported the new administration in the debate on the question of right, opposed the repeal with considerable strength both of argument and numbers. But in spite of all their efforts, it passed upon a division by a majority of 275 to 167, and was carried up to the lords by above two hundred members of the house of commons. The eclat, however, with which it was introduced into the upper house, did not prevent its meeting with a strong opposition there also. Thirty three lords entered a protest against it at the second reading; as twenty eight did at the third. The following is the substance of the chief reasons they assigned for their dissent, and which are the more memorable as they contain some political predictions, that have since been too fully verified by events:

"Because we are of opinion, that the total repealing of the stamp-act, while such an outrageous resistance is continued by the colonies, will make the authority of Great Britain contemptible hereafter; and that such a submission of the supreme legislature, under such circumstances, would be in effect a surrender of their ancient unalienable rights to subordinate provincial assemblies, established only by prerogative, which in itself had no such power to bestow.

"Because it appears to us, that a most essential branch of that authority, the power of taxation, cannot be equitably or impartially exercised, if it does not extend itself to all the members of the state, in proportion to their respective abilities, but suffers a part to be exempt from a due share of those burdens which the public exigencies require to be imposed upon the whole: a partiality, directly repugnant to the trust reposed by the people in every legislature, and destructive of that confidence on which all government is founded.

"Because the ability of our North American colonies to bear, without inconvenience, the proportion laid on them by the stamp-act, appears unquestionable. Its estimated produce of sixty thousand pounds per annum, if divided amongst twelve hundred thousand people, being little more than one half the subjects of the crown in North America, would be only one shilling per head a year.

"Because not only the right, but the expediency and necessity of the supreme legislature's exerting its authority to lay a general tax on the colonies whenever the wants of the public make it fitting and reasonable that all the provinces should contribute in a proper proportion to the defence of the whole, appear undeniable. Such a general tax could not be regularly imposed by their own separate provincial assemblies.

"Because the reasons assigned in the public resolutions of the provincial assemblies, in the North American colonies, for their disobeying the stamp-act, viz. 'That they are not represented in the parliament of Great Britain,' extends to all other laws of what nature soever, which that parliament has enacted, or shall enact; and may, by the same reasoning, be extended to all persons in this island, who do not actually vote for members of parliament: nor can we help apprehending, that the opinion of some countenance being given to such notions by the legislature itself, in consenting to this Bill for the repeal of the stamp-act, may greatly promote the contagion of a most dangerous doctrine, destructive to all government, which has spread itself over all our North American colonies, that the obedience of the subject is not due to the laws and legislature of the realm, farther than he, in his private judgment, shall think it conformable to the ideas he has formed of a free constitution.

"Because we think it no effectual guard against this danger, that the parliament has declared in a bill, that such notions are ill founded; as men will look always more to deeds than words, and may therefore incline to believe that the insurrections in the colonies, excited by those notions, having attained the very point at which they aimed, without any previous submission on their part, the legislature has, in fact, submitted to them, and has only more grievously injured its own dignity and authority by verbally asserting that right which it substantially yields up to their opposition; and this at a time when the strength of our colonies, as well as their desire of a total independence on the legislature and government of their mother country, may be greatly augmented; and when the circumstances and dispositions of the other powers of Europe may render the contest far more dangerous and formidable to this kingdom."

In the second protest, many of the same objections were farther enforced, and some new ones added. The dissenting lords looked upon the declaratory bill as a delusive and negatory affirmation of the legislative right of Great Britain, whilst the enacting part merely annulled proceedings that were absolutely criminal.

STAMP-ACT REPEALED.

On the eighteenth of March, two days after the date of this second protest, the bill for repealing the stamp-act, as well as that which proposed to secure the dependency of the colonies on the British crown, received the royal assent. The ministry were still more successful in other steps which they took to gain popularity. They had a bill passed for the repeal of the cyder-act, and for substituting in its place a new duty entirely different in the mode of collection. General warrants and the seizure of papers, except in cases provided for by act of parliament, were declared to be illegal, and to be a breach of privilege, if executed against any member; but a bill founded on these resolutions of the commons was thrown out by the lords as unnecessary and frivolous. The old duties upon houses and windows were abolished; and the rates were settled with much more equity and ease to the lower and middling ranks of the people. Two bills were also passed at the close of the session on the sixth of June, for which the friends of the ministry thought they deserved some praise, at least from the mercantile part of the community: the one was for opening free ports, under certain restrictions, in different parts of the West Indies; and the other was a law indemnifying those who had incurred any

penalties, in consequence of the stamp-act, and requiring compensation to be made by the American assemblies to such persons as had suffered in their property by the late riots. In this detail of the merits of the marquis of Rockingham's administration, it must not be forgotten that he removed some restraints which were considered as heavy clogs on the colonial trade; that he settled to the satisfaction of the owners the long contested affair of the Canada bills; and that he concluded with Russia a commercial treaty, which procured him the unanimous thanks of the Russia company.

CHANGES IN THE CABINET.

But all these smaller claims to esteem could not supply the want of experience, decision, and firmness in the more important concerns of the state. The duke of Grafton, one of the secretaries, feeling the instability of his colleagues, or unwilling, as he pretended, to act without Pitt, resigned in the beginning of May; and though his place was immediately filled by the duke of Richmond, yet his retreat at that juncture was generally looked upon as a strong symptom of the probable dismission of his late associates. They did not maintain their ground long after parliament was prorogued. Their fall is said to have been accelerated by the following circumstance. After the repeal of the stamp-act, which the marquis and his friends looked upon as the only method of conciliating the affections of the refractory colonies, they took into consideration the state of Canada, for which province no complete system of government had yet been formed. They conceived it necessary to supply this defect; and having drawn the outlines of a plan, preparatory to a bill for that purpose, they submitted their sketch to lord Northampton the chancellor. He had never been very cordially their friend, and was now, perhaps, glad of a favourable opportunity of expressing his dislike. He condemned the whole measure in the most unqualified terms of disapprobation: he even went to the king and complained to his majesty of the unfitness of his ministers, adding that they could not go on, and that Pitt must be sent for. In consequence of these very plain assertions, the chancellor was commissioned to confer with Pitt on the subject of a new arrangement.

As Pitt's refusal of former offers had solely arisen from their not allowing him to fill all the departments of the state with whom he pleased, that objection was now removed by the chancellor's assuring him, that the king had no terms to propose; and the same assurance was afterwards confirmed to him by the king himself, to whom he was introduced at Richmond, on the twelfth of July. Lord Temple, who was then at Stowe, being sent for by his majesty's order, came to town with all possible despatch, and paid his respects to the king.

On the morning after lord Temple had seen the king, he received a very affectionate letter from Pitt, then at North End, Hampstead, desiring to see his lordship there, as his health would not permit him to come to town. His lordship went; and Pitt acquainted him, that his majesty had been graciously pleased to send for him, to form an administration; and as he thought his lordship indispensable, he desired his majesty to send for him, and put him at the head of the treasury; and that he himself would take the post of privy seal. Pitt then produced a list of several persons, which he said he had fixed upon to go in with his lordship, and which, he added, was not to be altered. Lord Temple said, that he had had the honour of a conference with his majesty at Richmond the evening before, and that he did not understand, from what passed between them, that Pitt was to be absolute master, and to form every part of the administration; if he had, he should not have given himself the trouble of coming to Pitt upon that subject, being determined to come in upon an equality with Pitt, in case he was to occupy the most responsible place under government; and as Pitt had chosen only a side-place, without any responsibility annexed to it, he should insist upon some of his friends being in the cabinet-offices with him, and in whom he could confide: which he thought Pitt could have no objection to, as he must be sensible he could not come in with honour, unless he had such nomination; nor did he desire, but that Pitt should have his share of the nomination of his friends. And his lordship added, that he made a sacrifice of his brother, George Grenville, who notwithstanding his being entirely out of place, and

excluded from all connection with the intended system, would nevertheless give him (lord Temple) all the assistance and support in his power: that it was an idea to conciliate all parties, which was the ground that had made Pitt's former administration so respectable and glorious, and to form upon the solid basis of union, an able and responsible administration, to brace the relaxed sinews of government, retrieve the honour of the crown, and pursue the permanent interest of the public: but that if Pitt insisted upon a superior dictation, and did not choose to join in a plan designed for the restoration of that union, which at no time was ever so necessary, he desired the conference might be broke off, and that Pitt would give himself no farther trouble about him, for that he would not submit to the proposed conditions.

"Pitt, however, insisted upon continuing the conference; and asked, who those persons were whom his lordship intended for some of the cabinet employments? His lordship answered, that one in particular was a noble lord of approved character, and known abilities, who had last year refused the very office now offered to him (lord Temple) though pressed to it in the strongest manner by the duke of Cumberland and the duke of Newcastle; and who being their common friend, he did not doubt Pitt himself had in contemplation. This worthy and respectable person was lord Lyttleton. At the conclusion of this sentence, Pitt said, how can you compare him to the duke of Grafton, lord Shelburne, and Conway? besides, continued he, I have taken the privy seal, and he cannot have that. Lord Temple then mentioned the post of lord president: upon which Pitt said, that could not be, for he had engaged the presidency: but, says he, lord Lyttleton may have a pension. To which lord Temple immediately answered, that would never do; nor would he stain the bud of his administration with an accumulation of pensions. It is true, Pitt vouchsafed to permit lord Temple to nominate his own board; but at the same time insisted, that if two persons of that board (T. Townshend and G. Onslow) were turned out, they should have a compensation.

"Pitt next asked, what person his lordship had in his thoughts for secretary of state? His lordship answered, lord Gower, a man of great abilities, and whom he knew to be equal to any Pitt had named, and of much greater alliance; and in whom he meant and hoped to unite and conciliate a great and powerful party, in order to widen and strengthen the bottom of his administration, and to vacate even the idea of opposition; thereby to restore unanimity in parliament, and confine every good man's attention to the real objects of his country's welfare. And his lordship added, that he had never imparted his design to lord Gower, nor did he know whether that noble lord would accept of it, but mentioned it now, only as a comprehensive measure, to attain the great end he wished, of restoring unanimity by a reconciliation of parties; that the business of the nation might go on without interruption, and become the only business of parliament. But Pitt rejected this proposal, evidently

healing as it appeared, by saying, that he had determined Conway should stay in his present office, and that he had lord Shelburne to propose for the other office, then held by the duke of Richmond; so that there remained no room for lord Gower. This, lord Temple said, was coming to his first proposition of being sole and absolute dictator, to which no consideration should ever induce him to submit. And therefore he insisted on ending the conference; which he did with saying, 'that if he had been first called upon by the king, he should have consulted Pitt's honour, with regard to the arrangement of ministers, and have given him an equal share in the nomination; and that he thought himself ill-treated by Pitt in his not observing the like conduct.'

It is unnecessary to make any remarks on Pitt's behaviour at this conference. He appears there divested of that dazzling lustre which his genius spread round him on all public occasions. Availing himself of the *carte blanche* which had been given him by the king, he spurned at every idea of equality, of union, and of healing proposals. Honour, friendship, and even the welfare of his country had very little weight, when they came in competition with his vanity. But the short lived triumph of his pride was followed by long and stinging mortifications. He fancied that his name alone would establish a ministry, and that the first men in the kingdom would be ready at a call to enlist under his banner, and to take whatever post he might think proper to assign them. A few experiments convinced him of his mistake. He made various offers to different persons of great weight and consideration, with a view of detaching them from their friends. He tampered with the duke of Portland, late lord chamberlain; with Dowdeswell, the late chancellor of the exchequer; and even with lord Gower, to whom he proposed the office of secretary of state, though he had set his face against the very same appointment, when suggested by lord Temple. All his offers were rejected. He then went to the marquis of Rockingham's; but the marquis refused to see him. Rendered desperate by these rebuffs, he formed that chequered and speckled administration, of which it is impossible to give a juster, or more striking picture than in the following words of Burke:

"He put together a piece of joinery, so crazily indented and whimsically dove tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified Mosaic; such a tessellated pavement, without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; king's friends and republicans; whigs and Tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on.—When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister.—The sceptre of absolute control, which he was so fond of wielding, fell from his infirm grasp; and he was confined in reality to that side-place, as lord Temple called it, whence he hoped to have directed the operations of those who stood in the foremost ranks of power and responsibility (2).

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII.

1 Mir Jaffier, whom lord Clive had raised to that tottering dignity in 1767, was compelled in about three years after to resign the government to his son-in-law Mir Cassim, who had entered into a secret treaty for that purpose with the council of Calcutta.

2 The new arrangement took place on the thirtieth of July. Pitt, being then created viscount Pymont and earl of Chatham, received the privy

seal, lately held by the duke of Newcastle: the duke of Grafton was placed at the head of the treasury, in the room of the marquis of Rockingham; and Charles Townshend succeeded Dowdeswell as chancellor of the exchequer: general Conway was continued in the office of secretary of state; but had for his colleague the earl of Shelburne, instead of the duke of Richmond: lord Cambden

was made lord chancellor in the room of lord Northampton, who exchanged the wool-sack for the president's chair. Many other changes were made at the same time, and soon after in all the different departments of administration; and none, perhaps, excited more surprise, than the restoration of the privy seal of Scotland to Stuart Mackenzie.

CHAPTER IX.

Alarming Scarcity of Provisions—Dispute between the Proprietors and the Directors of the East India Company—Substance of the King's Speech at the Meeting of Parliament—Bill of Indemnity—Reduction of the Land-tax carried against the Minister—The India Company's Right to territorial acquisitions debated—Proposals of the Company accepted—Bill for regulating India Dividends—Duties laid on certain Imports from Great Britain to America; and measures taken to restrain the turbulent Spirit of the Assembly of New York—Some Changes in the Great Offices of the State—The Ministry strongly opposed on the Nullum Tempus Bill—Corporation of Oxford reprimanded for Venality—Popularity in Ireland of the Octennial Bill.

GREAT SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS.

THOUGH the general tranquillity of Europe still remained undisturbed by the spirit of intrigue, or by the rage of conquest, some of its finest countries were severely afflicted by calamities of another kind. The irregularity and inclemency of the seasons for a few years past had occasioned an uncertainty and great deficiency in the crops of different districts; and were it not for that happy effect of navigation and commerce, by which the wants of one nation are supplied from the superabundance of another, famine would have thinned the race of mankind in many places. Italy in particular had suffered extremely; and even England, which usually supplied its neighbours with immense quantities of grain, and allowed a considerable bounty on the exportation of it, was now threatened with an alarming scarcity. So wet a summer as that of the present year had not been remembered in this country. From the month of March to the month of August, there were not two days of dry weather in succession. The corn harvest, of course, was very much injured; and the distresses of the poor from the high prices of that and of every other article of subsistence became uncommonly urgent. The language of complaint was soon followed by riots and tumults, which the populace are too apt to look upon as the only means of alleviating every evil, or redressing every grievance. At first, they only undertook to lower and regulate the markets, and to punish certain individuals, who, they imagined, had contributed to their calamities by engrossing, and other practices for enhancing the price of provisions beyond their just rate. But they did not long confine themselves to these objects. Heated by mutual commotion, they proceeded to the most enormous excesses: much mischief was done, and many lives were lost in various parts of the kingdom. The magistrates being at length obliged to call in the military to the aid of the civil power, the rioters were dispersed, and the jails were filled with prisoners. Judges were in consequence despatched with a special commission to try the delinquents, several of whom were condemned to die. A few of the ringleaders suffered as examples; but the sentence of the majority was mitigated to transportation, and many received a free pardon.

The conduct of the new ministry on this occasion was far from being politic or judicious. On the eleventh of September, the privy council issued a proclamation for enforcing the laws against forestallers, regrators, and engrossers of corn; a measure that countenanced the absurd ideas of the mob, by declaring that scarcity to be artificial, which was but too natural. Besides, the laws in question were so dark in their construction, and so difficult in the execution, that little effect could be expected from this step but that of banishing dealers from the markets, and increasing the evil which it was intended to remedy. This truth was

so well understood that very little regard was paid to the proclamation; and the frivolous expedient fell to the ground. The price of corn still increasing, another proclamation was issued on the twenty-sixth of the same month, laying an embargo on the exportation of wheat and flour, and prohibiting the use of that grain in the distilleries. This proclamation was certainly much better adapted to its end than the former, but much more doubtful in point of law. Wheat had not yet reached the price, under which it might be legally exported. No authority, therefore, but that of the whole legislature, could in this case lay a constitutional embargo on it. By way of excuse for dispensing with a positive law, it was stated in the proclamation, that his majesty had not an opportunity of taking the advice of his parliament speedily enough upon such an emergency to stop the progress of the mischief. But the privy council had destroyed the validity of this plea, by proroguing the parliament, which was to have met on the sixteenth of September, till the eleventh of November. As they had received the fullest information on the subject of a probable scarcity, in the beginning of August, there was sufficient time to give the members of both houses the usual notice, commanding their attendance in September, and a short session would have prevented every appearance of necessity for the ministers to commit an illegal action.

DEBATES ON EAST INDIA STOCK.

SOME other events took place before the meeting of parliament, which, as well as the former, engaged in a greater or less degree the attention of both houses. The most important of these were the debates and resolutions of the proprietors of East India stock. They had long expected, in consequence of the flourishing state of their affairs abroad, that a larger dividend would be declared by the directors; and that all the members of the company should enjoy a share of those sweets which were the consequence of their foreign success, and which they saw hitherto entirely engrossed by their servants. This seemed to them the more reasonable as the dividend then stood at six per cent, the lowest point to which it had ever been reduced at the most critical period of the war. In their opinion, such a small dividend agreed but ill with a great revenue and its promised stability, and intended to create an artificial fall in the price of stock, to the great loss of the present possessors, and to the advantage of future adventurers. These inclinations of the proprietors did not by any means coincide with the sentiments of the directors. While the greatest part of the former considered only the successes of the company, the directors saw nothing but its debts. Two factions arose upon this subject, the one for increasing the dividend, the other for keeping it at the same standard. It was intended by the former, that, if the directors did not voluntarily declare an increase of dividend at the midsummer court, to

put it to the question, and have it decided by the majority of the proprietors present. As this intention was publicly known, its success was sufficiently guarded against and prevented. At the opening of the court, a friend of the directors made a motion for increasing the dividend to eight per cent, which being disapproved, he immediately withdrew it, and thereby put it out of the power of the proprietors to bring on the subject again at that meeting, such a procedure being contrary to the established forms of the court. The address that was shown in this transaction did not protect it from censure: the conduct of the directors was scrutinized with great severity: the supposed motives to it were laid open; and the public papers being made the instruments of attack and defence, the contest was for some time carried on with great animosity, each party accusing the other of the most corrupt designs, and of misrepresenting, for private purposes, the real state of the company's affairs. This course of altercation was productive of consequences which were then but little foreseen. Every thing relative to the company was now laid before the public: the exact state of their immense property became known to all persons: their most private secrets were unveiled: their charters, their rights, their possessions, their opulence as a distinct body and their utility to the state were become matters of general speculation and inquiry. As the Michaelmas quarterly meeting approached, at which there could be no doubt but the great object of dispute between the contending parties would come again upon the carpet, it was previously reported about by the friends of one of them, that government intended to interfere, and had absolutely forbidden any increase of dividend, denouncing threats against the company which struck at its existence. A report of this sort excited a variety of conjectures; but most people looked upon it as a trick to answer the purposes of the directors. All doubt was removed at the opening of the general court on the twenty-fourth of September. A message in writing from the first lord of the treasury and some other of the ministers was read, setting forth, "That as the affairs of the East India company had been mentioned in parliament last session, it was very probable they might be taken into consideration again: therefore, from the regard they had for the welfare of the company, and that they might have time to prepare their papers for that occasion, they informed them, that the parliament would meet in November." Letters were at the same time read from lord Clive, and from the secret committee at Bengal, which not only confirmed, but exceeded the accounts that had been formerly received of the great wealth of the company, the extension of its trade, and the firm basis on which, as far as human foresight could judge, its security was now established. The directors still opposed an increase of dividend; and, upon a motion being made for advancing it to ten per cent. from the ensuing Christmas, they insisted upon a ballot, by which the decision was evaded for a day or two, but was at length carried against them by a considerable majority. Some of the proprietors, however, thought their success in this contest was purchased at too dear a rate, by having drawn upon themselves the eyes of the ministry. A few months more gave them an earnest of what they so justly apprehended.

The air of seriousness, which a variety of weighty concerns had lately diffused over the nation, was for a little time enlivened by some pleasing occurrences at court, the birth of a princess royal, and the nuptials of the princess Carolina Matilda. The ceremony of the princess Carolina Matilda's marriage to the king of Denmark was performed on the first of October by the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of York being proxy for his Danish majesty. Next morning, the young queen, accompanied by the duke of Gloucester and a numerous train of attendants, set out from Carlton-house for Harwich, there to embark on board the yacht designed to convey her to Holland. She did not reach Denmark till the beginning of November, on the eighth of which she made her public entry into Copenhagen, when the nuptial ceremony was renewed with extraordinary splendour and magnificence. The satisfaction expressed at the time by the subjects of both crowns, from an idea that the alliance between them would be greatly strengthened by an additional tie of so agreeable a nature,

was soon converted into the most painful disappointment. In little more than five years after, the amiable Carolina Matilda fell a victim to the malice of a party, and to the wicked intrigues of the queen dowager, who imposed upon her unsuspecting innocence, and artfully led her into measures which were made the grounds of the most infamous reproach and crimination.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

At the meeting of the parliament on the eleventh of November, the king, in his speech to both houses, observed that the high price of wheat, and the extraordinary demands for it from abroad, had determined him to call them together so early: he took notice of the urgent necessity that occasioned an exertion of the royal authority, for the preservation of the public safety, by laying an embargo on wheat and flour; and he recommended the due consideration of farther expedients to their wisdom: he expressed his concern at the late daring insurrections; and added, that no vigilance and vigour on his part should be wanting to bring the offenders to justice, and to restore obedience to law and government. His majesty concluded with a few very concise remarks on the late commercial treaty with Russia, on the marriage of his sister to the king of Denmark, on the supplies for the current service, and on the continuance of the former pacific posture of affairs in Europe. The usual motion for an address being made in both houses, various amendments were proposed, reflecting on the late conduct of the privy council; but were rejected.

BILL OF INDEMNITY.

THIS, however, did not supersede the necessity of bringing a bill into parliament to indemnify all persons who had acted in obedience to the order of council for laying on the embargo. Nobody denied the expediency of such a restraint at the time: it was the mode of the transaction which deserved censure, as by it the crown seemed to assume and exercise a power of dispensing with the laws,—one of the grievances so expressly provided against at the revolution. The first form of the bill was found to be defective: it provided for the indemnity of the inferior officers who had acted under the proclamation, while it passed by the council who advised it; and it had not a preamble fully expressive of the illegality of the measure. In these respects the bill was amended, and made perfect. But thus produced much altercation, especially in the house of lords, where, to the astonishment of most people, the newly created earl of Otham, and lord Camden, the chancellor, opposed the bill, and vindicated the late exertion of prerogative, not only from the peculiar circumstances that seemed to influence it, but as a matter of right, asserting that a dispensing power, in cases of state necessity, was one of the prerogatives inherent in the crown. This desertion from the side of liberty, to principles so directly opposite, gave a mortal stab to the popularity of these occasional patriots. The fallacy of their pretaxs, as well as of their reasonings, was exposed, and the cause of freedom and of the constitution was ably supported by lord Mansfield, lord Temple, and lord Lyttleton. The real motives for the late exertion of power were first inquired into; and then the doctrine of a dispensing power in such cases was very forcibly attacked. "So early as the month of August, you received authentic intelligence of the state of the harvest, the quantity of corn in the kingdom, and of the increase of its price. You then must have had as clear an idea of all the probable consequences as at any time after that period. Why then did you not issue a proclamation for parliament to meet on the sixteenth of September, the day to which it was prorogued? You had it in your power to give the members above thirty days notice; and the calamities which threatened the poor might have been averted, without a breach of the constitution. Instead of this, when their distresses were risen to the highest pitch, you issued, on the tenth of September, a proclamation against forestalling, which could not give them the smallest relief; and, on the same day, you prorogued the parliament for two months longer, thus precluding the king from availing himself of their advice or assistance in any emergency. Yet you assign the impossibility of convening the parliament as the motive for issuing, in sixteen days after so extraordinary a prorogation, an illegal and unnecessary

usual order for an embargo. Is it not plain then, that you yourselves are the authors of all those evils, which you say could not be remedied but by the exercise of the dispensing power?—You go farther, and you attempt to justify such censurable conduct on the principle of necessity, that odious and long exploded principle, by which all the evil practices in the reigns of the Stuarts were defended. If the plea of necessity is admitted, and the crown allowed to be the sole judge of that necessity, the power would be unlimited; because the discretion of the prince and his council might apply it in any instance. So the wisdom of the legislature, said the advocates for the bill, has deprived the crown of all discretionary power over positive laws, and has emancipated acts of parliament from the royal prerogative. The power of suspension, which is but another word for a temporary repeal, resides only in the legislature, the supreme authority of the realm.—The recess of parliament, or the inconvenience of assembling it, are distinctions unknown to the constitution. The parliament is always in being:—its acts never sleep: they are not to be evaded by flying into a sanctuary—no, not even that of necessity:—they are of equal force at all times, in all places, and to all persons.—The law is above the king; and he, as well as the subject, is as much bound by it during the recess, as during the session of parliament.—If the crown has a right to suspend or break through any one law, it must have an equal right to break through them all.—No true distinction can be made between the suspending power and the crown's raising money without the consent of parliament. They are precisely alike, and stand upon the very same ground. They were born twins, lived together, and together it was hoped they were buried at the revolution, past all power of resurrection.—Were the doctrine of suspension, under the pretence of necessity, once admitted as constitutional, the revolution could be called nothing but a successful rebellion, or a lawless and wicked invasion of the rights of the crown; the bill of rights would become a false and scandalous libel, an infamous imposition both on prince and people; and James II. could not be said to have abdicated or forfeited, but to have been robbed of his crown." By such arguments, and others of the like spirit and tendency, did lord Mansfield in particular combat the ill-advised stretch of the prerogative, and reduce the apologists for the measure, however great their ingenuity and eloquence, to the impossibility of a reply. The bill was passed, highly to the satisfaction of the public; and a new proof was given to the admirers of the British constitution, that nothing less than a law could protect from due punishment the framers, advisers, or executors of an illegal act.

While the parliament discovered so much vigilance in guarding the constitution against any encroachment, even under the most popular pretence, they were not less attentive to the national distress, on account of which the laws had been dispensed with. On the first day of the session, an address was presented to the king to continue the embargo; and a bill was on the same day brought in for prohibiting the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and also the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat and wheat-flour. Four other bills, having for their object the reduction of the high prices of provisions, by encouraging the importation of salted meat and butter from Ireland, of wheat and flour, not only from America, but from any part of Europe, and of oats and oat-meal, rye and rye-meal, from any quarter, all duty free, received the royal assent by commission on the sixteenth of December, when both houses adjourned till January.

LAND-TAX REDUCED.

1767. AMONG the affairs which came before parliament after the recess, there was one article of the supplies, in the debate on which the chancellor of the exchequer was left in a minority. It had been hitherto usual to take off on the return of peace, any addition that happened to be made to the land-tax for carrying on the war. But as the enormous expenses incurred in the late contest with so many powers were already a heavy burden on the manufacturing part of the nation, it was thought more prudent to continue the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, than to increase the

distresses of the poor by taxing the necessities of life. Hence the whole land-tax began to be considered as a part of the settled revenue that was to answer the current services of the year. It was then to the great surprise of the ministers, that a resolution passed the house, supported by a considerable majority, which reduced the land-tax to three shillings in the pound. This was the more noticed as being the first money-bill, in which any minister had been disappointed since the revolution. It considerably damped the warm hopes that had been formed, in the beginning, of the strength and consistence of the new administration, which, it was supposed, would prove irresistible, as acting under the auspices of the earl of Chatham. But this noble lord had lost much of his popularity without doors, and of his influence within, by many parts of his late conduct. He had disgusted by his overbearing manner the most respectable and powerful men of every party; and he had sunk greatly in the public estimation by his acceptance of a peerage, and by his having first advised, and afterwards defected, upon constitutional grounds, the exercise of the dispensing prerogative. Feeling, though too late, the want of additional support, he made several attempts in the course of the winter, by offers and concessions not much to his honour, to gain over, or to divide the Bedford or the Newcastle interest. But the most that he could obtain from the former was a temporary neutrality. Soon after his lordship fell into so bad a state of health, that he was obliged to relinquish all attention to business.

SCRUTINY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S AFFAIRS.

THE want of harmony and decision in the cabinet was still more evident, when the East India affairs were brought forward for the consideration of parliament. A committee of the house of commons had been appointed in November to look into the state and condition of the company. Copies of their charters, their treaties, and their correspondence, as well as exact accounts of their revenue and of the expenses incurred by government in their behalf, were called for and became the subjects of a rigorous scrutiny. In the course of this business, violent debates frequently arose, in which the principal servants of the crown did not appear to act upon any regular or settled plan. An order was at length made for printing the East India papers; but it was afterwards countermanded, at the instance of the directors. The next question, which was agitated with increasing violence and diversity of sentiment, was the company's right to their territorial acquisitions. Some contended, that they had no right by their charters to any conquest; that such possessions in the hands of a trading corporation were improper and dangerous; and that, if it were even legally and politically right that they should hold these territories, yet the vast expenditure of government in protecting them gave it a fair and equitable title to the revenues arising from the conquests. Those, who maintained the rights of the company, denied that any reserve of conquests had been made in their charters; and as these were fairly purchased from the nation, and confirmed by act of parliament, they said, that a violation of such a bargain would be a dangerous infringement on property and the public faith. They added, that if government had any claim to the conquests in India, the courts were open for the trial of that claim; but the house of commons was not, by the constitution, the interpreter of law, or the decider of legal rights. Though the subject was often resumed, and debated with great warmth on both sides, yet the house seemed unwilling to determine a question of so much importance; and even a few of the ministerial speakers declared against coming to any final resolutions on this head, but strenuously recommended an amicable agreement with the company.

PROPOSALS OF THE COMPANY ACCEPTED.

IN the mean time, the proprietors of East India stock had several meetings. At one of their general courts in the beginning of May, the dividend for the ensuing half year was raised from five to six and a quarter per cent. and, about the same time, a scheme of proposals for an accommodation with government was agreed to. These were laid before the ministry, who now were publicly known

to have unfortunately fallen into a state of such distraction, that they had no opinions in common. Accordingly, they shifted the proposals from one to another, without coming to any determination; so that the company were obliged to state their offers in a petition to parliament. Two sets of proposals for an agreement to last for three years were laid before the house: by the first, the company offered, after deducting four hundred thousand pounds a year in lieu of their former commercial profits, to divide equally with government the nett produce of all their remaining revenues and trade: by the second, they engaged to pay the specific sum of four hundred thousand pounds a year during the above agreement; but, in either case, stipulating for some particular indulgence in their trade and in the recruiting service. These latter proposals were accepted by the house, with this difference only, that the agreement was limited to two, instead of three years; and a bill was drawn up and passed accordingly.

THE COMPANY RESTRAINED FROM INCREASING THEIR DIVIDEND.

BUT whatever satisfaction the proprietors of East India stock derived from the parliamentary acceptance of their offer, it was, in no small degree, abated by some other proceedings which took place soon after. A message from the ministry had been read at the general court which declared the last increase of dividend, recommending to the company to make no augmentation of it, till their affairs were farther considered. That message not having produced the designed effect, two bills were brought into the house, one for determining the qualifications of voters in trading companies, and the other for farther regulating the making of dividends by the East India company. Their late act was rescinded by the last of these bills; and they were tied down from raising their dividends above ten per cent. till the next meeting of parliament. The company, in order to ward off a blow which struck so immediately at their privileges, not only petitioned against this bill, but offered, in case it was withdrawn, to bind themselves from any farther increase of dividend during the temporary agreement. Their petition and their proposal were equally ineffectual. The bill was carried through, in spite of a powerful opposition, one of the secretaries of state and the chancellor of the exchequer being in the minority in the lower house, and a strong protest signed by nineteen lords, being entered against it in the upper house.

ACT TO RESTRAIN THE ASSEMBLY OF NEW YORK.

AMONG the different expedients for raising the necessary supplies this year, which amounted to about eight millions and a half, some duties were laid upon glass, tan, paper, and painters' colours imported from Great Britain into America. These duties were equally impolitic and unproductive; but the conduct of the legislature towards one of the colonial assemblies, in another respect, was much more defensible. The factious, turbulent spirit, which the stamp act had excited there, was far from being mollified by the repeal. Not content with many private acts of outrage, and repeated marks of disrespect to government, the assembly of New York came to a resolution of paying no regard to an act of last session for providing the troops with necessaries in their quarters; but regulated the provisions according to their own fancy. This was a clear proof, that they meant to persist in disavowing the jurisdiction of the mother country. When the matter was laid before parliament, it occasioned warm debates; and some rigorous measures were proposed. The general opinion, however, was to bring them to temper and to a sense of their duty by a firm, yet moderate procedure. On this principle a bill was passed, by which the governor, council, and assembly of New York were prohibited from passing any act till they had in every respect complied with the requisition of parliament: a step, which, though confined to one colony, was a lesson to them all, and showed their comparative inferiority when brought in question with the supreme legislative power. As soon as this bill and some others of less importance received the royal assent on the second of July, the parliament was prorogued.

In the speech, with which his majesty closed the session, besides thanking the commons for the supplies they had so cheerfully granted for the public service, he said, that his particular acknowledgments were due to them for the provision they had enabled him to make for the more honourable support of his family. He did not here particularly allude to the marriage portion of the queen of Denmark, because, in granting this, the commons only fulfilled their former engagements; but to three annuities of eight thousand pounds each, which were settled on his brothers the dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland, in addition to what they before received out of the civil list. It is remarkable that, on the second reading of the bill for this purpose in the house of lords, a protest was entered against it, signed by lord Temple only.

The duke of York did not live long to enjoy the liberality of parliament: he expired on the seventeenth of September; and on the second of November, her majesty was safely delivered of her fourth son, prince Edward.

DEATH OF THE CHANCELLOR OF EXCHEQUER.

DURING the recess of parliament, another death prematurely and unexpectedly happened on the fourth of September, which, it was supposed, would have proved fatal to a weak and dissipated ministry. Charles Townshend, then chancellor of the exchequer, who seemed likely by his eloquence and abilities to supply the earl of Chatham's place in the house of commons, was cut off by a putrid fever at the very moment that the increase of his influence and the critical posture of affairs began to allow the fullest scope for the perfect development of his talents and character. Burke, in one of his speeches, made a beautiful allusion to the rising effulgence of Townshend's genius and power, while those of the earl of Chatham appeared to be rapidly declining. "Before this splendid orb," said the orator, "was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the ascendant."

At the meeting of parliament on the twenty-fourth of November, when the principal point recommended to their attention from the throne was the relief of the people from the distresses occasioned by the high price of provisions, Conway, one of the secretaries of state, concluded his speech in support of the usual motion for an address of thanks, with a very high panegyric on the late Mr. Townshend's abilities, on the fertility of his resources, and the soundness of his judgment. He said that his much lamented friend had engaged to prepare a plan for the effectual relief of the poor in the article of provisions; and he had no doubt, if that great man lived, but he would have been able to perform his promise: unfortunately for the public, his plan was lost with him: it was easy to find a successor to his place, but impossible to find a successor to his abilities, or one equal to the execution of his designs.

Besides expedients for lowering the high price of provisions, very little business of any particular importance was transacted by parliament before the holidays. The land-tax bill, the bill for continuing the former duties on malt, rum, cyder, and perry, the mutiny bill, and some others of a private as well as public nature received the royal assent on the twenty-first of December. The house of lords adjourned to the twentieth, and the commons to the fourteenth of January.

CHANGES IN THE CABINET.

THIS recess afforded leisure for completing several changes that were already begun, or resolved upon, in the great offices of state, without any general disarrangement of the ministry, which seemed likely to increase their stability and influence. The Bedford party, to whom some overtures had been made by lord Chatham, but without any decisive effect, were at length gained over; in consequence of which lord Gower was induced to accept the president's chair, now cheerfully resigned by the earl of Northampton, whose age, infirmities, and long services gave him just claims to retirement. Lord North had been promoted some days before, to the late Charles Townshend's place as chancellor of the exchequer; and Thomas Townshend, junior, succeeded lord North in the office of joint paymas-

ter of the forces. Lord Weymouth was soon after nominated secretary of state for the northern department, in the room of general Conway, who was raised to a higher rank in the military line; and the earl of Hillsborough was appointed to the new office of secretary of state for the colonies. Of the other promotions none was sufficiently important to deserve particular notice, except that of Charles Jenkinson, who was made a lord of the treasury in the room of Thomas Townshend, and who has since been so eminently distinguished not only by his wisdom in council, and his eloquence in debate, but by his having exerted his uncommon talents on objects of the most lasting benefit to his country,—the improvement, extension, and security of its commerce.

RESTRICTION ON EAST-INDIA DIVIDENDS CONTINUED—NULLUM TEMPUS ACT.

THE act restraining the dividends of the East India company being now expired, a bill was brought in to continue the same restriction for the ensuing year; and though it was violently opposed in both houses, it was carried the second time by a very great majority. But the ministry were more closely pushed on another point, which was introduced into the commons, under the title of *nullum tempus* bill (1), for quieting the possessions of the subject, and securing them from all obsolete claims, particularly those of the crown, against which it was held to be a maxim of law, that no prescription could be pleaded. The bill originated in a litigation between the Bentinck and the Lowther families, in which the revival of the dormant prerogative of resumption by the crown appeared so alarming, because a vast number of estates might, from the loss of authentic deeds, be liable to similar claims, that it was with great difficulty, and by a majority of twenty voices only, that the ministry could obtain a postponement of the bill till the ensuing session.

MAGISTRATES OF OXFORD SENT TO NEW-GATE.

ANOTHER circumstance occurs in the proceedings of the house of commons at this period, which may be thought worthy of notice, as it affords an instance of plain dealing on the part of a venal body of electors, which has been seldom paralleled. The mayor, bailiffs, and principal members of the corporation of Oxford had written to their representatives, proposing to return them at the next election, upon condition that they should advance a certain sum, for paying off an incumbrance which lay heavy on

the city. The letter, containing this extraordinary and bare-faced offer of prostitution, having been laid before the house, the magistrates, who signed it, were ordered to appear at the bar, and then committed to Newgate. But, a few days after, a petition was presented from the offending parties, acknowledging their guilt, expressing the sincerest sorrow for it, and begging to be released from confinement. In consequence of this petition, they were again brought to the bar of the house, and discharged, after receiving on their knees a proper reprimand from the speaker.

PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

As the time limited by law for the expiration of parliament drew near, and all the public business was satisfactorily despatched, the king, on the tenth of March, having given his assent to some private bills then ready, informed both houses of his intention forthwith to dissolve the parliament, and to call a new one. As soon as his majesty had ended, the chancellor, by his command, prorogued the parliament; and, in two days after, it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for electing a new one, returnable the tenth of May.

IRISH PARLIAMENTS MADE OCTENNIAL.

A VERY popular bill was passed in Ireland this winter, and received the sanction of the crown, for confining to eight years the duration of parliaments in that kingdom, which before were determined only by the king's death. Nothing could have given higher pleasure to the great body of electors than this assurance of a more regular and frequent exercise of one of their most inestimable privileges. Lord Townshend, who was then lord lieutenant, and who had very much endeared himself to the people by the conciliating manners that adorned his private character, became, in consequence of the octennial act, almost the idol of the nation. The language of the commons of Ireland was glowing and emphatical. "Happy," said they, "in having devoted our own existence to the liberties of our country, we find ourselves under an indispensable obligation, at our approaching dissolution, to express the warmest acknowledgments to a chief governor, in whose administration, and with whose assistance, we have been gratified with the noble opportunity of distinguishing ourselves from our predecessors, by leaving to posterity a monument of our disinterested love for the people we have the honour to represent; and an example, that the happiness of our constituents has in our own breasts taken place of every other consideration."

NOTE TO CHAPTER IX.

1 The object of the bill was to make sixty years possession of any estate an effectual bar against all dormant claims and pretences whatsoever.

CHAPTER X.

General Election—View of Wilkes's Conduct and Adventures since his flight from Justice—Violent Opposition to the Port-duties in America—Acts of the Convention—Debate—Wilkes's Petition to the Commons; and his Appeal to the Lords on a Writ of Error—Institution of the Royal Academy—Debate on the American Affairs—Civil List Debt—Hearing of Wilkes's alleged grievances—Successive Expulsions of Mr. Wilkes—War with Hyder Ally in the East Indies—Navigation Agreement, and other proceedings in America—Derelictions from Ministry—Changes that followed—Endeavours of the Opposition to aggravate Discontent—London Remonstrance, and his Majesty's Answer—Grenville's Bill for regulating the Proceedings on controverted Elections—Partial Repeal of the American Port-duties—Affray between the Townsman of Boston and the Troops.

As soon as the British parliament was dissolved, the thoughts and business of the whole nation appeared to be confined to one object, the choice of representatives; and never, perhaps, was any general election carried on with greater heat and violence in most parts of the kingdom. But one of the elections was attended with such extraordinary circumstances as to deserve particular notice.

WILKES ELECTED MEMBER FOR MIDDLESEX.

It may here be necessary to remind the reader of what has been related in a former part of this work concerning Wilkes, who by his flight from public justice had provoked the severest sentence of the house of commons, and had suffered the indictments laid against him in the court of King's Bench to run to an outlawry. In this situation, an exile from his country, distressed in his circumstances, and abandoned by his party, he seemed not only totally ruined, but nearly forgotten. He determined to make a bold attempt, sensible that if it failed of success, the consequences could not place him in a worse state than that in which he was already. In pursuance of this resolution, he suddenly appeared in London on the eve of the general election; and though he still lay under the sentence of outlawry, declared himself a candidate to represent the city in parliament. He was received by the mob with loud acclamations, and a great majority of hands appeared in his favour; but on the poll he was contemptuously rejected. He had no reason, however, to abandon himself to despair in consequence of this first defeat. He was fully consoled for his failure in the city by a subscription which had been opened for the payment of his debts, and by the earnest he had received of the attachment of the populace. He set up immediately for Middlesex; and the electors in that county consisting chiefly of freeholders of the lowest class, he obtained a signal triumph over one of the old members. The rabble, who had been very tumultuous during the contest, broke out into the most extravagant and lawless expressions of joy at the event.

The conduct of the ministry during these transactions was unaccountably remiss and impolitic. They had in fact no alternative left them as a plea for indecision or suspense. After Wilkes's return to England, in open defiance of the laws and of government, a pardon from the crown would have been considered rather as an act of weakness than of benignity. It was therefore the attorney general's duty to have him immediately taken up as an outlaw; a step that could neither have excited murmur nor surprise, as being strictly conformable to the ordinary course of justice. When confined, he could have no chance for succeeding in his election; nor is it likely that he would have made the attempt. The popularity, which he acquired or re-

vived by appearing in public, would have been prevented; and he might have probably continued as ignorant of his influence with the people, as they would in general of the strength of their attachment to him. By neglecting at first so easy and rational a mode of proceeding, the ministry were afterwards unavoidably driven into the dangerous extremes of harshness and violence. An alarm unhappily went forth, that the constitution was wounded by the blows struck at one of the most worthless members of society; and many, who would otherwise have shrunk from the disgrace of espousing his cause as an individual, were glad of a specious pretence for making it the cause of the public.

On the first day of Easter term, Wilkes appeared in the court of king's bench, to submit himself, as he pretended, to the laws of his country; but, in reality, to make an inflammatory speech against the "cruelties of ministerial vengeance," and to charge the chief justice with having caused the records to be materially altered, without which, he said, neither of the two verdicts, found against him, could have been obtained. As he was not brought legally before the court, no proceedings could then be had upon his case; but lord Mansfield took that opportunity of justifying his own conduct in having granted an order for an amendment in the information, by which the word *tenor* was substituted for *purport*—an amendment, which his lordship declared he thought himself bound in duty to grant, and which he could not have refused consistently with the uniform practice of all the judges. Wilkes, on leaving the court, was received by the surrounding multitude with loud huzzas; but such official steps had been taken by the magistrates in Westminster and in the city to intimidate the disorderly, that no farther disturbance happened.

DISTURBANCES ON ACCOUNT OF WILKES.

A few days after, Wilkes having been introduced into court in a legal manner, his counsel moved that he might be admitted to bail. The judges were of opinion, that neither he nor any person was bailable after conviction; and therefore ordered him to be taken into custody and committed to prison. But as he was going thither, attended by two tipstavs, the mob stopped the coach on Westminster-bridge, and taking out the horses, drew it along the Strand and through the city to Spital-square, where they dismissed the tipstavs, and carried their favourites in triumph to a tavern. He took an opportunity, at a late hour, to withdraw in a private manner; and surrender himself to the marshal of the king's bench.

Wilkes was not inactive, though in a prison. He took care to feed the flame he had kindled with fresh supplies of combustible matter. His address to the freeholders of Middlesex, a week after his commitment, is a curious specimen of the incendiary style. It was published on the fifth of May,

Just two days before a hearing was to come on at Westminster hall respecting the errors of Wilkes's outlawry, and five days before the meeting of the new parliament. The populace behaved with tolerable decency at the trial, as their hopes were flattered by the appointment of a farther hearing the beginning of the next term; but their infatuation and violence on the other occasion, were attended with melancholy consequences. They assembled in vast multitudes round the king's bench in the forenoon of the tenth of May, under the idea of seeing Wilkes go to the house of commons. Having waited a long time in vain, they demanded him at the prison with loud clamours, and grew very insolent and tumultuous. Some justices of the peace thought it necessary, after enduring much outrage and personal injury, to read the riot-acts on which, the mob, highly exasperated, interrupted them with showers of stones and brickbats. The tumult increased: the serious warnings of the law made no impression: the magistrates, and the soldiers on guard were not only set at defiance, but assaulted; till, being at length driven to the last extremity, self-defence, as well as public duty, compelled the troops to fire. Four or five persons were killed, and more than twice as many were wounded.

PARLIAMENT MEETS.

The first session of the new parliament was opened by commissioners, who informed both houses that his majesty had not called them together at that unusual season to enter upon any matter of general business, but merely to despatch certain parliamentary proceedings, which were necessary for the welfare and security of his subjects. The matters here alluded to were the renewal of several of the provision bills, which were near expiring; which, having received the royal assent on the twenty-first of May, an end was put to the session, first by adjournments, from a proper regard to the temper of the times, and then by prorogation.

The only notice taken of the imprisoned member, during this short session, was a motion made on the eighteenth, that the proper officer of the crown should inform the house, why the laws were not immediately put in force against John Wilkes, esq. an outlaw, when he returned to the kingdom in February. But the house not appearing disposed to take cognizance of the matter, the question to adjourn was put, and carried without a division. The attorney general thereby escaped just censure for his remissness; but he was not equally successful at the second hearing on the errors of Wilkes's outlawry in the court of king's bench, about three weeks after. All the judges, though they differed as to their reasons, concurred in the reversal of the outlawry, and the irregularity of the proceedings. The verdicts, however, which had been given against Wilkes on the former trials for publishing the North Briton and the Essay on Woman, were affirmed, the court being of opinion that the arguments urged by the prisoner and his counsel in arrest of judgment were inconclusive and frivolous. Wilkes was therefore sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred pounds and to be imprisoned ten calendar months, for the re-publication of the North Briton; and for publishing the Essay on Woman, to pay likewise a fine of five hundred pounds, and be imprisoned twelve calendar months, to be computed from the expiration of the former term. He was afterwards to find security for his good behaviour during the space of seven years. Though this sentence was certainly as mild as the malignant nature and dangerous tendency of those two publications could well admit of, it furnished Wilkes with a new subject of declamation on "the harshness, the cruelty, and illegalities of the whole proceeding." The ministry were even charged with secretly fomenting disturbances not only in England, but in America, in order to have a pretence for extending beyond the Atlantic the iron hand of despotism; and their unwillingness to involve the kingdom in a war with France for the relief of Corsica was ascribed to their detestation of all freemen, as well as to their pusillanimity and ignorance.

DISAFFECTION IN AMERICA.

SOME notice has been already taken of the acts

passed in 1767 for laying certain duties on paper, glass, colours, teas, &c. imported from Great Britain into America. These acts, however impolitic and ill-timed before the former ill humours had completely subsided, were strictly conformable to the distinction admitted by the colonists themselves between raising money as the mere incidental produce of regulating duties, and for the direct purpose of revenue. But as soon as the doctrine was reduced to practice, and custom-houses were established in their ports for collecting those duties, they disavowed their former professions, and argued in a very different strain. "If," said they, "the parliament of Great Britain has no right to tax us internally, it has none to tax us externally; and if it has no right to tax us without our consent, it can have none to govern, or to legislate for us without our consent." This was foreseen and pointed out by the strenuous opposers of the repeal of the stamp-act; and the conduct of the Americans fully verified their predictions. The people of Boston took the lead, as usual, in plans of resistance. They began by entering into a variety of combinations highly prejudicial to the commerce of the mother country; and among other schemes for lessening and restraining the use of British manufactures, they resolved to reduce dress to its primitive simplicity, to retrench the expenses of funerals, to bring nothing from abroad which could by any means be obtained at home, and to give particular encouragement to the making of paper, glass, and the other commodities that were liable to the payment of the new duties, upon importation. These resolutions were adopted, or similar ones entered into by all the old colonies on the continent; and, in the beginning of the year 1768, the assembly of Massachusetts's Bay sent a circular letter to the other provinces, proposing a common union to prevent the effect, and to obtain a repeal of the late acts, which they represented as unconstitutional, and subversive of their natural and positive rights. The same assembly discovered still stronger marks of disaffection and revolt, on hearing a letter read from lord Shelburne, one of the principal secretaries of state, to Sir Francis Bernard, the governor of the colony, which contained some very severe but just animadversions on their conduct.

Adverses of all these proceedings having been transmitted to England, lord Hillsborough, the new secretary of state for the American department, wrote a circular letter to the governors of all the colonies, in which his majesty's dislike to the letter of the Massachusetts's assembly was expressed in the strongest terms. It was declared, that he considered it as of the most dangerous and factious tendency; calculated to inflame the minds of the people; to promote an unwarrantable combination; to excite an open opposition to, and denial of, the authority of parliament; and to subvert the true principles of the constitution: and that his majesty expected from the known affection of the respective assemblies, that they would "defeat this flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace, and treat it with the contempt it deserved, by taking no notice of it." The assemblies acted in direct contradiction to the wishes and wholesome advice of their sovereign. They expressed their approbation of the conduct of the Massachusetts, and passed several votes and resolves according with the spirit of the letter received from Boston. Some of them returned such conduct, and animadverting on several passages, as well as on the request contained in his letter. The assembly of New York went even so far as to appoint a committee of correspondence to consult with the other colonies on the measures to be pursued in the present crisis: upon which that assembly was immediately dissolved.

Another letter of the same date (April 22) was written by lord Hillsborough to governor Bernard, in which, besides the former exceptions to the circular letter of the assembly at Boston, it was very delicately intimated, that his majesty thought some unfair means must have been employed to carry such a measure either by surprise, or through a thin house of representatives, as it departed so widely from the spirit of prudence and respect to the constitution, that seemed to have influenced a majority of the members, in a full house, and at the beginning of the session. The governor was also directed to require, in his majesty's name, that the new

assembly would rescind the resolution which gave birth to the offensive letter, and declare their disapprobation of, and dissent to, so rash and hasty a proceeding: but in case of their refusal to comply with his majesty's reasonable expectation, the governor had orders to dissolve them immediately, and to transmit a copy of their proceedings, to be laid before parliament. These instructions having been communicated to the assembly in the latter end of June, and the question put for rescinding the resolution of the last house, it was negatived by a majority of ninety-two to seventeen. A letter was then resolved on to lord Hillsborough, containing several strictures on the requisition made to them, which they alleged to be unconstitutional and without precedent; and intermixing some affected professions of loyalty with the strongest remonstrances against the late laws. They were also preparing a petition to the king for the removal of their governor, when they were suddenly dissolved.

Previous to the dissolution of the assembly, the popular ferment was greatly increased by another occurrence which took place on the tenth of June. A sloop called the *Liberty*, laden with wine from Madeira, was seized under the authority of the board of customs for a false entry; and being cut from her moorings, was conveyed, by the order of the commissioners, under the guns of the *Romney*, a ship of war then lying in Boston harbour. A violent riot ensued, in which the mob burned the collector's boat before the door of John Hancock, the owner of the sloop; and compelled the commissioners for the security of their lives, to take refuge at first on board the *Romney*, and afterwards at Castle William, a fortress on a small island contiguous to the town. The temper and conduct of the people became every day more licentious. Town-meetings were held, and a remonstrance was presented to the governor, insinuating, requiring him to issue an order for the immediate departure of the *Romney*. The natural effects of such conduct being justly apprehended, two regiments were ordered from Ireland to support the civil government, and several detachments from different parts of the continent met at Halifax for the same purpose. Upon the first intimations of this measure, an alarm was insidiously spread amongst the inhabitants of Boston and of the whole province, that their property, their liberties, and their lives would soon lie at the mercy of the bayonet; and that no alternative would be held out to them by the invaders, but servile submission or death. Under these impressions, a great multitude of people of all ranks crowded together at Faneuil-hall, the leading incendiaries having issued a summons for such a meeting. Finding that the governor would not at their desire, and without his majesty's instructions, convene a general assembly, they drew up a long catalogue of their pretended grievances; protested against keeping an army in the province without their consent; ordered the select-men of Boston to write to the select-men of the several towns within the province, recommending the speedy choice of committees (another name for representatives) to form a convention; appointed Messrs. Otis, Cushing, Hancock, and Adams, their late members to act for them in that capacity; and concluded their proceedings with a vote for a day of public prayer and fasting, and with a requisition to the people, under the pretence of an approaching war with France, to prepare arms, ammunition, and every other accoutrement necessary in cases of sudden danger. A better comment cannot be made on these transactions than in the words of the inhabitants of Hatfield, in their spirited and judicious reply to the circular letter of the select-men of Boston. After showing the precipitancy of the steps already taken, and the inconsistency, frivolousness, and insincerity of the pretences for calling a convention, "suffer us," say they, "to observe, that, in our opinion, the measures the town of Boston are pursuing, and proposing to us and the people of this province to unite in, are unconstitutional, illegal, and wholly unjustifiable, and what will give the enemies of our constitution the greatest joy, subversive of government, destructive of that peace and good order which is the cement of society, and have a direct tendency to rivet our chains, and deprive us of our rights and privileges, which we, the inhabitants of this town, desire may be secured to us, and perpetuated to our latest posterity."

A CONVENTION.

The temper and good sense, which influenced the conduct of the people of Hatfield, seemed, at that moment of infatuation and turbulence, to be confined to themselves. About a hundred towns and districts in the same province agreed to the proposal of a convention, and immediately appointed committee-men, a great number of whom met at Boston on the twenty-second of September. Their first act was a message to the governor, in which they disclaimed all pretence to any authority whatever; but said they were chosen by the several towns, and came freely, at the earnest desire of the people, to consult and advise the most effectual measures for promoting peace and good order, as far as they lawfully might, under the very dark and threatening aspect of public affairs: they then reiterated the detail of their grievances, and urged the absolute necessity of his convening without delay a general assembly, which they looked upon to be the only means of preventing the most unhappy consequences to the parent country and to the colonies. The governor refused to receive any message from an assembly, the legality of which he could not allow, but admonished them by letter, as a friend to the province, and a well-wisher to the individuals of it, to break up their meeting instantly, and to separate before they did any business. He said, he was willing to believe that the gentlemen who had issued the summons for this meeting were not aware of the high nature of the offence they were committing; and that those who had obeyed them did not consider the penalties they should incur, if they persisted in continuing their session: at present, ignorance of law might excuse what was past; a step farther would take away that plea. He asserted, that a meeting of the deputies of the towns was an assembly of the representatives of the people to all intents and purposes; and that the calling it a committee of convention could not alter the nature of the thing. At the conclusion of his letter, he informed them, that, if they paid no regard to this friendly admonition, he must, as governor, assert the prerogative of the crown in a more public manner. This remonstrance produced another message, in which they attempted to justify their meeting; begged the governor to be sparing of his frowns to their proceedings; and desired explanations of the criminality with which they were charged. The governor repeated his former refusal to receive any message from an illegal assembly; upon which they appointed nine of their number to draw up a report on the causes and express objects of their meeting. This report being made on the twenty-sixth of the same month, a letter with a representation of their transactions and grievances, in which was inclosed a petition to his majesty to be delivered in person, was forwarded to their agent in London; and on the twenty-ninth the convention dispersed.

The very day the convention broke up, the fleet from Halifax, consisting of several frigates and transports with two regiments and a detachment of artillery on board, arrived in the harbour. Quarters were procured for the troops by contract with private persons; and the council, upon that footing, allowed them barrack provisions. General Gage arrived soon after, as did the two regiments from Ireland. The factions and disorderly were by these means for some time intimidated: the soldiers behaved with the utmost discretion; and a tolerable harmony seemed to subsist between them and the inhabitants.

While things remained in this state rather of sullen repose than of assured tranquillity abroad, administration at home received a new shock from the clash of those discordant principles, on which it had been framed by the earl of Chatham. The duke of Grafton and lord Shelburne, though introduced into their respective offices as his friends and by his desire, were never cordially united. The latter had lately taken particular offence at the disregard of his recommendation of lord Tankerville to succeed George Pitt as ambassador at Turin. A marked preference was shown to the duke of Bedford's application in favour of Sir William Lynch. Lord Shelburne, upon this, retiring in disgust, his place was supplied by lord Weymouth, from the northern department; and the earl of Rockford, late ambassador at Paris, was appointed successor to lord Weymouth. In a few days after,

lord Chatham, who had long been prevented by bodily infirmities from attending to public business, resigned the privy seal, which was immediately delivered to his friend, the earl of Bristol.

Parliament met on the eighth of November; and one of the first objects that were pressed upon their notice in the speech from the throne, was to resume the consideration of those great commercial interests which had been entered upon before, but which the shortness of the last session of the late parliament had prevented from being brought to a final conclusion. The unhappy disorders in the colonies were in the next place very affectingly described. "At the close of the last parliament," said his majesty, "I expressed my satisfaction at the appearance which then induced me to believe, that such of my subjects as had been misled in some parts of my dominions were returning to a just sense of their duty: but it is with equal concern that I have since seen that spirit of faction, which I had hoped was well-nigh extinguished, breaking out afresh in some of my colonies in North America; and, in one of them, proceeding even to acts of violence, and of resistance to the execution of the law; the capital town of which colony appears by late advices, to be in a state of disobedience to all law and government; and has proceeded to measures subversive of the constitution, and attended with circumstances that manifest a disposition to throw off their dependence on Great Britain. On my part I have pursued every measure that appeared to be necessary for supporting the constitution, and inducing a due obedience to the authority of the legislature." Addresses, in perfect unison with the sentiments expressed in the speech, were agreed to by both houses. They were particularly explicit on the subject of America, and declared, that though they should be ever ready to redress the just complaints of the colonies, they were nevertheless determined to maintain the supreme authority of the British legislature over every part of the British empire. Thanks were then given for the measures already taken to support the laws in the colonies, and strong assurances of their ready concurrence in every regulation that appeared like to establish the constitutional dependence of the Americans.

WILKES PETITIONS THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the fourteenth of November, a petition was delivered from Wilkes containing a recapitulation of all the proceedings against him, from the time of his having been apprehended by a general warrant till his late commitment to prison. This produced an order for the proper officers to lay before the house a copy of the records of the proceedings in the court of king's bench. The journals and resolutions of the house in 1763, relative to the same subject, were also examined; and a day was appointed for hearing the matter of the petition, of which notice was ordered to be given to Wilkes, and to a great number of persons who were concerned as actors, or witnesses in those transactions. In the mean time, Webb, late secretary to the treasury, against whom a very heavy charge was laid of suborning and bribing with the public money one of Wilkes's servants, having petitioned for an opportunity to vindicate himself at the bar of the house, and application being also made by Wilkes for leave to attend in order to support the allegations of his petition, the requests of both were complied with, and liberty of counsel was allowed them for their respective purposes. After these preparatory steps, the hearing of the petition, which at first had been ordered to take place on the second of December, was put off to the twelfth of the same month, and was finally adjourned to the twenty-seventh of January following. This delay could not be avoided, as the merits of the disputed elections, many of which were violently contested, took up so much time, that although parliament continued sitting almost to the eve of the holidays, they had not leisure to attend even to any of the objects recommended to them from the throne, except the renewal of the provision-bills, to prevent a return of the scarcity from which the people had been providentially relieved. A committee of the whole house of commons had, indeed, been formed early in the session, for the purpose of an inquiry into American affairs; but this subject though of

far greater importance than Wilkes's petition, was necessarily deferred from the same cause, want of time. That gentleman's appeal on a writ of error to the house of lords, admitting of a very short and easy decision, was heard on the twenty-first of December, when the judgment of the court of king's bench was affirmed in both sentences; and next day the parliament adjourned to the nineteenth of January.

As lord Chatham still remained confined by illness, he had not been able since his resignation to give any public proofs of his hostility to the ministry whom he had deserted; but there could be no doubt of his intending upon the recovery of his health to join the standard of opposition. That standard was now upheld by the marquis of Rockingham, who became leader of what was called the old Whig party, in consequence of the duke of Newcastle's death about the middle of November.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY INSTITUTED.

BUT the most memorable event that distinguished the close of the year 1768, was the institution of the Royal Academy, under the king's immediate patronage, and subjected to the direction of forty artists of the first rank in their several professions. The great object of this institution, which will reflect immortal honour on the taste and munificence of its illustrious founder, was the establishment of well-regulated schools of design, where students in the arts might find proper instruction and the best helps as well as incentives to aspiring genius, without going in search of them to foreign countries. Here the pupils had the finest living models, and choice casts of the most celebrated antiquities to copy after. Nine academicians elected annually from amongst the forty were to attend the schools by rotation, to set the figures, to examine the performances of the students, to promote their improvement, and to turn their attention towards that branch of the arts in which they appeared most likely to excel. Professors of painting, of architecture, of perspective, and of anatomy were also appointed, with liberal salaries, to read annually a certain number of public lectures in the schools; and the admission to these and all the other advantages of the institution was made free to every person properly qualified to benefit by the studies there cultivated. That nothing might be wanting to rouse and encourage emulation, prizes were held out to those who made the nearest approaches to excellence; and the discourses delivered at the annual distribution of them by the president, Sir Joshua Reynolds, were well calculated to fan the flame of youthful ardour, to unfold the true principles and laws of composition, to strengthen the judgment, refine the taste, and impress upon the fancy the strongest images of that ideal perfection, which, as he himself said, it is the lot of genius always to contemplate, and never to attain. Under such a master, whose precepts were so happily illustrated by his own practice, it is no wonder that the English school soon rose to celebrity, and exhibited models of beauty and grandeur which may be fairly put in competition with the most admired productions of any age or any country. It is with unwillingness that history turns away from such delightful objects, to record the harsh wrangles of party, which were renewed at the meeting of parliament after the Christmas recess.

DISCUSSIONS ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

1760. THE grand debate on the American affairs began the twenty-sixth of January. An infinite number of papers relating to the troubles in the colonies had been read the day before; and some resolutions and an address were now produced as sent down from the lords, in order to their being concurred in by the commons. By these resolutions it was declared, that the acts of the late assembly of Massachusetts Bay, which tended to call in question the authority of the supreme legislature, were illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and parliament of Great Britain: that the circular letters written by the same assembly to those of the other colonies on the subject of the late import duties, stating them to be infringements of the rights of the people, and proposing combinations and other modes of pretended redress, were of a most unwarrantable, dangerous, and inflammatory nature: that the town of Boston had been for some time in a state of great disorder

and confusion, during which the officers of the revenue had been obstructed by violence in the discharge of their duty, and their lives endangered; and that neither the council of the province, nor the ordinary civil magistrates having exerted their authority for suppressing such tumults, the preservation of the peace, and the due execution of the laws became impracticable without the aid of a military force: that all the proceedings in the town-meetings at Boston on the fourteenth of June and twelfth of September were calculated to promote sedition; and that the appointment of a convention, the elections of deputies by the several towns and districts for that purpose, and their meeting were daring insults offered to his majesty's authority, and audacious usurpations of the powers of government. In the address, the greatest satisfaction was expressed in the measures already pursued for supporting the constitution, and inducing a due obedience to the legislature; and the strongest assurances were given of effectual concurrence in such farther measures as might be found necessary to maintain the civil magistrates in a proper execution of the laws, within the province of Massachusetts Bay. It was given as matter of opinion, that nothing could be more immediately necessary, either for the maintenance of royal authority in the said province, or for guarding his majesty's subjects there from being farther deluded by wicked and designing men, than to bring the authors of the late disorders to condign punishment; and for this purpose, it was earnestly requested, that governor Bernard might be directed to transmit the fullest information he could obtain of all treasons committed within his government since the thirtieth of December, 1767, together with the names of the persons most active in the perpetration of such offences, in order that his majesty might issue a special commission for trying the offenders within this realm, pursuant to the statute of the thirty-fifth of Henry VIII. in case his majesty should, upon receiving the said information, see sufficient ground for such a proceeding.

As soon as both houses concurred in the proposed avowal of these sentiments, it was resolved in the cabinet that a circular letter should be sent by lord Hillsborough to the governors of the different provinces, containing an engagement, as far as the ministers of the crown could engage, to procure a repeal, on the principles of commercial expediency, of the taxes on glass, paper, and colours. They were in hopes, that a well-timed show of vigour in the first instance, and of lenity and condescension afterwards, would bring the colonists to a sense of their duty, and make them desist from their seditious practices. Unfortunately the event did not correspond, in any degree, with these expectations.

DEBATES ON THE CIVIL LIST.

THOUGH the parliamentary strength of the ministry was fully demonstrated in carrying the resolutions and address by a majority of almost three to one, they were opposed with much greater vehemence on a point, where they thought themselves more secure, an article of the supplies. A message from the king was delivered to the house of commons on the last day of February, acquainting them that the arrears of the civil list amounted to five hundred and thirteen thousand pounds, and expressing his majesty's reliance on their known seal and affection, to enable him to discharge that incumbrance. This message gave rise to a contest, which was kept up with uncommon warmth for three days successively. Several motions, diversified by all the manoeuvres of political dexterity, were made for papers which might lead to a discovery of any mismanagement or profusion in the conduct of the revenue, and of the royal expenses. A review was taken of the state of the civil list, and private revenues of the crown: comparisons were drawn between the income of the present and of former reigns: and it was asserted in very plain terms, that unless the most scrupulous inquiry was always made into the particulars for which such debts were contracted, an arbitrary and unlimited revenue would be gradually established at the will of the prince, and for the purpose of promoting the most pernicious measures. The chancellor of the exchequer expressed the greatest readiness to lay all the accounts and papers that were desired before the house; but said that the length of time which was requisite to prepare them, and the late-

ness of the session made it necessary to be deferred to the next meeting, while decency to the king required an immediate relief of his wants. Lord North farther observed, that it would be ungenerous, by any act, to show the smallest suspicion of a prince, whose first care upon his accession to the throne, was to strengthen the freedom of the subject, by establishing the independency of the judges: that his majesty, who had, in his private share of the captures made during the late war, given up seven hundred and thirty thousand pounds to the nation, was certainly entitled to some regard in his present exigencies: and that the gratitude, next to say the justice of the kingdom was called upon in the lowest manner, to comply readily and gracefully with his request. In one of the debates on this subject, the division was, for the ministry, one hundred and sixty-four, against eighty-nine, and in another, two hundred and forty-eight against one hundred and thirty-five.

No objections could have been urged with any great degree of plausibility or force to the other parts of the supplies, or to the ways and means for the service of the current year. The supplies amounted to little more than six millions and a half, including the arrears of the civil list, and four hundred thousand pounds of the navy debts which were to be paid off. The ways and means consisted of the land and malt taxes; exchequer bills to the amount of one million eight hundred thousand pounds; anticipations of the sinking fund for the like sum; a lottery; money due for the ceded islands and for French prizes; small sums in the exchequer, which were a sort of scrapings from the monies issued in the war, and balances of different treasurers' accounts; expected produce of American taxes, estimated at thirty thousand pounds; and the annual contribution of four hundred thousand pounds from the East India company, whose charter was prolonged for the farther term of five years, on conditions in some respects similar to the last agreement; but the company were now allowed to increase their dividend to twelve and a half per cent. during this term, provided they did not in any one year raise it above one per cent. on the other hand, should the dividend be reduced below the present standard of ten per cent. the stipulated payment of four hundred thousand pounds should be proportionally diminished; and if the dividend should sink to six per cent. the payment to the nation was to be wholly discontinued (1). Such easy and judicious provisions for the public service afforded very little room for cavilling or debate. But the spirit of altercation found sufficient exercise in the proceedings concerning Wilkes.

VIOLENT DEBATES RESPECTING WILKES.

ON the twenty-seventh of January, the day to which the hearing of that gentleman's pretended grievances had been deferred, a motion was made by the chancellor of the exchequer, and carried by a very considerable majority, that Wilkes's counsel should confine themselves to the alteration of the records, and to the charge against Webb, as the other parts of the petition had either been decided upon already, or were now under consideration of the courts below. Four days after, Wilkes proceeded with his evidence; but he was totally unable to make good his accusation against Webb, which plainly appeared to have been a most audacious falsehood. There was no difficulty in proving the alteration of the record, which had been acknowledged and fully justified by lord Mansfield in the court of king's bench, where the practice was confirmed on the opinion of all the judges. But Wilkes having disingenuously and malignantly left out so material a circumstance in his complaint, the house agreed to a vote of censure on that part of the petition, as tending to asperse lord Mansfield's character, and to prejudice the people against the administration of public justice. This, however, was not the only step Wilkes had lately taken to provoke the rigour of parliament, and to endear himself more strongly to the infatuated populace.

Some little time previous to the riot in St. George's Fields, a letter had been written by lord Weymouth, one of the secretaries of state, to the chairman of the quarter-sessions at Lambeth, recommending an early and effectual use of the military, if the civil power was trifled with or insulted;

as a military force could never be employed to a more constitutional purpose, than in supporting the authority and dignity of the magistracy. Such instructions seemed particularly necessary at that crisis, when some of the most active magistrates had been found unable to put the laws in execution; when constables, instead of attempting to preserve the peace, were known to join the mob in every act of outrage; when a convict was openly rescued from the officers of justice, and carried in triumph almost within sight of the very court that ordered his commitment; when, in short, the audacity of the rabble increased with their crimes, and no hope remained of bringing them to a sense of their duty but by the exertion of superior force. Wilkes, having by some means procured a copy of lord Weymouth's letter on that occasion, had it published at full length in a newspaper, with a preface of his own, in which the affair of St. George's Fields was termed a horrid massacre, and the consequence of a hellish project, deliberately planned and determined upon. The secretary of state laid so flagrant a breach of privilege before the lords, and the publishers of the newspapers having acknowledged that they received the copy from Wilkes, a complaint was made to the commons of the conduct of their member; and the matter being agitated during the inquiry into the merits of Wilkes's petition, he not only declared himself to be the author of the prefatory remarks, but said he gloried in having brought to light that bloody scroll, and was only sorry he had not expressed his indignation at it in stronger terms. He even added, that he ought to have the thanks of the house for his meritorious conduct in the business. Instead of thanks, however, the house voted his introduction to the secretary of state's letter to be an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, tending to inflame and stir up the minds of his majesty's subjects to a total subversion of all good order and legal government.

Next day [Feb. 3.] a very long debate took place on the following motion, made by lord Barrington, the secretary at war:

"That John Wilkes, Esq. a member of this house, who hath at the bar of this house confessed himself to be the author and publisher of what this house has resolved to be an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, and who has been convicted in the court of king's bench, of having printed and published a seditious libel, and three obscene and impious libels, and by the judgment of the said court has been sentenced to undergo twenty two months imprisonment, and is now in execution under the said judgment, be expelled this house."

This motion was opposed by the united strength of the Baskingtons and Grenvilles parties, Edmund Burke, the adherent of the one, and George Grenville the leader of the other, being the principal speakers. Though these gentlemen differed very widely on some great political principles, yet from a casual coincidence of dislike to many of the late measures of government, they often acted as if they belonged to the same phalanx. But on whatever side of the question they spoke, their style and manner always afforded a very remarkable and amusing contrast. Burke's eloquence was splendid, copious, and animated, sometimes addressing itself to the passions, much oftener to the fancy, but seldom or never to the understanding; it seemed fitter for show than debate, for the school than the senate, and was calculated rather to excite applause than to produce conviction: Grenville's was plain, yet correct, manly, argumentative, trusting more to genuine candour, to the energy of reason, and the well-displayed evidence of truth, than to the rainbow colours of fine imagery, or the blaze of artificial declamation. The one appeared always dressed in a rich wardrobe of words, to dazzle the beholders: the other made use of language, as a modest man does of clothes, for the purposes of convenience and decency. The former could enliven the dullest debate by the sallies of his wit; but he was too fond of exerting that talent on every occasion, and frequently debased it by an intermixture of low ridicule; the latter, full of the importance of his subject, and attentive to the becoming gravity as well as dignity of the senatorial character, never let himself down, nor attempted any thing like vulgar jests, or unreasonable pleasantry. Burke, naturally ardent, impetuous, and irascible, took fire at the smallest collision; and the

sudden bursts of his anger or his vehemence, when all around him was calm, could only be compared to the rant of intoxication in the presence of a sober and dispassionate company: Grenville, even when attacked with the utmost asperity, showed a perfect command of temper, and neither betrayed any symptoms of alarm himself, nor hurried the thunder of wrathful oratory at his adversaries. This dissimilitude of genius and character between both was strongly marked in the debate on lord Barrington's motion.

Burke poured forth a torrent of invectives against the folly and wickedness of the ministers of the crown; he enlarged on the dangerous consequences of the assumption and abuse of a discretionary power in the commons; and called the proposed vote of expulsion the fifth act of a trag-comedy; performed by his majesty's servants, at the desire of several persons of quality, for the benefit of Wilkes, and at the expense of the constitution. Grenville confined himself to two decisive points, the injustice and imprudence of the measure. He said it was unfair to blend all Wilkes's offences, as it were, in one indictment, and then to decide on a complicated and accumulated charge; as, in consequence of such a mode of trial, it was possible for that gentleman to be expelled even by a minority (2). After viewing the whole together, he proceeded to unravel the web, and to examine the different parts of it separately and distinctly. He observed, that the proper step to be taken by the house of lords with respect to the gross and impudent libel on lord Weymouth was to address the king to have it prosecuted by the attorney general, instead of transmitting it to the commons to be punished by an extraordinary extension of their jurisdiction. For the North Briton, Wilkes was now undergoing the sentence of the law, and had been expelled from parliament; and there was no rule more sacred in English jurisprudence, than that a man once acquitted or condemned should not be tried or punished again by the same judicature for the same offence. The law had also passed sentence on him for the *Essay on Woman*; and as the last house of commons had not thought it right for them to interfere in that matter, it would certainly be deemed a hardship to let it pass unnoticed at the time, and five years after to transfer it to another parliament, and to reserve it for a fresh censure. As to Wilkes's imprisonment, though it implied an inability in him to attend, and in the house to reclaim him, yet Grenville did not think that temporary disabilities ought to be regarded as proper grounds for an expulsion. He therefore begged that the prejudices or just resentments of the house against the conduct and character of the man might not prevail upon them to establish a precedent, which, though perhaps begun in the first instance against the odious or the guilty, might be easily applied and made use of against the meritorious and the innocent. From those remarks Grenville made an easy and natural transition to the second part of the subject, in which he took a view of the propriety and wisdom of the measure. He considered Wilkes as having become, however undeservedly, a favourite with the public: he said it could not be denied, that the temper of the people had shown itself on several occasions to be licentious and disorderly; that their respect for the parliament and confidence in their representatives were visibly diminished; and he then asked, whether, under these circumstances, it was not more advisable to conciliate the heated minds of men by mildness and discretion, than to inflame them by adding fresh fuel to discontent? He hoped the ministry would consult the best guide to all human wisdom, the experience of past times; and he quoted one instance of impolitic rigour, which was equally pertinent and forcible. "The reverend incendiary Dr. Sacheverell," said he, "was unwisely prosecuted by this house. He became by that means the favourite and idol of the people throughout England, as much, nay more than Wilkes is now. The queen herself was stopped and insulted in her chair, during the trial, with 'God save Dr. Sacheverell.' I heartily wish that no similar insult may have been offered to our present sovereigns. The prosecution went on and the ferment increased. The event verified a famous expression in those days, 'That the whigs had wished to roast a parson, and that they had done it at so fierce a fire, that they had burnt them-

selves; for the ministers were dismissed, and the parliament dissolved. The mob idol, when he ceased to be a martyr, soon sunk into his original insignificance, from which that martyrdom alone had raised him. Wilkes, apprehensive of the same fate, and thoroughly sensible that the continuance of his popularity will depend upon your conduct, uses every means in his power to provoke you to some instance of unusual severity. Suppose that you could otherwise have doubted of it, yet his behaviour here at your bar, when called upon to justify himself, is fully sufficient to prove the truth of what I have asserted. If he had intended to deprecate your resentment, and to stop your proceedings against him, he is not so void of parts and understanding, as to have told you in the words he used at the bar (when charged with writing the libel against lord Weymouth) 'that he was only sorry he had not expressed himself upon that subject in stronger terms; and that he certainly would do so whenever a similar occasion should present itself; nor would he have asked, whether the precedents quoted by lord Mansfield were not all taken from the star chamber?' If he had wished to prevent this expulsion, he would have employed other methods to accomplish his purpose; but his object is not to retain his seat in this house, but to stand forth to the deluded people as the victim of your resentment, of your violence and injustice. This is the advantage which he manifestly seeks to derive from you; and will you be weak enough to give it to him, and to fall into so obvious a snare? What benefit will you gain, or what will he lose, if this motion for his expulsion shall take effect? Whatever talents he has to captivate or to inflame the people without doors he has none to render him formidable within these walls.—He has holden forth high, sounding, and magnificent promises of the signal services which he will perform to his country in parliament; and there are many who are ignorant and credulous enough to believe them. Whenever he comes here, I will venture to prophesy that they will be grievously disappointed. That disappointment will be followed by disgust and anger at their having been so grossly deceived, and will probably turn the tide of popular prejudice. But as soon as he shall be excluded from this house, they will give credit to him for more than he has even promised. They will be persuaded that every real and imaginary grievance would have been redressed by his patriotic care and influence.—Grenville here took occasion to point out some other bad consequences of the proposed measure. He said there could be no doubt, in the present temper of the freeholders of Middlesex, but that Wilkes would be re-elected after his expulsion. The house would probably think it necessary to expel him again, and he would as certainly be again elected. What steps could the house then take to put an end to a disgraceful contest, in which their justice would be arraigned, and their authority and dignity essentially compromised? By the rules of the house, the vote for excluding Wilkes could not be rescinded in the same session in which it had passed. No alternative would therefore remain, but either to refuse issuing a new writ, and by that means to deprive the county of the right of choosing any other representative; or bringing into the house, as the knight of the shire for Middlesex, a man chosen by a few voters only, in contradiction to the declared sense of a great majority on the face of the poll. Are these then," continued Grenville, "the proper expedients to check and to restrain the spirit of faction and of disorder?—Can we seriously think they will have that salutary effect? Surely it is time to look forwards, and to try other measures."—He concluded with recommending a cool and temperate conduct, unmixed with passion, or with prejudice; and deprecated the exercise of a discretionary power, the extent of which no man knew, and the extent of the mischief arising from it no man could tell.

WILKES EXPELLED, BUT RE-ELECTED.

BUT neither the candour of Grenville's advice, nor the force of his prophetic warnings could subdue the indignation which the house felt at the unparalleled insolence as well as criminality of Wilkes's behaviour. The vote of expulsion was carried by a majority of 219 to 136; and a new writ was issued for the election of a member in the room of Wilkes. The train of events predicted by

Grenville now followed in rapid succession. Wilkes's popularity increased with what was termed his persecution. His bold defence of the prefatory remarks on lord Weymouth's letter, at the very bar of the house of commons that expelled him, was captivating to many persons, and raised him friends and admirers in every quarter. The freeholders of Middlesex confirmed their former choice of him as their representative, and had, at a previous meeting, agreed to support his election at their own expense. The return being made to the house of commons, it was resolved by a majority of 225 to 80, "that Wilkes, having been once expelled, was incapable of sitting in the same parliament, and that the election was therefore void." But before the sense of the county was taken again, a month was suffered to elapse, in hopes that the popular ferment might be somewhat abated in that time. The delay had a contrary effect. It afforded Wilkes's partisans an opportunity of spreading the flame wider, and seizing the moment of general frenzy to levy contributions for the relief, as they said, of the persecuted asserter of the Bill of Rights. At the first meeting called together for this purpose at the London tavern, above three thousand pounds were immediately subscribed, and a committee was appointed to circulate proposals of the like kind through the kingdom, the following claim being urged in Wilkes's favour, "that as he had suffered very greatly in his private fortune, from the severe and repeated prosecutions he had undergone; it seemed reasonable that those who suffered for the public good should be supported by the public." This scheme was in the true spirit of Wilkes's old maxim, and his expectations of its success were not disappointed. When the election came on again at Brentford, Wilkes was chosen for the third time with the former unanimity. This election being also declared void, and a new writ ordered, colonel Luttrell, a member of the house of commons, had the courage to vacate his seat by the acceptance of a nominal place, in order to try his strength in a contest for Middlesex. Whitaker, a serjeant at law, ventured also to enter the lists; and another gentleman had been nominated, but did not choose to take the oaths necessary on that occasion. At the close of the poll, the numbers were for Wilkes 1143, for Luttrell 200, and for Whitaker only 5; upon which the return was made in favour of Wilkes, but was, of course, annulled by the house of commons; and in two days after, a resolution was carried by a majority of 231 to 139, to amend the return byrasing out the name of Wilkes, and inserting that of colonel Luttrell in its place. Fourteen days having been allowed for a petition against this decision, one was accordingly presented, signed by several freeholders; which again brought the matter into warm and serious debate on the eighth of May, when the former resolution was confirmed by a still greater majority.

If the minds of the people had not been totally blinded by the mists of prejudice and passion, or by the illusions of factious artifice, they must have perceived the necessity, as well as regularity of the steps taken by the house of commons after the expulsion of Wilkes, however impolitic that measure might be deemed in the first instance. It was evident, that the right of expelling delinquents and of deciding on the validity of elections, which the commons derived from the first principles of the constitution, and had always exercised, would be a nominal or frivolous authority, if it was not supported by the farther power of excluding such persons, as they had been declared to be ineligible or improper. "That the right claimed by the greater part of the freeholders of Middlesex was no other than the right of doing wrong,—the right of sending inadmissible representatives to parliament; that, if the house was obliged by the constitution to receive all persons duly qualified, who were returned by a majority of the electors, the latter were equally bound not to return disqualified persons." It had been asked by the gentlemen of the opposition, with a sort of insulting confidence, under what head of legal disability Wilkes's exclusion was to be found; or how the electors were to know it? The reply, however, was easy: the records of parliament would inform them. "How," said the ministerial party, "have the electors learned, that judges of the superior courts cannot be chosen representatives of the people? How are aliens,—how are clergymen disqualified? The house has

pronounced them incapable, as the several questions arose. It is exactly the same with regard to Wilkes. He incurred the like sentence. Were the decisions of the house, in this or any other instance, found to be arbitrary or unjust, the united branches of the legislature, in their supreme and collective capacity, might interpose, and, by passing a law, regulate such decisions for the future; but nothing less can restrict the judicial power of the commons in all cases of election."

PARLIAMENT PROROGUED.

THE prorogation of parliament took place the day after the final decision on the Middlesex election. In the speech from the throne, the proceedings of both houses through the whole course of the session were highly approved, but more especially their attention to the great objects, which, at its opening had been recommended to their immediate consideration: just acknowledgments were also made of their readiness as well in granting the supplies for the service of the current year, as in enabling his majesty to discharge the debt incurred on account of the civil government: he exhorted them with peculiar earnestness to use their utmost efforts in their several counties for the maintenance of peace and good order at home; and, with regard to the state of affairs abroad, he trusted that the calamities of war would not extend to any other part of Europe, however unsuccessful his attempts had proved for preventing the unfortunate rupture between Russia and the Porte.

Some very unpleasant advices having been received from the East Indies; in the first moments of alarm, the company's stock fell sixty per cent. The immediate cause of so great a shock to their credit was the continuance of an expensive and disastrous war, which the rapacity and ambition of their servants in India had prompted them to engage in about the middle of the year 1767, and which was now said to threaten the ruin of their trade, and the loss of their principal settlements. The danger was, indeed, greatly exaggerated in these representations; but it plainly appeared from facts, that the company had been wantonly plunged into a contest with the most formidable enemy they had ever encountered in that part of the world. This was the famous Hyder Ally, who by daring treachery, and one of those amazing revolutions so frequent in India, had risen from a common seapoy to the sovereignty of an extensive country on the coast of Malabar. Though his ambition increased with his power and success, yet it was always under the restraints of the soundest policy; and while he neglected no means of securing his empire and improving the discipline of his armies, he cautiously avoided giving any offence to the company, which could prove no less unjust, than war. On the contrary, it is asserted, that their ships were permitted to trade in his ports without molestation, and their servants had a free intercourse with his dominions, till the very moment of the rupture. He was not, however, unprepared for such an event. In addition to his own resources, he had the address to gain over to his side the nizam of the Decan, a potentate of high rank in India, and whose territories bordered upon those of the company. But notwithstanding the number of their united forces, and the extraordinary effects of the discipline introduced by Hyder, they were defeated with great loss by colonel Smith near Trincomallee, on the twenty-sixth of September 1767; after which the nizam made a separate peace with the English, yielding up to them a considerable territory, called the Balagat Carnatic. Hyder, though deserted by his late ally, and though in the month of February following he received another very severe blow in the loss of his whole navy at Mangalore, was far from betraying any symptoms of dejection or dismay; but transferred the war to a mountainous part of the country, where his enemies were prevented from doing any thing decisive, and where he could avail himself of all the advantages, which the celerity of his own army, composed chiefly of acres, gave him in such circumstances. At length by a series of rapid movements, in which the company's troops were greatly harassed, and their supplies often intercepted, he wheeled round them, and rushed with desolating fury into the Carnatic. This manoeuvre had all the effect he could wish. They were immediately obliged to

evacuate his territories, and to retire in haste to the defence of their own and of their allies. Thus he recovered, without fighting, some forts and strong posts which they had taken; and, instead of a fugitive retreating before his enemies, and unable to defend his own dominions, he came as a vindictive and haughty victor to pour destruction into theirs. His cavalry, being now let loose into its proper sphere, spread far and wide its destructive ravages; while Hyder, with his usual sagacity, avoided a general engagement, and contented himself with attacking detached parties of the English army, cutting off their convoys, and wearying them out by their own fruitless endeavours to bring him to action. Other adventurers, allured by the prospect of plunder, joined him in great numbers: some of the Maratta princes were on the point of entering into alliances with him; and nothing less than the expulsion of the English seemed to be the object of such powerful confederacies. It was at this stage of the war, towards the close of the year 1768, that the accounts were brought away from India, which occasioned so much consternation among the company at home. Even those, who knew that Hyder Ally's whole force was unable to make any impression on the English settlements, were justly apprehensive of his incursions into the open provinces, which he laid waste, and thereby destroyed the company's principal resources for carrying on the war. Their trade, their revenue might be materially injured, though the enemy's success was not such as to endanger their security. The progress and final issue of the war exactly corresponded with these ideas. Hyder's devastations in the Carnatic were attended with very distressing effects. The Nabob of Arcot, a staunch friend and faithful ally of the company, was nearly ruined. The income of the establishment at Madras being inadequate to its present exigencies, large remittances from Bengal became necessary; and as these were unavoidably made in a base kind of gold coin, the loss in the difference of exchange only was said to amount to forty thousand pounds. A stop was also put to the usual investments from Madras to China, no silver being now stirring in the country, and the manufactures at a stand from the fear of the enemy. But the most provoking circumstance of all was the ever watchful sagacity with which Hyder baffled every effort of the company's forces either to check his career, or to bring him to close action. The first defeat, which he had sustained from colonel Smith in the year 1767, made him extremely cautious: and though he was tempted in October 1768, at the head of fourteen thousand horse and six battalions of seapoys, to attack a detachment of four hundred and sixty Europeans, and two thousand three hundred seapoys, commanded by colonel Wood, the necessity of retreating, after an obstinate contest of six hours, afforded another mortifying proof of the superiority of his adversaries, which no numbers, discipline, or exertions on his part were able to counterbalance. He therefore adhered to his predatory plan, and as he had totally laid aside the heavy, unsightly cannon before used by the Indian princes, and taken care to prevent his troops from being encumbered with baggage, nothing could equal the celerity of his motions. In the month of March 1769, having evaded the English army in the Carnatic, he suddenly appeared in force at the gates of Madras. The presidency now thought proper to enter into a negotiation for peace, proposing a truce of fifty days for that purpose; but Hyder would grant a cessation of arms for seven days only, in which time articles of accommodation were signed, (April 3d) and the conquests on both sides reciprocally restored. Previous to the knowledge of this event in England, the proprietors of East India stock, alarmed at its continual depression, and struck with the necessity of taking strong measures for the correction of abuses and mismanagement abroad, had determined to send out a committee of supervision to Bengal, with full authority to examine into and rectify the concerns of every department, and vested with an absolute power of control over all the servants of the company in India. Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Scrafton, and colonel Ford, were nominated supervisors and sailed from England, in the Aurora frigate, the latter end of September; but by some unknown and fatal mischance, this ship never arrived at the place of her destination. The very great embarrassments in which the company were afterwards involved, and the steps taken by

government for their relief and future regulation will be described in the next chapter.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

THE accounts brought over from America in the course of the year, though not so immediately alarming as those from the East Indies, afforded but little prospect of future tranquillity in that quarter. As soon as the joint address of both houses of parliament on the subject of the disorders at Boston was published in the colonies, the assembly of Virginia came to several resolutions, asserting in very plain terms, the sole right of taxing themselves, the privilege of petitioning the sovereign for redress of grievances, the lawfulness of engaging other provinces to concur in such applications to the throne, and the injustice of having accused persons sent to be tried beyond the seas, which, they said, was highly derogatory to the rights of British subjects. They ordered their speaker to transmit copies of these resolutions to the different assemblies throughout the continent, and to request their concurrence. Next day, May the seventeenth, on being dissolved by the governor, lord Botetourt, who could not connive at such proceedings, they voted themselves into a convention, and then signed an act of association against importing not only the taxed commodities, but wine and several other articles. The province of Maryland followed the example, in respect to the non-importation agreement; and the North Carolina assembly adopting, by an express vote, all the other resolutions, were dissolved by governor Tryon. The very first step taken by the general court of Massachusetts's Bay, when called together in the summer according to their charter, was to present an address to governor Bernard for the removal of the naval and military force stationed in the town and harbour of Boston. He told them, he had no such authority; and as they refused to proceed to business, while surrounded with an armed force, he adjourned the court to the town of Cambridge; soon after which they passed resolutions similar to those of Virginia, and a vote "that the sending an armed force into the colony, under the pretence of assisting the civil power, was highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented, and unconstitutional." Being called upon by the governor to declare, whether they would or would not make provision for the troops agreeably to the injunctions of the act of parliament, they answered, that it was inconsistent with their honour, their interest, and their duty, to provide funds for any such purpose. Upon this the governor prorogued them to the tenth of January following, in order to give time for the abatement of the violence, and for the operation of lord Hillsborough's letter on the intended repeal of some obnoxious taxes. The motives by which the ministry were influenced in resolving upon such a measure, have been already explained; and as they wished to be enabled to speak with some confidence of its probable effects, before they submitted it to the consideration of the legislature, the parliament which was to have met in November, was farther prorogued to January.

CHANGES IN THE CABINET.

1770. AT the opening of the session on the ninth of January, the opposition availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the usual motion for an address, to introduce their favourite subject; and proposed an amendment, "to assure his majesty that they would immediately inquire into the causes of the discontents that prevailed in every part of his dominions." This produced long debates which were carried on with great acrimony, but with no other effect than that of discovering a few remarkable desertions from the ministry in both houses. The marquis of Granby, commander in chief of the forces, voted for the amendment in the commons, and repeated his former opinions in favour of colonel Luttrell, which, he said, arose from his not having duly considered the nice distinction between expulsions and incapacitation. The ministry felt the loss of lord Camden much more severely. He joined his friend the earl of Chatham, who moved the amendment in the house of lords, where, however, it was negatived by a great majority. Charles Yorke, attorney general, son of the late lord chancellor Hardwicke, a man of the highest professional ability, accepted the great seal at his majesty's request; and a patent was immediately ordered for his elevation to the peerage, by the title of lord Morden. But

in consequence of his death, which suddenly happened three days after, the seal was put into commission till the beginning of the next year, when it was given to judge Bathurst, lord Mansfield, in the mean time, officiating as speaker of the lords. A vacancy of the latter kind having been occasioned in the commons, at the very same juncture, by Sir John Cust's illness, which soon terminated in his death, two candidates were put in nomination, Sir Fletcher Norton by lord North, and the right honourable Thomas Townshend by lord John Cavendish. In this trial of parliamentary strength, the minister's friend was chosen by a majority of 237 to 131. Before the end of the month the duke of Grafton resigned, but not in disgust. On the contrary, he declared that he would still continue to support the measures of administration; and he kept his word. Lord North took his place at the head of the treasury, without relinquishing his former office of chancellor of the exchequer. These changes were followed by some others. The earl of Bristol choosing the tranquil post of first lord of the bed-chamber, vacated by the earl of Huntingdon, the privy seal was delivered to the earl of Halifax: Mr. Dunning, the solicitor general, resigned that employment to Mr. Taurrow, a barrister then rising into consequence; and one of the vacant seats at the admiralty board was filled by Charles Fox, who had just begun to attract public notice by an early display of his astonishing talents.

EFFORTS OF THE OPPOSITION.

THE failure of the proposed amendment did not discourage the leaders of opposition from renewing again and again their loud complaints of national grievances, and particularly of the invaded freedom of election. The various motions on this head, which they made in both houses, however diversified in form, were substantially the same; and as parliament had frequently considered and rejected such motions, it was plain that the giving them a new shape must have been with a view of harassing ministry, and of not only keeping alive the spirit, but aggravating the fury of discontent among the people. In one of the debates, lord Chatham, after affirming that the constitution was violated, expressed a wish, if the breach was not repaired, "that discord might prevail for ever." He even went so far as to justify resistance in express terms, and said, "that aid as he was, he hoped he should see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and the government." It was not long before he was gratified by some advances of that kind on the part of the corporation of London.

CITY OF LONDON'S REMONSTRANCE TO THE KING.

ON the fourteenth of March, Mr. Beckford, then a second time lord mayor, attended by the sheriffs, a few of the aldermen, and a great body of the common council, with a prodigious mob, went to St. James's, and there presented to the king what was called "the humble address, remonstrance, and petition of the city of London," though written in a strain of the most daring and unparalleled insolence. It stated, that the complaints made in a former petition remained unanswered, and that the injuries were confirmed: that the only judge removable at the pleasure of the crown had been dismissed from his high office for defending in parliament the laws and the constitution: that under the same secret and malign influence, which through each successive administration had defeated every good, and suggested every bad intention, the majority of the house of commons had deprived the people of their dearest rights: that the decision on the Middlesex election was a deed more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles the first, or the dispensing power by James the second,—a deed that must vitiate all the future proceedings of the parliament, as the acts of the legislature could no more be valid without a legal house of commons, than without a legal prince on the throne; that representatives of the people were essential to the making of laws: that the present house of commons did not represent the people; and that its sitting was continued far no other reason but because it was corruptly subservient to the designs of his majesty's ministers. The "humble" petitioners concluded with reminding his majesty of his coronation-oath, and with assuring themselves that he would dissolve the parliament, and remove

those evil ministers for ever from his council. His majesty replied with great temper and dignity: "I shall always be ready to receive the requests, and to listen to the complaints of my subjects: but it gives me great concern to find that any of them should have been so far misled, as to offer me an address and remonstrance, the contents of which I cannot but consider as disrespectful to me, injurious to my parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution. I have ever made the law of the land the rule of my conduct, esteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people. With this view I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the trust reposed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. It is only by persevering in such a conduct, that I can either discharge my own duty, or secure to my subjects the free enjoyment of those rights which my family were called to defend: and while I act upon these principles, I shall have a right to expect, and I am confident I shall continue to receive, the steady and affectionate support of my people."

A motion was made in the house of commons, on the following day, for a copy of the remonstrance, as well as of his majesty's answer. This motion was carried by a majority of almost three to one, after a warm debate, in which the lord mayor, alderman Trecothick one of the city members, and both the sheriffs Townshend and Sawbridge, insultingly gloried in the part they had taken in that transaction. The papers having been afterwards laid before the house, and the journals and other records examined, fresh debates arose on a motion for an address to his majesty, and another for the concurrence of the lords, to testify the extreme concern and indignation which both houses felt at the language of the remonstrance, so little corresponding with the grateful and affectionate respect justly due to his majesty from all his subjects, and at the same time aspersing and calumniating one of the branches of the legislature, and expressly denying the legality of the present parliament, and the validity of its proceedings. The value and importance of the right of British subjects to petition were enlarged upon with rapture; but it was afflicting to see the exercise of that right so grossly perverted, by being applied to the purpose not of preserving, but of overturning the constitution, and of propagating doctrines, which, if generally adopted, must be fatal to the peace of the kingdom, and tended to the subversion of all lawful authority. The opposition to this address was equally outrageous and impotent: the loyalty and good sense of a considerable majority of both houses prevailed: the king received their grateful acknowledgments of his tender regard for the rights of his subjects with great satisfaction.

GRENVILLE'S BILL FOR DETERMINING DISPUTED ELECTIONS.

IN the midst of this season of heat and discussion, which in a greater or less degree was extended to every corner of the kingdom, George Grenville brought in his famous bill for regulating the proceedings of the house of commons on controverted elections. He stated with his usual candour the abuses which had crept in, and the nature of the plan he proposed for their correction. Formerly, he observed, the trials of contested elections had been always by a select committee, chiefly composed of the most learned and experienced of the house; and whilst that custom continued, the litigant parties and the nation at large were generally well satisfied with the decisions. But, by degrees, the committees of elections having been enlarged, and all who came having voices, a shameful partiality prevailed: so that by way of remedy, while Mr. Onslow was speaker, the admirable order, with which he conducted himself, made such as wished for a fair trial of their cause, desire it might be heard at the bar of the house. This method, however, was found to be very defective and inconvenient. The number of the judges, which exceeded that of any other judicature in the world, and their being under no tie of oaths or honour to prevent any secret bias from operating on their minds, left full scope for the influence of friendship, importunity, and party connection. Custom and example gave a sort of sanction to injustice; and where so many were concerned, they not only kept one another in coun-

tenance, but every individual thought his share in the general guilt or reproach of partiality too inconsiderable to give him the least uneasiness. The trying of such questions at the bar was also an insuperable obstruction to all other public business; and especially in the first session of a new parliament, they took up so much time, that it was almost a matter of surprise how the house could attend to any thing else. Grenville's bill for remedying these evils was exactly founded on the constitutional idea of trials by jury. He proposed that when a petition complaining of an undue election was presented, and a day appointed for hearing its merits, against which the parties were to have their witnesses ready, the house on that day should be counted; and if one hundred members were not present, no other business should be gone into until that number assembled, at which time the names of the members in the house were to be put into six ural, from each of which the clerk should alternately draw a name, to the number of forty-nine: the sitting members and petitioners might also nominate one each. Lists of the forty-nine were then to be given to the sitting member, the petitioners, their counsel, or agents, who, with the clerk, were to withdraw, and to strike off one alternately, beginning on the part of the petitioners, till the number was reduced to thirteen. These, with the two nominees, were to be sworn a select committee, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records; to examine witnesses; and finally to determine the matter in dispute.

Such were the principal outlines of this excellent bill, which, though opposed by some of the ministry, was carried through both houses with irresistible vigour, and received the royal assent on the twelfth of April. At first the bill was made temporary, that in case the experiment did not succeed, it might expire of itself. But its good effects, when reduced to practice, became so evident, that in four years after, an act was passed for rendering it perpetual. Some improvements have since been made in several of its clauses, but the principle is unalterably good; and it remains a lasting monument of the sound sense, integrity, and patriotism of its author. As his parliamentary exertions ended with his life soon after the passing of this bill, it may be properly called his last legacy to the British nation.

DEBATES RELATIVE TO AMERICA.

VERY few of the persons who were joined with Grenville in opposition to the ministry at that time, seemed desirous, like him, of sacrificing party considerations to public duty. Their efforts, during the whole session, had no other tendency than to create confusion, to embarrass government, and so fully to occupy the time and attention of both houses in useless and violent discussions, as to leave very little opportunity for introducing matters of the greatest moment. Even the affairs of the colonies, however pressing and important, were unavoidably postponed from the same cause, the constant succession of debates on the most inflammatory and incongruous propositions. It was not till the beginning of March, when any longer delay would have been extremely injurious to the usual spring exportations for the American market, that lord North moved the repeal of the obnoxious port duties of 1767, excepting the duty of three-pence per pound on tea, with the continuance of which he thought the Americans could not be justly dissatisfied, as when that was laid on, another was taken off by a drawback of twenty-five per cent. from the English duties allowed to the exporter. But his lordship's most plausible argument for retaining any part of an act, which he admitted to be inconsistent with the true spirit of commercial policy, was, that a total repeal would be ascribed by the colonists, not to the goodness, but to the fears of government; and would encourage them to make fresh demands,—to rise in their turbulence, instead of returning to their duty, "and that a total repeal could not be thought of till America was prostrate at our feet." Governor Pownall's speech in reply, in which he endeavoured to demonstrate the inefficacy of a partial repeal, and to enforce the necessity of extending it to the whole act, made such impression on the house, that an amendment conformable to this idea was negatived by a majority of only sixty-two in a division of three hundred and forty-six members. About a month after, alderman

Trecothick gave the object of the amendment a new form, by moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the American duty on tea. But the question to go into the other orders of the day was carried by the ministry, on this ground, that the motion exactly aimed at doing in a bill what had before been attempted in an amendment; and that it was contradictory to a well-known rule of the house, to bring on again, in the same session, any thing which had already received a formal negative.

RIOT AT BOSTON.

BUT the anti-ministerialists soon found means to renew with much greater asperity the debates on the subject of America, in consequence of some advice of a riot which had taken place at Boston in the beginning of March. It has been already intimated, that the arrival in that town of some troops, towards the latter end of the year 1766, put a stop to the disorders which then prevailed there, and established what might be called a sullen and treacherous repose, rather than a perfect tranquillity. The malecontents were for some time awed by superior force; but this force being afterwards diminished by the departure of two of the regiments for Halifax, the spirit of turbulence and faction broke out upon several occasions. It was not, however, till the beginning of the year 1770, that any serious quarrel took place between the military and the inhabitants of Boston.

In a few days after the report of these transac-

tions reached England, alderman Trecothick moved for copies of all narratives of any disputes or disturbances between the troops stationed in North America and the inhabitants of the colonies, to be laid before the house, with copies also of the instructions sent out by administration relative to such disturbances. These papers, with a reserve of names and other particulars of material secrecy, being obtained, and read on the ninth of May, Burke took occasion thence to draw, or rather to smear over with the blackest colours of personal and political enmity, a frightful picture of the conduct of his majesty's ministers since the repeal of the stamp act. He concluded a very long and violent declamation with proposing several resolutions of censure on the late measures of government with regard to the colonies. But the first of his resolutions was negatived by a majority of one hundred and ninety-seven to seventy-nine; and the rest were consigned to the like fate, without any division. A debate on the same subject in the house of lords had nearly a similar issue, the question for adjournment being carried by sixty against twenty-six. Next day, May nineteenth, the business of the supplies and some other matters of immediate exigency being satisfactorily settled, the parliament was prorogued with the usual compliments from the throne, and with particular thanks to the commons for having judiciously provided for discharging a considerable part of the national debt, without laying any farther burden on his majesty's subjects.

NOTES TO CHAPTER X.

1 The object of the bill was to make sixty years possession of any estate an effectual bar against all dormant claims and pretences whatsoever.

2 The company were also bound to lend the overplus of their

revenues to government at two per cent.

3 For instance, fifty members might think he ought to be expelled for the North Briton; fifty more might think so for the Essay on Woman; and fifty more for the libel-

lous strictures on lord Weymouth's letter; though each of these might acquit him of the other accusations; whilst a hundred might entirely acquit him; and yet the three fifties joining together would expel him.

CHAPTER XI.

Another Remonstrance from the City of London ; with the King's Answer, and Beckford's Reply—View of Wilkes's political Career—Dispute with Spain relative to Falkland Islands—Proceedings of the Commons against Printers ; and (Commitment of the Lord Mayor, and of Alderman Oliver to the Tower—Bill for disfranchising the Members of the Christian Club at New Shoreham—More Remonstrances to the Throne from the City of London—Unsuccessful Attempts to enlarge religious Liberty—Act for restraining the future Marriages of the royal Family—Carolina Matilda falls a Victim to the Intrigues of the Queen Dowager of Denmark—Changes in the British Ministry—Committee of Secrecy—The Embarrassments of the East India Company—Charges brought against Lord Clive ; his Acquittal ; and Suicide—Bill for Management of the East India Company's Affairs—Summary of other Proceedings of the Sessions—Expedition against the Caribbs in St. Vincent—Alarming Events in America—Measures adopted by Parliament for maintaining the Authority of Great Britain over the Colonies—Proceedings of the general congress at Philadelphia—The Sense of the Nation taken, by dissolving the Parliament at this Juncture—Dr. Franklin's conciliatory plan—Petition of the City of London—State of Affairs in America—Battle of Lexington—Battle of Bunker's Hill—Meeting and proceedings of Congress—General Washington appointed commander in chief—His character—Expedition to Canada—Forts taken—Quebec besieged—General Montgomery defeated and killed.

CITY OF LONDON'S SECOND REMONSTRANCE, AND LORD MAYOR BECKFORD'S REPLY TO THE KING.

AFTER having weathered so severe and stormy a season with unremitting exertions, it was natural for the ministry to expect some little interval of calmness and repose. But if they amused themselves with these fond hopes, they were very much disappointed. In four days after the rising of parliament, the throne was assailed with another remonstrance from the city of London, still more reprehensible than the former, converting an humble request into an imperious dictate, and urging the dissolution of parliament and the removal of his majesty's ministers as the only means of reparation that were left for the injured electors of Great Britain. As it also contained some very disrespectful strictures on the king's answer to the late address, his majesty was again reduced to the painful necessity of declaring, that he should have been wanting to the public, as well as to himself, if he had not expressed his dissatisfaction at such an address ; and that he should ill deserve to be considered as the father of his people, if he could suffer himself to be prevailed upon to make any use of his prerogative, which he thought inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution of the kingdom. Beckford, who presented the remonstrance, and who might easily foresee the manner in which it would be received, begged leave to answer the king. The request, though unprecedented, was complied with, as it could not be imagined that the lord mayor would abuse such an instance of the gracious condescension of his sovereign. But the opportunity was too flattering to Beckford's democratic pride: he repeated the heads of the remonstrance, beginning, as that did, in a strain of affected humility, and concluding with this bold assertion, " that whoever had already dared or should hereafter endeavour, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate his majesty's affections from his loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, was an enemy to his majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious and necessary revolution." The dignity of the throne was well sustained by a total disregard of such presumptuous language.

WILKES DISCHARGED FROM PRISON.

A LITTLE before this event, Wilkes was discharged from the king's bench prison, the term of his confinement having expired, and securities be-

ing given for his future good behaviour. The committee of " the supporters of the bill of rights," as they called themselves, who had received subscriptions for his relief from different parts of the kingdom, and even from America (1), compromised all his debts which amounted to very near twenty thousand pounds, besides supplying him with a thousand pounds for his maintenance, paying off his two fines of five hundred pounds each, and defraying the expenses of his three last elections for Middlesex which did not fall much short of two thousand pounds. But these were not the only fruits which Wilkes reaped from his audacity and impostures, as well as from the prevalence of faction, the inconceivable folly of the multitude, and the ill-timed, though highly provoked severity of government. A single glance at his farther progress will be sufficient to illustrate this remark. The week after his release from prison, he was admitted alderman of Farringdon Without: he then rose, at very short intervals, to the honours of sheriff in 1771, and of lord mayor in 1775: his next care was to secure for himself the more lucrative and permanent office of chamberlain: in the year 1774, he and his friend serjeant Glynn were returned for Middlesex without any opposition: in 1780, he was re-chosen for the same county; and in 1783, upon a total change of ministry, he succeeded in a motion for having all the declarations, orders, and resolutions of the house of commons respecting his former incapacity and the decision in favour of colonel Luttrell, expunged from the journals. The close of his political career did not prove quite so flattering to his vanity. When he ceased to be a supposed object of persecution, he quickly sunk, as Grenville had justly predicted, into his original insignificance. At the general election in 1790, he met with the most scornful and humiliating rebuff from that very county, and those very people of whom he had been so long the idol.

DISPUTES WITH SPAIN RESPECTING THE FALKLAND ISLANDS.

At this time the attention both of the public and of government was called off to the probability of a rupture with Spain. A frigate from the southern ocean which arrived at Plymouth on the third of June, brought advices of a formal warning given by the Spaniards to the English to quit a settlement lately made at Falkland Islands, though sanctioned by the double right of discovery and possession. These islands which are situated at a small distance from the southern extremity of America, were first observed by captain Davies in the year

1592, but did not receive their present name till the reign of William III. They were afterwards visited by some ships belonging to St. Maloes, whence they were called the Malouines by the French, rather from an impulse of national vanity, than from any conviction of the validity of their title. The rigour of the climate, the sterility of the soil, and the exposure of all the islands on that coast to almost perpetual storms even in the summer months, were such discouraging circumstances, that above a century and a half elapsed before any European nation attempted to make a settlement there. It was first remarked by lord Anson, on his return from his famous voyage round the globe in 1744, that the possession of a port to the southward of the Brasils would be of signal service to future navigators for refitting their ships, and providing them with necessaries, previous to their passage through the Straits of Magellan, or the doubling Cape Horn; and among other places eligible for this purpose, he specified Falkland islands. About ten years after, on his lordship's advancement to the head of the admiralty, a plan in conformity to his ideas was on the point of being carried into execution; but strong remonstrances against it being made by the king of Spain under the old pretence of his exclusive right to all the Magellanic regions, the project, though not expressly given up, was suffered to lie dormant. It was revived in the year 1764, under the auspices of lord Egmont, who then presided at the admiralty board, and by whose advice commodore Anson being sent out to take possession of those islands, executed the order with the usual formalities; made a settlement; and erected a small fort in the vicinity of a commodious harbour, to which the name of Port Egmont was given. It happened that about the same time a settlement had also been made, and a fortress erected by the celebrated French navigator M. de Bougainville on another of those islands to the eastward of the English settlement, under the name of St. Lewis. But in consequence of the representations of the court of Madrid to the court of Versailles, this was yielded up in 1766 to the Spaniards, who changed its name to that of Port Soledad. Towards the close of the year 1769, captain Hunt of the Tamer frigate, cruising off the islands, fell in with a Spanish schooner belonging to Port Soledad, and agreeably to what he conceived to be his duty, charged the commander of the schooner to depart from that coast, as it was the property of his Britannic majesty. The schooner obeyed; but soon returned with an officer on board, bringing with him a letter from the governor of Buenos Ayres, addressed to captain Hunt, in which the governor in his turn warned the captain to depart from a coast belonging to the king of Spain; but on the supposition that captain Hunt's touching at these islands was merely accidental, the governor expressed his earnest desire to show him all possible civilities. Captain Hunt in reply again asserted his sovereign's right with some warmth, and threatened to fire into the Spanish schooner, upon her attempting to enter the harbour. This produced a long altercation by letters between the captain and governor, during which two Spanish frigates, with troops on board for their settlement, arrived at Port Egmont, under pretence of wanting water. The commander in chief wrote to captain Hunt, expressing great surprise at seeing the usual appearances of an English settlement there, charging him with a violation of the last peace, and protesting against the act in all its parts, at the same time declaring that he would abstain from any other proceeding, till he had acquainted his catholic majesty with this disagreeable transaction. Captain Hunt repeated his former arguments on the question of right; but as soon as the Spanish frigates, after receiving a supply of water, proceeded on their course, he set sail for England, in order to inform government of what had taken place, not thinking it advisable to run any farther risk on his own authority. Two small sloops, the Favorite, captain Malby, and the Swift, captain Farmer, formed the whole force that remained upon the station.

When Captain Hunt's advices were laid before the public, they excited no small alarm; for though the Spaniards had not made use of any hostile menaces in direct terms, yet their warning him to quit that coast was generally considered as preparatory to a formal declaration of war. This opinion was further strengthened by a variety of other circum-

stances. Spain had been for some time very attentive to put her West India possessions in the best posture of defence, and a formidable armament was known to be fitting out at the Havannah. Vigorous preparations were making in the French and Spanish ports at home; and though these might have been more immediately occasioned by the jealousy arising from the progress of the Russians in the Levant, they did not appear to indicate a very friendly disposition towards Great Britain. A fire also which broke out at this juncture in Portsmouth dock-yard, and which in its consequences might have greatly obstructed any sudden maritime efforts, was looked upon as part of a settled plan for the ruin of the British navy. Many persons fancied they could trace in it the deep-laid design of an insidious and inveterate enemy, whose ambition had ever been boundless, and had in general been but little restrained either by the laws of honour or of nations, when they interfered with the gratification of it. In the midst of these fears and suspicions, the British government acted with great discretion, neither neglecting the proper means of asserting its right, nor precipitately plunging the nation into any vast or unnecessary expenses. It was resolved in the cabinet that firm, yet temperate representations on the subject should be made to the court of Madrid; and orders were in the mean time issued for the manning and equipment of sixteen sail of the line.

While things were going on in this train, the Favorite, one of the sloops which had been left at Port Egmont, arrived off the Mother-bank near Portsmouth, on the twenty-second of September, and brought intelligence, that soon after captain Hunt's departure, five Spanish frigates and some smaller vessels, with all the apparatus necessary for a regular siege, appeared before Port Egmont. Captain Farmer the commandant, made several preparations at first to defend the place, but finding it utterly untenable, submitted, after a few shots were fired, to a capitulation, by which he and the garrison were allowed to evacuate the settlement, and to carry with them what stores they could, the governor of Soledad being made answerable for the remainder. The Spanish commanders, not choosing however that very early intelligence of this outrage should be conveyed to England, enjoined the two captains Farmer and Malby not to sail without his permission; and in order to ensure compliance, caused the rudder of the Favorite to be taken off and kept on shore for twenty days, when it was restored, and the sloop permitted to depart.

It is astonishing with what indignation the whole kingdom seemed to be inflamed at this insult on the British flag. The speech from the throne at the meeting of parliament, on the thirteenth of November, informed the nation, that satisfaction for the injury had been demanded from the court of Spain; that, in case of refusal, necessary preparations were making to enforce the demand; and that they would not be discontinued till proper reparation was obtained, as well as unequivocal proof that other powers were equally sincere with his majesty in the resolution to preserve the general tranquillity of Europe. The addresses of both houses on this occasion, in spite of all the efforts of faction and malevolence, contained the most hearty approbation of the steps which had been taken by his majesty, with assurances of effectual support in the progress of such an important affair. Supplies for the augmentation of the army and navy were cheerfully voted; and the increase of the land tax from three to four shillings in the pound met with no great opposition.

1771. Though the language of the Spanish ministry, on the very first remonstrance, was condescending and pacific, yet unexpected obstacles arose in the course of the negotiation, which rendered their sincerity somewhat questionable. As the doubts of the English cabinet on this head had greatly increased before Christmas, it was deemed advisable to adjourn parliament till the latter end of January, to allow time for determining the grand question of peace or war, and that the minister might then be enabled to announce decisively on the alternative. Lord Weymouth having resigned the office of secretary of state for the southern department, the correspondence with Spain was now carried on by his successor, the earl of Rochford, whose place in the northern department was filled by lord Sandwich. But the latter being soon after removed

to the head of the admiralty, in the room of Sir Edward Hawke, the secretaryship for the north was conferred on lord Halifax, who gave up the privy seal to the earl of Suffolk. The great seal was taken out of commission, and given to judge Bathurst; and de Grey was appointed chief justice of the common pleas. Some other changes took place about the same time; and several of the late Mr. Grenville's friends were introduced into office; by which the ministry gained no inconsiderable accession of talents, as well as of numbers.

But lord North was enabled to face parliament with still more confidence, having accomplished the grand object for which the recess had been prosecuted to a greater length than usual. The very day the commons met after their adjournment, (January 23,) he informed them, that the Spanish ambassador had that morning signed a declaration, with which his majesty was satisfied, and which should be laid before the house. The like information was communicated to the lords by the earl of Rockford. After the papers relative to this affair had been submitted to the inspection of both houses, warm debates arose on the terms of the Spanish declaration, which the members of the opposition asserted to be inadequate and insecure, because though it contained an explicit disavowal of the violence used at Port Egmont, and an engagement to restore every thing there precisely to the state in which it was before the tenth of June 1779, it still left room for future disputes, by adding "that his Catholic majesty did not consider this restitution as any wise affecting the question concerning the prior right of sovereignty of the islands." But addresses of thanks and approbation were concurred in by a majority of almost three to one in the lords, and of nearly two to one in the commons. They affirmed that the atonement made for the aggression was as ample as could justly be required; and that ministers would have been in the highest degree reprehensible, had they involved the nation in a war for the sake of so insignificant an object as the reserved pretensions of Spain to one or two barren spots under a stormy sky in a distant quarter of the globe. The possibility of a similar dispute was precluded by the total evacuation of that settlement about three years after.

The other proceedings of parliament during this session, which ended the eighth of May, afford very few subjects of interesting detail. The debates did not lead to any one important measure. Endeavours were used to bring the courts of law into contempt, and to spread abroad a dangerous opinion that the constitutional essence of trials was destroyed by the corruption or servility of the judges, and that the right of juries in particular to examine into the innocence or criminality of pretended libels had been restrained by illegal dictates from the bench. Public curiosity was greatly excited by an altercation on this subject between lord Camden and lord Mansfield in the house of peers; but after the boldest challenge given on one side, and as resolutely declined on the other, both parties seemed disposed to bury the matter in eternal silence.

CONTEST BETWEEN SOME PRINTERS AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FORMAL complaints having been made in the house of commons against two printers of public papers, Whible and Thompson, for breach of privilege by misrepresenting the debates; they were summoned to appear at the bar of the house to answer the charge. As the printers took no notice of this summons, a second order was issued and declared to be final. No more regard being paid to the second order than to the first, a motion was made and agreed to, that they should be taken into the custody of the serjeant at arms. But the parties having absconded, a proclamation appeared offering a reward of fifty pounds for apprehending them. In the mean time, six other printers were for similar offences summoned to the bar of the house, five of whom, obeying the summons, were reprimanded and discharged; and the remaining delinquent, Millar, was ordered to be taken into custody for contempt of the notice given him. Whible being apprehended in consequence of the proclamation, and carried before Wilkes the sitting chairman at Guildhall, was discharged, and bound over to prosecute the person who apprehended him. Thompson also was apprehended, and dis-

charged in the same manner by alderman Oliver. Millar, being taken into custody by the messenger of the house of commons at his own dwelling, was carried before the lord mayor (Brass Crosby) and the aldermen Wilkes and Oliver at the Mansion-house. The deputy serjeant at arms attending to demand the prisoner, the legality of the warrant was denied, and the printer not only discharged, but the messenger of the house, on pretence of a false arrest, ordered to be committed to prison, in default of bail, which was at first refused, but at length reluctantly given. The thanks of the corporation of London were voted to the three magistrates; but two of them, the lord mayor and alderman Oliver, being members of the house of commons, incurred its severest censure for such a daring opposition to its authority. Every part of their proceedings was voted to be a breach of privilege: the lord mayor's clerk, having attended with the minute-book, was obliged to erase the recognisance of Whittam the messenger; and, after several hearings on the subject, the two magistrates, instead of concession or apology, resolutely persisting in the justice of their conduct, they were committed prisoners to the Tower. Wilkes had also been ordered to appear at the bar of the house; but in a letter which he addressed to the speaker, he said he could attend only in his place as member for Middlesex. The house, unwilling to give him fresh consequence by a renewal of former severities, ordered another summons for the eighth of April, and at the same time appointed the ninth as the first day of meeting after the Easter recess. The lord mayor and Oliver remained in the Tower till the rising of parliament, when their liberation was celebrated by the tumultuous rejoicings of the populace.

Among the bills that received the royal assent on the last day of the session, there were two which particularly engaged the attention of the public. One was a bill for disfranchising several electors of New Shoreham in Sussex, and for extending the right of voting to the contiguous hundreds. It appeared in evidence before the select committee, appointed under the Grenville act to try the merits of the late election for this borough, that a great number of the freemen had formed themselves into a society under the name of 'the Christian Club.' This Christian club, notwithstanding its pious appellation, was no better than a mart of venality. A junte was appointed to dispose of the borough to the highest bidder. These agents of corruption did not vote themselves, but gave the necessary orders to the rest of the society; and after the election was decided, the profits were shared equally amongst the whole. The spiritual and constitutional tendency of the bill for incapacitating all the members of such an infamous club were highly and deservedly applauded.

CITY OF LONDON'S THIRD AND FOURTH REMONSTRANCES TO THE KING.

At that period the freemen of London seemed to have suspended all exercise of their own will, as well as of their own reason; and while they flattered themselves with the idea of setting an example of public spirit to the whole kingdom, they were in fact the object, senseless tools of a few factious demagogues. After Mr. Beckford's death, Crosby, Sawbridge, Townsend, Wilkes, and Oliver succeeded to the ostensible direction of all the city proceedings. In the first month of Crosby's mayoralty, another remonstrance in the usual strain, and the third of the kind delivered the same year, was agreed to, chiefly through alderman Sawbridge's persuasions. It was little more than the renewal of the former complaints and the former requests, accompanied with a very humble hint, "that the good effects of his majesty's innate goodness had been intercepted by a fatal conspiracy of malevolent influence round the throne." His majesty, however, told the remonstrants, "that he could not comply with the prayer of their petition, as he had no reason to alter the opinion expressed in his answer to their last addresses on the subject." The beginning of Crosby's mayoralty was distinguished by another strong proof of disaffection to government. Though the manning of the navy, on the eve of an expected rupture with Spain, was the first and most important concern of the state, he refused to back the press-warrants issued for

that purpose; and sought to screen himself from the indignation of all real friends to their country, by alleging that the ready concurrence of his official predecessors in the like measures did not remove his doubts of the legality of the practice, and that the city-bounty for the encouragement of seamen was intended to prevent such violence. Alderman Wilkes had just before discharged an imprisoned man; and this at a time when "the rotten condition of the navy, the defenceless state of the British dominions, and the inevitable necessity of going to war," under all these disadvantages, were the constant themes of seditious declaimers. The affair of the printers afforded the lord mayor a fresh opportunity of holding himself out as the champion of the city charters. During the debates in parliament on his and Oliver's conduct, all the avenues to the house were frequently crowded with turbulent mobs, and the lives of several of the ministry were endangered. After the commitment of the two delinquents to the Tower, writs of *habeas corpus* were obtained for them, merely to flatter their vanity by triumphal or rather riotous processions to and from Westminster Hall, —not with any hope of their being discharged by the judges, as it was well known that no court of law could interfere with the constitutional authority of the house of commons over its own members. Their release from the Tower, at the close of the session, was celebrated, as before observed, by acts of outrage; and at the Midsummer election of sheriffs, the docile citizens were easily induced to give their assent to a fourth remonstrance, recapitulating the old grievances; charging the house of commons with some new acts of "enormous wickedness and injustice," particularly the imprisonment of the two city magistrates, the erasure of Whitlam's recognisance, and the embankment at Durham Yard; and praying for the speedy dissolution of Parliament, and for the removal of his majesty's "wicked and despotic ministers." The framers of this remonstrance wished to provoke, if possible, some singular asperity of reply from the throne; and it was intended that all the livery should go along with the lord mayor to deliver it. But neither of these schemes succeeded. On the ninth of July, the day before his lordship was to proceed at the head of the livery to St. James's, he received notice from the lord chamberlain, that it being unprecedented as well as impracticable to introduce so numerous a body, no person beyond the number allowed by law could be admitted; and when his lordship, with the naval attendants, presented the remonstrance next day, they were totally disconcerted by the cool and dignified firmness of his majesty's answer. "I shall ever be ready," said he, "to exert my prerogative, as far as I can constitutionally, in redressing any real grievances of my subjects; and the city of London will always find me disposed to listen to any of their well-founded complaints; it is therefore with concern that I see a part of my subjects still so far misled and deluded, as to renew, in such reprehensible terms, a request, with which, I have repeatedly declared, I cannot comply."

All those desperate efforts of designing men served only to increase the harmony and to cement the union of the members of administration. No change took place in any of the public departments except those that proceeded from the death of the earl of Halifax, and of lord Strange, both of which happened nearly at the same time, and not long after the rising of parliament. In consequence of the former of these events, the earl of Suffolk was appointed secretary of state for the northern department, in the room of the earl of Halifax; and the duke of Grafton, returning into office, accepted of the privy seal. Lord Hyde succeeded lord Strange as chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Every thing seemed now to promise ministry both tranquillity and permanence. The storm of faction had in a great measure spent its rage; and though some petty attempts were made by Wilkes and his associates to blow up once more the spirit of discontent, it soon subsided in a profound calm. A favourable harvest, the flourishing state of arts and commerce; an exemption from the calamities of war, pestilence and famine, which then laid waste many other parts of Europe; in short, the union of plenty, peace, security, and true liberty could not but reconcile the people of England to a government under which they enjoy-

ed so many blessings. The only alloy of this national happiness was towards the end of the year, in consequence of very heavy rains which fell in November, and which occasioned, particularly in the northern counties, a more terrible inundation than had been experienced there within the memory of man. A detail of its ravages would serve only to excite the most painful emotions. It is enough to say that Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland exhibited for a few days nothing but scenes of distress and horror.—The usual characteristic humanity of the British nation was exerted in affording relief to the sufferers.

1772. As there was no urgent business which required an early attendance, the prorogation of parliament was extended to the twenty-first of January, when they were informed, in a speech from the throne, that the king of Spain's performance of his engagement in restoring Port Egmont and Falkland Island, and the assurances received of the pacific disposition of that court, as well as of other powers, afforded such a prospect of the continuance of a peace, that both houses would be "at liberty to give their whole attention to the establishment of wise and useful regulations of law, and to the extension of our commercial advantages." The propriety of maintaining a respectable establishment of naval forces was at the same time suggested; but great pleasure was expressed at finding, that there would be no necessity to ask any extraordinary aid for that purpose. Though the addresses in both houses were carried unanimously; yet, when a motion was made in the commons, that twenty five thousand seamen should be voted for the service of the current year, it was opposed under the pretence of inconsistency on the part of the ministers, who accompanied a speech, which breathed nothing but effusions of peace, with all the actual preparations for a war. But after a short debate, the house agreed to the motion without a division.

Parliament was not inattentive to the other objects which the king had pointed out in general terms. They also entered upon the consideration of the East India affairs; and as these were of the utmost intricacy and magnitude, it was deemed advisable to appoint a select committee of thirty-one members, chosen by ballot, to inquire into, and make a faithful report of the late alarming mismanagement and actual state of the company's concerns,—to present to parliament a comprehensive view of the existence and extent of the evils, and thereby to enable them in their deliberations to apply an effectual remedy. The sittings of the committee were continued during the summer.

PETITION AGAINST THE 39 ARTICLES.

SOME attempts were made in the course of the session to enlarge the sphere of religious liberty; but upon such vague and contradictory principles as defeated the possibility of their success. The first was a petition from certain clergymen of the established church, and certain members of the professions of civil law and physic, who prayed to be relieved from subscription to the thirty-nine articles. The former laid bold claims to the inherent right, which they said, they held from God alone, to make a full and free use of their private judgment in the interpretation of the scriptures; and they farther asserted, that the necessity imposed on them of acknowledging particular confessions of faith and doctrine, drawn up by fallible men, was an infringement of that right, and a deviation from the liberal and original principles of the church of England: the latter stated, with more modesty, the hardship of being obliged, for the purpose of obtaining degrees in their respective faculties, to declare their solemn assent to theological tenets, which the course of their studies had not led them to examine, and upon which their private opinions could be of no consequence to society. The petition was rejected by a majority of 217 against 71; and for the plainest reasons. The clergy could not complain, as not being obliged to accept of benefices contrary to their conscience; and if scruples arose afterwards, they had it always in their power to relinquish their preferments. Every man was at liberty to interpret the scripture for his own private use; but his being authorised to do so for others was a matter of a very different nature. All governments had a right to establish such a

system of public instruction as should approve itself most conducive to the general good; and it was necessary that those, who were to become teachers of the people, should be subjected to some test of their conformity and union. The danger of innovations was also suggested, and that, as civil disputes had lately run high, it would be very impolitic to give any opportunity of increasing them by lighting up the flames of religious controversy. It seemed, however, to be the general wish, that the universities would grant relief to the professors of law and physic in the matters they complained of; though parliament did not think proper to interfere. Several favourable sentiments were also thrown out in the debate with regard to the dissenting ministers, and some concern was expressed for the hardships they suffered, in being obliged, under severe penalties, to subscribe the articles of a church to which they did not belong, and from which they sought neither promotion nor emolument. So inviting an opportunity was not neglected by the friends of the dissenters. Leave having been obtained to bring in a bill for their relief, it was carried through the house of commons without a division, the number of those who spoke against it, by no means corresponding with their zeal. But it was thrown out, on the second reading in the house of lords, by a majority of almost four to one, who considered the thirty-nine articles as the grand palladium on which the civil as well as ecclesiastical government of the kingdom depended.

ROYAL MARRIAGE ACT.

AMONG the acts passed this session there was one which made a great deal of noise, from the circumstances that gave rise to it, and from its being strenuously opposed in every stage of its progress through both houses. This was the act for regulating the future marriages of the royal family. It had its origin in the marriage contracted but a few months before by the duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, relict of Colonel Horton and daughter of lord Irubam. A private, though long suspected marriage of the duke of Gloucester to the countess dowager of Waldegrave, might also have operated on the king's mind, to recommend, by a particular message, the consideration of this subject to parliament. The dis honour reflected on the crown by unsuitable alliances, and former experience of the great evils arising from them, rendered the propriety of some restraints very evident; but it was alleged that they were carried too far in the new act, by being extended to all the descendants of George II. who might in time comprehend a very numerous description of people. According to the provisions of this act, the marriages contracted by the royal family, from the time of its having passed, are declared null and void, unless the previous approbation of his majesty be obtained; but in case the parties shall have attained the age of twenty-five years, and give notice to the privy council of their intention of marriage, such marriage shall be held good in law, unless the parliament shall within the space of twelve months declare its disapprobation of the same.

DEATH OF THE KING'S MOTHER AND SISTER.

WHATEVER uneasiness the king felt at the disrespectful behaviour of both his brothers in marrying without his consent, some other events of a family nature soon after took place, which were to him a source of much keener concern and reflection. His amiable mother, the princess dowager of Wales, died on the eighth of February; and his sister, the queen of Denmark, had a few days before fallen a victim to the intrigues and boundless ambition of her husband's mother-in-law. This artful woman, eagerly bent on securing, if possible, the succession for her own son, the king's half-brother, left no means untied to alienate the affections of the royal pair from each other. But these attempts not answering her purpose, she entered into more desperate schemes, in concert with some discarded placemen; and at length, by the combined efforts of fraud and force, she brought about a revolution at the court of Copenhagen on the sixteenth of January. Under the sanction of a warrant, compulsorily obtained from the king, counts Struensee and Brandt, his chief ministers, were thrown into a dungeon; and the young queen was committed close prisoner to the cas-

tle of Cronenburgh. They were charged with a conspiracy to force the king to sign an act of renunciation, and to establish a regency, by which the government was to be lodged in the hands of the young queen and the two favourites. The latter suffered on a scaffold about three months after; but the queen was allowed, through the powerful interposition of England, to retire from the Danish dominions. She and her attendants were conveyed to Germany by a small squadron of frigates under the command of captain M'Bride; and she took up her residence at Zell in the electorate of Hanover, where she died of a malignant fever on the tenth of May 1778, not having then completed the twenty-fourth year of her age. Her enemies, though so far successful, did not accomplish their ultimate object. They had propagated scandalous reports of her amours with Struensee; yet were afraid to question the legitimacy of her issue. In the year 1784, they were all dismissed from office; and a new council was formed under the auspices of the prince royal, who was now grown up to assert his own rights, and to vindicate his injured mother's honour.

While the political system of Europe seemed to be convulsed by the dismemberment of Poland, no changes took place in the British administration which could either affect its internal strength, or outward conduct. Lord Hillsborough, indeed, resigned his office of secretary of state for the American department in August, together with his seat at the head of the board of trade, both of which were bestowed on the earl of Dartmouth. The resignation was not, however, the effect of any difference with the court, the former nobleman having quitted his places in great good humour, and being immediately after promoted to an English earldom. Lord Stormont, the earl of Mansfield's nephew, was appointed ambassador extraordinary at the court of Versailles, in the room of the earl of Harcourt, who succeeded lord Townshend in the government of Ireland; and the services of the latter were rewarded with the master-generalship of the ordnance. The death of the earl of Albemarle afforded an opportunity for promoting general Conway to the government of the island of Jersey; and Sir Jeffery Amherst, who succeeded him as lieutenant-general of the ordnance, was soon afterwards called to the privy council. A few promotions were also occasioned by the death of the earl of Litchfield. Lord North was soon elected chancellor of the university of Oxford; Mr. Jenkinson succeeded to the joint vice-treasurership of Ireland, and thereby made a vacancy at the treasury board in England for Fox. It is almost unnecessary to add, that no part of this arrangement indicated the least prevalence of dissension or intrigue in the cabinet.

EAST INDIA COMPANY'S AFFAIRS.

1773. BOTH houses of parliament, which had been prorogued the tenth of June, met again on the twenty-sixth of November, to resume, at the king's very earnest desire, the consideration of the East India company's affairs, by the revival, or rather continuance of the select committee; the appointment of another committee of thirteen members, under the name of the committee of secrecy, for the purpose of more accurately investigating the various sources of the company's misfortunes, without any unnecessary exposure of them to the world; and an act to restrain the company for a limited time from sending out supervisors, a measure which then appeared to be equally expensive and useless. The objects of inquiry were so various and of so great an extent, that a complete body of information could not be laid before the house till the month of April. But the exigencies of the company requiring immediate relief, and a petition for that purpose being presented to parliament in the beginning of March, lord North brought forward several resolutions in the course of the month, which were successively agreed to. A loan of one million four hundred thousand pounds was voted to the company, to save them from a situation little short of absolute bankruptcy; and, in order to prevent the like disasters from befalling them in future, certain terms were annexed to the loan, on this plain principle, that every creditor, who parts with his money to any applicant, has an undoubted right to insist upon particular conditions, previous to his acquiescence in the request. According to these ideas, it was resolved, that the company's

dividend should be restricted to six per cent. until the repayment of the sum advanced, and that the company be allowed to divide no more than seven per cent. until the reduction of their bond debt to a million and a half. A few days after, it was moved and carried by the minister, that it was the opinion of the house, it would be more beneficial to the public and to the East India company to let the territorial acquisitions remain in the possession of the company for a limited time, not to exceed the term of six years, their charter expiring about that period;—that no participation of the profits should take place between the public and the company before the above stipulated repayment of the loan, and reduction of the bond debt;—that after these points were settled, three fourths of the nett surplus profits of the company above the sum of eight per cent. upon their capital stock, should be paid into the exchequer for the use of the public, the other fourth being set apart either for further reducing the company's bond debt, or by way of provision for future contingencies;—and that, as the company had in their warehouse a stock of teas, amounting to about seventeen millions of pounds, which it would be greatly to their advantage to convert into money, they should be allowed to export any quantities of it duty free. The company remonstrated against the hardship of some of these stipulations, particularly the limitation of their dividend after the discharge of the loan, the future disposal of their nett profits, and, above all, the implied decision against their right to territorial acquisition. But their remonstrances had no weight with parliament: the loan bill passed without the smallest change in any one article; and such was the indignation of the public at the enormous oppressions committed under the name, if not by the express authority of the company, that little compassion or sympathy was excited by the kindness of their exclamations and complaints in this day of their humiliation and distress.

As it may appear inconceivable how the company could be precipitated, in the short period which elapsed since the year 1766, from the height of prosperity to a state of embarrassment bordering upon ruin, a transient review of the principal causes will be necessary to explain the paradox. Soon after the treaty concluded by lord Clive at Ellahad, pernicious monopolies were established by the company's servants in all the newly acquired provinces; and as if the exclusive purchase and sale of every article of general consumption in India was not sufficient to satisfy their avarice, the presidency of Calcutta devised another scheme of legal plunder, which was to declare void at once all the leases held under the government on very low terms by the semidars and polygars, who constitute the great landed interest of the country. The pretext for this was, that many of these leases had been collusively obtained; and it was said, that impartiality required they should be now relet without distinction to the highest bidder. By these means the natives were impoverished; immense fortunes were made by their oppressors; but the aggregate receipts of the company's treasury alarmingly decreased. As the opulence of Bengal, however great, depended solely upon the labour and industry of the people, upon commerce, manufactures and agriculture, it is evident that these could not long flourish under the baneful influence of rapacity. The governing rule of trade pursued by the company's servants was to reduce to the lowest extreme of depression the price in the purchase, and to enhance it in the same extravagant degree in the sale. This discouraged the artisan and manufacturer from going to work, and others from buying any thing but what was of absolute necessity. The situation of the farmers and husbandmen was still more hopeless: they planted in doubt, and reaped in uncertainty. A large proportion of the land was of course left untillied; and this co-operating with a drought in the year 1769, occasioned a general scarcity of provisions, particularly of rice, the great staple of Indian sustenance. It was also said, that some of the monopolists and exerted their power and their foresight in collecting the scanty supplies into stores; so that the poor Gentooes had no alternative left them but to part with the small remains of their property or to perish with hunger. It is certain that a dreadful famine, and the plague, its usual concomitant, carried off in the year 1770 very nearly a fourth part of the entire population of Bengal,

or about three millions of unfortunate victims. To these calamities were added the distressing effects of the war with Hyder Ally, wantonly entered into and shamefully conducted, to gratify the interested views of individuals. In such circumstances, it cannot be deemed wonderful, especially when the great increase of the civil and military establishments in India, and the annual contribution to the public expenditure at home, are taken into the account, that the disbursements of the company should far exceed the amount of their revenues, and bring them, in a few years, to the verge of bankruptcy.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE.

IN the reports of the select committee, many other scenes of shocking cruelty were unfolded to public view. The detail would be endless; but a general idea of their nature may be formed from the words of the chairman, who declared, "that, through the whole investigation, he could not find a single sound spot whereon to lay his finger, it being all equally one mass of the most unheard of villainies, and the most notorious corruption." Heavy charges were brought against several of the company's servants, and particularly against lord Clive, who, it was affirmed, had acquired a princely fortune by rapine, extortion, treachery, and murder. But when a vote of censure on his conduct was moved in the house of commons, it was negatived by a large majority, in opposition to the minister; and an end was put to the inquiry. A deep impression was nevertheless made upon the mind of the accused nobleman by the notoriety of some of the facts, and by the odium which from that time attached itself to his character. After a few years passed in a state of wretchedness and despondency, he put a voluntary period to his life, by this melancholy catastrophe demonstrating to mankind the vanity of human pursuits and wishes, and the infinite superiority of conscious virtue to all the gifts of fame and fortune.

BILL FOR BETTER MANAGEMENT OF INDIA AFFAIRS.

THE minister, though left in a minority when he supported a motion which led to the impeachment of individuals, found both houses ready to concur in any general plan of reform, which might happily prevent the repetition of the like crimes, and the return of similar calamities. With this view a bill was brought in for the better management of the company's affairs as well in India as in Europe; of which the chief provisions were, "that the court of directors should in future be chosen for the term of four years, instead of being elected annually, six members vacating their seats each year;—that the qualification for voting should be raised from five hundred to one thousand pounds capital stock, and the time of previous possession be extended from six months to twelve;—that the jurisdiction of the mayor's court at Calcutta be confined to mercantile causes, and a new supreme court of judicature be established in India, consisting of a chief justice and three puisne judges appointed by the king;—and lastly, that a superiority over the other presidencies be given to the presidency of Bengal, the blanks for the names of the members, including the governor and council, being filled up at the time by parliament, and the removal of those officers, as well as a negative on the future nomination of the company being vested in the crown." It was strongly urged by the minister, in support of those material changes of the old system, that the annual election of directors made them too dependent on their constituents, to form any connected plans, or to adopt any resolute measures:—that the term of six months was too short for a qualification to vote, as it did not preclude temporary purchases of stock, merely for that purpose, and that so small a share as five hundred pounds was not a sufficient interest in the company, to entitle the holder to a privilege, the abuse of which might be fatal to the whole body;—that the contraction of powers in the mayor's court at Calcutta was only reducing its jurisdiction within the circle to which it had been originally confined; and that it was a court of merchants and traders, and therefore incompetent to the trial of the many great, momentous, and complicated matters arising from the vast extent of territorial acquisitions; that for these reasons, the erection of

a new judiciary was absolutely necessary, and that the appointment of the judges by the crown, emphatically called the fountain of justice, was not only proper, but indispensable, to give a due weight and consequence to their decisions:—that the proposed superiority of one presidency over the rest was not to interfere with their peculiar or internal regulations, but related only to those great objects of general concern, war, peace, and alliances, in deciding on which the exercise of equal and separate powers had frequently been productive of much disorder and confusion;—and that the most effectual check on the abuse of the civil and military authority which was thus centered in the presidency of Bengal, would be to make the nomination as well as removal of the members dependent on the will of the legislature. Petitions against this bill were presented from the city of London, from the East India company, and from the proprietors of five hundred pounds stock; but without effect. After long and frequently renewed debates, it was carried through the house of commons by a majority of six to one; and in the house of lords, on the final division, the numbers were 74 to 17.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE other proceedings of this session make but little figure, when compared with the magnitude and importance of the East India business. A few of them, however, deserve some notice. The harvest of the year 1772 not having been so productive as to lower the high price of corn in England, and a dreadful scarcity still continuing in other parts of Europe, the attention of parliament was directed to the distress of the poor by the speech from the throne; and the renewal of the provision bills was among the first measures that received the sanction of the legislature. The fraudulent diminution of the gold coin, an enormity which had been carried to the most dangerous excess, for which parliament at this time endeavoured to provide a remedy; and though the act for calling in light gold, and regulating its value by its weight, was loudly exclaimed against, especially by bankers, who were obliged to hold money for others, and had received it at its nominal value, yet the loss fell where it could best be borne, upon those who had been gainers by the situation which occasioned it, and who had always profited by the public money. A tax on the nation to make good the deficiency would have opened a door for very gross impositions. Attempts for obtaining an enlargement of the toleration act, and the abolition of all tests at the time of being matriculated or admitted a member of either of the universities, were renewed, but with no better success than in the last session: parliament declined interfering in the regulations, which the universities were fully empowered to make for the government of their own body; and the plan of more liberal indulgence to the dissenters, though it again passed the house of commons by a great majority, was again rejected by the lords. It was almost impossible that any new arguments could be urged on so trite a subject; but the suggestions of former speakers and writers were enforced with all the variety of illustration which judgment and genius could superadd to them. Some very animated and eloquent debates were also occasioned by a late expedition against the Caribbe in the island of St. Vincent. A few of these were descended from the original possessors; but the greater part were the offspring of some African negroes who had been shipwrecked on the coast about a century before. These two tribes of savages were scattered in huts over the most fertile and valuable part of the country, of which they had only cleared a few little spots, suffering the rest to lie covered with wood, uncultivated and unoccupied, without any benefit to others, or to themselves. Soon after the cession of the island to Great Britain, in consequence of the peace in 1763, repeated applications were made to government by the English settlers, to obtain from those people the lands, of which they were in fact but the nominal owners, in exchange for another quarter of the island, less susceptible of culture, but as comfortable for their habitation, and as convenient for the support of savage life, as that which they now possessed. Proper instructions for this purpose were accordingly issued by the board of treasury in the year 1766; but the Caribbe ob-

stinately refused to part with their lands, to admit of any exchange, or even to acknowledge submission to the government that held out to them offers of full compensation and security. After every effort of entreaty and persuasion had been tried in vain, it was at length deemed necessary, in the summer of 1772, to order two regiments from North America to join an equal number of troops at St. Vincent's and to co-operate with the fleet on that station in reducing the refractory savages to obedience. At this period an inquiry was instituted in the house of commons respecting the whole business; and motions were made conveying the severest censure on the ministry for adopting measures, which were said to be "equally repugnant to the humanity of his majesty's temper, disgraceful to his arms, and derogatory to the character of the British nation." These charges were answered with ability: the motions were negatived; and, about the same time, [Feb. 17th] the expedition, which gave birth to the inquiry, was also terminated. The Caribbe, after some fierce encounters, agreed to acknowledge his majesty's sovereignty without reserve; to take an oath of fidelity and allegiance; to submit to the laws of the island in all transactions with the white inhabitants, while they were allowed to adhere to their own customs and usages in their intercourse with each other; and to cede a large tract of very valuable land to the crown, the districts which they still retained being secured in perpetuity to them and to their posterity.

Both houses of parliament continued their deliberations till the first of July, when an end was put to the session by a speech from the throne, expressing the utmost satisfaction at their zeal, assiduity, and perseverance. His majesty had, the preceding week, afforded the highest gratification to a considerable number of his subjects by a review of the navy at Portsmouth. The resort of company there during the royal visit was unparalleled; and his majesty left behind him lasting impressions of his benignity and munificence. The remainder of the year rolled away without any remarkable domestic occurrences; but the events of the same period in America were very alarming.

INCREASING DISCONTENT IN AMERICA.

THE repeal of the other port duties, while that on tea was continued, had not produced all the good effects which were expected from such a concession. The provincial assemblies persisted in disavowing his majesty's right to keep commissioners of the customs, or to establish any revenue in North America. A lately adopted measure of appointing the governors and judges of the colonies to be paid by the crown was another source of much discontent. Still, however, the ill-humour of the people seemed to vent itself in angry complaints; and no act of outrage had taken place for the last three years, except the burning of an armed schooner at Rhode island in June 1772. Even this was not occasioned by any popular tumult: it was the momentary impulse of revenge inflicted by a party of smugglers on the commander of that vessel, who had made himself obnoxious by his zeal and vigilance in the execution of the revenue laws. But, in the summer of the current year, an extraordinary accident served to blow into a flame the unsmothered embers of sedition in Massachusetts Bay. Dr. Franklin, the agent for that province, had by some unknown means got possession of certain confidential letters written by the governor and the lieutenant-governor to their friends in England, containing an unfavourable representation of the temper of the people, and the views of the leaders, and tending to show the necessity of more vigorous measures in order to secure the obedience of the colony. These letters were immediately transmitted by the doctor to the assembly then sitting at Boston, who came to several violent resolutions, which they followed up by a petition and remonstrance to the king, charging Hutchinson the governor, and Oliver his deputy, with being betrayers of their trusts and of the people they governed, and praying for justice against them and for their speedy removal (2). Fresh fuel was soon after thrown into the blaze of animosity excited by the publication of the letters. The East India company having, in pursuance of the act for permitting the exportation of teas duty free, consigned large quantities to their agents in the principal ports of America, the factious leaders there easily persuaded the people, that

this was a scheme calculated merely to circumvent them into a compliance with the revenue law, and thereby open the door to an unlimited taxation. Meetings were held, first at Philadelphia, and afterwards in several other towns, where resolutions were passed declaring "this new ministerial plan of importation to be a violent attack upon the liberties of America," and pronouncing it to be "the duty of every American to oppose this attempt; and that whoever should directly or indirectly countenance it was an enemy to his country." The consignees were obliged in most places to relinquish their appointments; and among other inflammatory papers then circulated through the colonies, a warning was given to the pilots on the river Delaware "not to conduct any of the tea ships into their harbour, as they were sent only for the purpose of enslaving and poisoning all the Americans." In a similar publication at New-York, those ships were said to be "freighted with fetters forged in Great Britain;" and every vengeance was denounced against all persons, "who should dare in any manner contribute to the introduction of such chains." The landing of the tea was every where violently resisted; and several of the ships returned to England without breaking bulk. At Charlestown, after much opposition and tumult, a cargo was permitted to be unloaded, but was immediately lodged in damp unventilated cellars, where it long remained, and finally perished. Some was also landed at New-York under the cannon of a man of war; but the government there were forced to consent to its being locked up from use. But at Boston the riots, even before the arrival of the ships, rose to a height which made the excesses committed elsewhere appear trivial. The populace surrounded the houses of the consignees and demanded their resignation, which not being complied with, their doors and windows were broken, and they themselves narrowly escaped the fury of the mob by flying from the town and taking shelter in Fort William. In vain did the governor issue a proclamation commanding the civil magistrates to suppress the riots: the sheriff was insulted for attempting to read it at one of the illegal meetings in the town hall. As soon as the ships arrived, the inhabitants met again, and with loud acclamations testified their concurrence in a vote, "that the tea should not be landed, and that it should be sent back in the same bottoms." But clearances from the customhouse, and a pass from the governor being refused, an immense crowd repaired to the quay in the evening of the eighteenth of December, and a number of the most resolute, in the disguise of Mohawk Indians, boarded the vessels, and discharged their cargoes into the sea.

1774. The ministry not being in possession of these facts at the meeting of the parliament on the thirteenth of January, no mention was made of American affairs in the speech from the throne; but on the seventh of March, a message was delivered from his majesty to both houses, informing them, "that, in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before parliament"—recommending to their serious consideration "what farther regulations or permanent provisions might be necessary to be established." This message was accompanied by a great number of papers, which sufficiently showed the daring and seditious spirit that now prevailed all over the continent. In the address of thanks for these communications, the house assured his majesty, "that they would not fail to exert every means in their power of effectually providing for the due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependence of the colonies on the crown and parliament of Great Britain." The first step taken to accomplish so desirable an end was the introduction of a bill, which was rapidly and almost unanimously carried through both houses, for shutting up the port of Boston, and prohibiting the landing or unloading of all goods or merchandise at any place within its precincts, from and after the first of June, until it should appear to his majesty that peace and obedience to the laws were so far restored in the town of Boston that trade might again be safely carried on, and his majesty's customs be duly collected; in which case his majesty

might by proclamation open the harbour; but not till it should also sufficiently appear, that full compensation had been made to the East India company for the destruction of their tea, and to all others who had suffered by the late riots. The board of customs was, in the mean time, to be removed to the town of Salem. But as the prevention of future enormities was an object of still greater importance than the punishment of those which were past, and as the latter seemed greatly owing to the weakness of the civil power in the colony of Massachusetts's Bay and to other radical defects in the frame of their government, it was now proposed to assimilate their constitution more nearly to that of the royal governments in America, and to their prototype the government of Great Britain. For this purpose an act was passed to deprive the lower house of assembly of the privilege of electing the members of the council, and to vest that privilege in the crown; to authorise the king, or his substitute the governor, to appoint judges, magistrates, and sheriffs; to empower the sheriffs to summon and return juries; and to prohibit town meetings from being called by the select men, unless with the consent of the governor. Such a restraint was deemed necessary, not only to suppress the spirit of faction in the province itself, but to prevent the rest of the colonies from being tainted by its seditious example. The next expedient was a bill for the impartial administration of justice in Massachusetts's Bay, empowering the governor, with the advice of the council, in case any person was indicted in that province for murder or any other capital offence, and it should appear by information on oath that the fact had been committed in the exercise or aid of magistracy in suppressing riots, and that a fair trial could not be had in the province, to send the person so indicted into any other colony, or to Great Britain to be tried; the act to continue in force four years. The opposition made to these bills, in their progress through both houses, was equally impotent and unpopular; but another act that followed them, for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, was violently opposed within doors, and excited much clamour without. The objects of this act were, to secure to the inhabitants of that province the free exercise of their religion, and to the Roman catholic clergy their rights, agreeable to the articles of capitulation at the time of the surrender of the province; to confirm the English laws, and a trial by jury in criminal cases, but, in civil cases, to restore the ancient French laws and a trial without jury, as being more acceptable to the Canadians; to establish a council, holding their commissions from and at the pleasure of the king, who were to exercise all the powers of legislation, except that of imposing taxes; and lastly to extend the limits of the province, which, reaching far to the southward behind the other settlements, might be made to serve as a check upon them if necessary.

A GENERAL CONGRESS CALLED AT PHILADELPHIA.

SUCH were the principal measures adopted this session by the British parliament for maintaining the authority of the mother country over the colonies. Four ships of the line had also been fitted out for Boston; and as a military force might in like manner be necessary to reduce its disorderly inhabitants to obedience, an act was passed to provide commodious quarters for officers and soldiers on that service; and general Gage, commander in chief in America, was appointed governor of Massachusetts's Bay, in the room of Mr. Hutchinson, who had desired leave to come to England. The general was farther invested with full powers to grant pardons for treasons and all other crimes, and to remit all fines and forfeitures to such offenders as should appear to be fit objects of mercy. But the people of Boston did not seem disposed to court his lenity or indulgence. Having just received intelligence of the bill for shutting up their port, they were all convened to take it into consideration, the very day after the new governor's arrival. At this meeting, resolutions were passed, and ordered to be transmitted to the other colonies, inviting them to enter into an agreement to stop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain, Ireland, and every part of the West Indies, as the only means, they said, that were left for the salvation of North

America and her liberties. Copies of the act were also multiplied with the utmost despatch, and sent to every part of the continent, where they produced the same effects as poets ascribe to the Fury's torch, setting all the countries through which they passed in a flame. Addresses from most of the provinces arrived in a short time at Boston, exhorting the inhabitants to persevere in their opposition to such an attack on their civil rights, and declaring that all British America considered themselves as sufferers in the common cause. A general congress was also determined upon; and Philadelphia being judged commodiously situated for the purpose, the first meeting of delegates from the several colonies was appointed to take place there in the beginning of September; and, in the mean time, engagements, under the title of 'a solemn league and covenant,' were universally entered into for the purpose of suspending all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, and renouncing all communication with those who should refuse to sign this covenant, notwithstanding a proclamation from general Gage, styling such agreement an unlawful, hostile, and traitorous combination. He was even obliged to dissolve the provincial assembly, having found every other method ineffectual to put a stop to their violent proceedings. But those of the general congress were of a still more alarming tendency. The delegates met on the day appointed at Philadelphia: they were fifty-one in number, chosen in such proportions from the different colonies as corresponded with their varied extent and population, though each colony had but one distinct and separate vote: they sat with the doors locked, no person but a member being permitted to be present at their deliberations, and all their proceedings, except what they thought fit to make known, being kept profoundly secret. Among their first resolves was a vote which passed unanimously, expressing their deep sense of the sufferings of their countrymen in the province of Massachusetts Bay, under the late unjust, cruel, and oppressive acts of the British parliament; thoroughly approving the wisdom and ferocity of the opposition made to those measures; and asserting it to be the duty of all America not only to contribute to the relief of the sufferers, but to assist in repelling any force which might be employed to carry such acts into execution. The congress also drew up and published a declaration of rights, little short of absolute independency, with the copy of a formal instrument in writing, signed by the members, and recommended to their constituents, renouncing all intercourse with the mother country, till redress should be obtained for the alleged violation of those rights; a petition to the king, enumerating the several grievances, and blending professions of loyalty with a firm demand of the abolition of the obnoxious statutes, as the only means of restoring harmony between Great Britain and the colonies;—an apology to the people of England for the suspension of commerce, which, they said, necessity alone and a regard to self-preservation obliged them to adopt;—a memorial to the inhabitants of the colonies, designed to explain to them in what manner they were all interested in the state of the people of Boston; urging them to a compliance with the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement; and advising them to extend their views to the most unhappy events, and to be in all respects prepared for every contingency;—and, lastly, an address to the Canadians, the object of which was to render them discontented and uneasy under their new form of government, to sow the seeds of discord between them and the mother country, and to induce them to join in the general confederacy. After these public acts, which the congress completed in a session of fifty-two days, it dissolved itself, having previously recommended that another congress should be held the tenth of May following. The effects of its decrees were quickly seen throughout the provinces: a spirit of resistance to the British government discovered itself almost every where, but particularly in Massachusetts Bay, which was considered as the grand focus of American rebellion. The courts of judicature were totally suspended: all persons accepting offices under the late laws were declared enemies to their country: every step taken by general Gage for the accommodation and security of the troops under his command was obstructed as much as possible: his recall of writs which he had

issued for convening the general court of representatives in October, was disregarded; they met in direct contempt of the authority which forbade them; voted themselves into a provincial congress, with Hancock at their head; appointed a committee to present a remonstrance to the governor in a very daring strain; and on his refusing to recognize them as a lawful assembly, they proceeded to expropriate all the functions not only of the legislative, but of the executive power. At one of their subsequent meetings, a plan was drawn up for the immediate defence of the province; magazines of ammunition and stores were provided for twelve thousand militia; and an enrolment was made of minute-men, so called from their engaging to turn out with their arms at a minute's warning. General Gage clearly foresaw the inevitable issue of such proceedings; but he still confined himself to the mildest measures that were consistent with prudence and necessary caution, being resolved that if the sword must be at last unsheathed, it should not appear owing to any precipitancy on his part. He admonished the people, though in vain, not to be enflamed by the provincial congress, nor led by their influence to incur the penalties of sedition, treason, and rebellion: besides fortifying a narrow isthmus, called Boston Neck, that connects the town with the continent, by means of which the inhabitants of that place became in some sort hostages for the behaviour of the rest of their countrymen, he took care to secure such magazines as were within his reach, and to spike the cannon of some batteries, so as to prevent their being serviceable to an enemy. The activity of the Americans sometimes defeated his utmost circumspection. An armed body of them made themselves masters of the fort at Portsmouth in New Hampshire, and sent off the powder it contained to a place of safety. They also surprised another small fort in the same province, called William and Mary, which was garrisoned by only one officer and five men, to whom they did no personal injury, but took possession of the ammunition and ordnance. A proclamation, which had been issued in England, prohibiting the exportation of military stores, operated as a strong incitement to the eagerness of the colonists to procure such supplies. Mills for making gunpowder, and manufactories for arms, were set up in several places; and the advice of congress, "to prepare for every contingency," was implicitly followed by all the provinces.

A NEW PARLIAMENT.

WHILE every thing bore the most rebellious aspect in America, the British cabinet at home thought it highly necessary, before a blow was struck, to take the sense of the nation on a subject which involved the dearest interests of the whole empire. A dissolution of parliament was therefore resolved upon, to give the people an opportunity of manifesting their sentiments in the choice of representatives, and to free the latter from any restraint with regard to a change of system, if it should be deemed advisable. The same house of commons, which had so recently as well as repeatedly given its sanction to vigorous measures, could not, with a good grace, rescind its own most deliberate acts; but another body of representatives would not be tied down to an involuntary perseverance in support of the resolutions of their predecessors. The proclamation for dissolving the parliament was issued on the thirtieth of September; and the writs for calling a new one were made returnable on the twenty-ninth of November following. On the first day of the meeting of parliament, no competitor for the chair was started against Sir Fletcher Norton;—as the address of thanks to his majesty for his speech from the throne, of which the disobedience of the colonies constituted the chief topic, implied a general approbation of the steps taken by his majesty to carry into execution the late laws, and to restore peace and good order in Massachusetts Bay, an amendment was proposed on the side of opposition, and supported by all the powers of their oratory and all the strength of their numbers.—The latter, however, amounted only to 78 against 264 who voted for the original address. Nothing else of a remarkable nature occurred in parliament before the holidays, except that the estimates, as stated to the commons, were entirely formed upon a peace establishment; and that nine out of thirteen peers, the

minority signed a protest against the address, being the first of the kind which had ever appeared on the journals of the upper house.

1775. After the recess, a variety of debates took place on different systems of coercion and lenity with regard to the Americans, in which much eloquence and party spirit were displayed. The result of all was the passing of two acts; by the first of which the New England provinces, as having set the example of renouncing all intercourse with the parent state, were prohibited from trading to any other country, and from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland; and by the second, the same restraints were extended to the colonies of East and West Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, and to the countries on the Delaware, which were found to have concurred in the commercial combinations of the people of New England. But in order to leave it still in the power of the colonies to avert the calamities impending over them in consequence of these prohibitory acts, a resolution was moved by the minister, and carried in the house of commons, as the basis of a future agreement, "that when any of the colonies should propose, according to their abilities, to raise their due proportion towards the common defence, such proportion to be raised under the authority of the assembly of such province, and to be disposable by parliament; and when such colony should also engage to provide for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice within such province; it would be proper, if such proposal should be approved by his majesty in parliament, to forbear, in respect of such colony, to levy any duties or taxes, or to impose any further duties or taxes, except such as should be necessary for the regulation of trade."

FRANKLIN'S EFFORT AT CONCILIATION.

AMONG the conciliatory attempts which were made at that period, the most specific and remarkable was a plan digested in private by Dr. Franklin on the part of the Americans, and Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay on behalf of the British ministry.

At one of their conferences, held at the house of Dr. Fothergill, on the 4th of December 1774, before the proceedings of congress had reached England, a paper, drawn up by Dr. Franklin, at the request of the two other gentlemen, was submitted to their joint consideration; which, with a few additions proposed and agreed to by common consent, was as follows:

Hints for Conversation upon the Subject of Terms that might produce a durable Union between Britain and the Colonies.

- 1st. The tea destroyed to be paid for.
- 2d. The tea-duty not to be repealed, and all the duties that have been received upon it to be repaid into the treasuries of the several provinces from which they have been collected.
- 3d. The acts of navigation to be all re-enacted in the colonies.
- 4th. A naval officer to be appointed by the crown to see that these acts are observed.
- 5th. All the acts restraining manufactures in the colonies to be re-considered.
- 6th. All duties arising on the acts for regulating trade with the colonies, to be for the public use of the respective colonies, and paid into their treasuries.

The collectors and custom-house officers to be appointed by each governor, and not sent from England.

7th. In consideration of the Americans maintaining their own peace establishment, and the monopoly Britain is to have of their commerce, no requisition is to be made from them in time of peace.

8th. No troops to enter and quarter in any colony, but with the consent of its legislature.

9th. In time of war, on requisition by the king, with consent of parliament, every colony shall raise money by the following rules in proportion, viz. If Britain, on account of the war, raises three shillings in the pound, to its land-tax, then the colonies to add to their last general provincial peace-tax, a sum equal to one fourth part thereof; and if Britain, on the same account, pay four shillings in the pound, then the colonies to add to their last peace-tax, a sum equal to the half thereof; which additional tax is to be granted to his majesty, and to be employed in raising and paying men for land or sea service,

and furnishing provisions, transports, or for such other purposes as the king shall require and direct; and though no colony may contribute less, each may add as much by voluntary grant as it shall think proper.

10th. Castle-William to be restored to the province of Massachusetts's Bay, and no fortress to be built by the crown in any province, but with the consent of its legislature.

11th. The late Massachusetts and Quebec acts to be repealed, and a free government granted to Canada.

12th. All judges to be appointed during good behaviour, with equally permanent salaries to be paid out of the provincial revenues by appointment of the assemblies; or if the judges are to be appointed during the pleasure of the crown, let the salaries be during the pleasure of the assemblies, as heretofore.

13th. Governors to be supported by the assemblies of each province.

14th. If Britain will give up her monopoly of the American commerce, then the aid above mentioned to be given in time of peace, as well as in time of war.

15th. The extension of the act of Henry VIII. concerning treasons to the colonies, to be formally disowned by parliament.

16th. The American admiralty courts to be reduced to the same powers they have in England, and the acts establishing them to be re-enacted in America.

17th. All power of internal legislation in the colonies to be disclaimed by parliament.

On reading this paper a second time, Dr. Franklin gave his reasons at length for each article.

The fourteenth article was expunged on the representation of Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay, that the monopoly of the American commerce would never be given up, and that the proposing of it would only give offence, without answering any good purpose.

This paper of hints was communicated to lord Dartmouth by Dr. Fothergill, who also stated the arguments which in conversation had been offered in support of them. When objections were made to them, as being humiliating to Great Britain, Dr. Fothergill replied, "that she had been unjust, and ought to bear the consequences, and alter her conduct—that sooner or later, these or similar measures must be followed, or the empire would be divided and ruined."

These hints were handed about among ministers, and conferences were held on them. The result was, on the 4th of February 1775, communicated to Dr. Franklin, in the presence of Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay, which, as far as concerned the leading articles, was as follows:

1. The first article was approved.
2. The second agreed to so far as related to the tea-act; but repayment of the duties that had been collected was refused.
3. The third not approved, as it implied a deficiency of power in the parliament that made the acts.
4. The fourth approved.
5. The fifth agreed to, but with a reserve that no change prejudicial to Britain was to be expected.
6. The sixth agreed to, so far as related to the appropriation of the duties; but the appointment of the officers and their salaries to remain as at present.
7. The seventh, relating to aids in time of war, agreed to.
8. The eighth, relating to troops, was inadmissible.

9. The ninth could be agreed to with this difference, that no proportion should be observed with regard to preceding taxes, but each colony should give at pleasure.

10. The tenth agreed to as to the restitution of Castle-William; but the restriction on the crown in building fortresses refused.

11. The eleventh refused absolutely, except as to the Boston port bill, which would be repealed, and the Quebec act might be so far amended, as to reduce that province to its ancient limits. "The other Massachusetts acts being real amendments of their constitution, must for that reason be continued, as well as to be a standing example of the power of parliament."

12. The twelfth agreed to, that the judges should be appointed during good behaviour, on the assemblies providing permanent salaries, such as the crown should approve of.

13. The thirteenth agreed to, provided the assemblies make provision, as in the preceding article.

16. The sixteenth agreed to.

16. The sixteenth agreed to, supposing the duties paid to the colony treasuries.

17. The seventeenth inadmissible.

At this interview the conversation was shortened by Dr. Franklin's observing, that while the parliament claimed and exercised a power of internal legislation for the colonies, and of altering American constitutions at pleasure, there could be no agreement, as that would render the Americans unsafe in every privilege they enjoyed, and would leave them nothing in which they could be secure.

On the 16th of February 1773, the three gentlemen again met, when a paper was produced by David Barclay, entitled, "A plan which it is believed would produce a permanent union between Great Britain and her colonies." This, in the first article, proposed a repeal of the tea-act, on payment being made for the tea destroyed. Dr. Franklin agreed to the first part, but contended that all the other Massachusetts acts should also be repealed; but this was deemed inadmissible. Dr. Franklin declared, that the people of Massachusetts would suffer all the hazards and mischiefs of war, rather than admit the alteration of their charters and laws by parliament. He was for securing the unity of the empire, by recognising the sanctity of charters, and by leaving the provinces to govern themselves in their internal concerns; but the British ministry could not brook the idea of relinquishing their claim to internal legislation for the colonies, and especially to alter and amend their charters. The first was for communicating the vital principles of liberty to the provinces, but the latter, though disposed to redress a few of their existing grievances, would by no means consent to a repeal of the late act of parliament for altering the chartered government of Massachusetts, and least of all to renounce all claim to future amendments of charters, or of internal legislation for the colonies.

Dr. Franklin laboured hard to prevent the breach from becoming irreparable, and stated the outlines of a compact which he supposed would procure a durable union of the two countries; but his well-meant endeavours proved abortive. Finding the ministry bent on war, unless the colonists would consent to hold their rights, liberties, and charters, at the discretion of a British parliament, and well knowing that his countrymen would hazard every thing, rather than consent to terms so degrading as well as inconsistent with the spirit of the British constitution, he quitted Great Britain in March 1773, and returned to Philadelphia. Dr. Fothergill wrote to him on the evening before he left London, "That whatever specious pretences were offered, they were all hollow, and that to get a larger field on which to fatten a herd of worthless parasites, was all that was intended."

CITY OF LONDON PETITIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE AMERICANS.

THE city of London ventured again to breathe a fruitless request. This petition (presented in April) justified the resistance to which the Americans had been driven, upon those same principles of the constitution, which actuated our ancestors when they transferred the imperial crown of these realms to the house of Brunswick. They moreover beseeched his majesty, to dismiss immediately, and for ever, from his councils, those ministers who had advised the obnoxious acts, as the first step towards a redress of those grievances which alarmed and afflicted the whole people. His majesty answered the petition in the following words: "It is with the utmost astonishment that I find any of my subjects capable of encouraging the rebellious disposition which unhappily exists in some of my colonies in North America. Having entire confidence in the wisdom of my parliament, the great council of the nation, I will steadily pursue those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests of my kingdoms."

It was time now for the minister to propose some

advantages, in lieu of those of which he had deprived the nation by the abolition of the American fisheries. With this view he moved for a committee of the whole house, to consider of the encouragement proper to be given to the fisheries of Great Britain and Ireland. The grievances of Ireland demanded a particular attention, as that country had suffered them with a patience unexampled and unexpected. By including trade and commerce in this motion, some members wished to institute an inquiry into the state of Ireland at large, but in this they were opposed by lord North, who was of opinion, that the field of inquiry, which would, by this alteration, be opened, would prove too large for the present opportunity. That his lordship, however, might not appear adverse to the interests of Ireland, he procured two motions to be passed, by the one of which it was declared lawful to export from Ireland clothes and accoutrements for such regiments on the Irish establishment as were employed abroad; by the other, a bounty of five shillings per barrel was allowed on all flax-seed imported into Ireland. The principal objections to these motions were, that they effected too little. In the progress of this committee, bounties were granted to the ships of Great Britain and Ireland, for their encouragement in prosecuting the Newfoundland fishery, and for encouraging the whale fishery, in those seas that were to the southward of Greenland and Davis's Straits fisheries; the several duties upon the importation of oil, blubber, and bone, from Newfoundland, and on the exportation of seal-skins, were at the same time taken off.

The remainder of this session was employed in the rejection of a variety of petitions from the colonists, or those who had their interest most at heart; a remonstrance and representation of the general assembly of the colony of New-York to the parliament, was introduced by Burke, who moved that it should be brought up. He said the decent and respectful language in which they conveyed their sentiments, carried with it some claim on parliamentary attention. Every opinion contained in the paper he granted might not be incontrovertible; but such was the manner in which their complaints were urged, that he could not help looking on this as a very favourable opportunity for amicably ending our differences with America. The rejection of this motion was followed by that of another, owing to similar circumstances, in the house of lords, and that, by a petition, from the British inhabitants of the province of Quebec, presented by lord Camden. The extension of the limits of Quebec, the establishment of popery, and the common complaints of despotism, formed the material part of this latter petition. The debates on it were long and violent; but, on the side of opposition, very ineffectual, the numbers being 88 who opposed it, to 28 lords only who supported it. Among the minority were their royal highnesses of Cumberland and Gloucester.

Thus ended the session in which every step towards the favourite system of coercion seemed to receive an almost universal approbation; and in the speech, his majesty expressed the most perfect satisfaction in their conduct. They had maintained, with a firm and steady resolution, the inseparable rights of the crown and the authority of parliament; they had projected and promoted the commercial interest of these kingdoms, and had given convincing proofs of their readiness (as far as the constitution would allow them) to gratify the wishes, and remove the apprehensions of the subjects in America; and a persuasion was entertained, that the most salutary effects must in the end, result from measures formed and conducted on such principles. His majesty expressed much concern, that the unhappy disturbances in some of the colonies, had occasioned an augmentation of the land forces, and prevented the intended reduction of the naval establishment from being completed; thanks were returned for the cheerfulness and public spirit with which they had granted the supplies. A favourable representation was made of the pacific disposition of other powers, and the usual assurance given of endeavouring to secure the public tranquillity. The speech concluded with a recommendation, to preserve and cultivate in their several counties the same regard for public order, and the same discernment of their true interests, which had in these times distinguished the character of his majesty's

faithful and beloved people; and the continuance of which could not fail to render them happy at home, and respected abroad.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN AMERICA.

WHILE such were the impolitic proceedings of the British ministry, the hostile aspect of affairs in America became equally alarming, and seemed to accelerate that crisis which all good men deprecated and deplored. The colonists had indulged themselves in an expectation that the people of Great Britain, from a consideration of the dangers and difficulties of a war with the colonies, would have preferred peace and a reconciliation; but when they were convinced of the fallacy of these hopes, they turned their attention to the means of self-defence. It had been the resolution of many never to submit to the operation of the late acts of parliament. Their number daily increased, and in the same proportion that Great Britain determined to enforce, did they determine to oppose.

Whatever might be the designs of parliament, their acts had a natural tendency to enlarge the demands of the Americans, and to cement their confederacy, by firm principles of union. At first they only claimed exemption from internal taxation, but by the combination of the East India company and the British ministry, an external tax was made to answer all the purposes of a direct internal tax. They therefore, in consistence with their own principles, were constrained to deny the right of taxing in any form for a supply. But they still admitted the power of parliament to bind their trade. This was conceded by congress but a few months before an act passed that they should have no foreign trade, nor be allowed to fish on their own coasts. The British ministry, by their successive acts, impelled the colonists to believe, that while the mother-country retained any authority over them, that authority would in some shape or other, be exerted so as to answer all the purposes of a power to tax.

Prudence, policy, and reciprocal interest, urged the expediency of concession; but pride, false honour, and misconceived dignity, drew in an opposite direction. Undecided claims and doubtful rights, which under the influence of wisdom and humility might have been easily compromised, imperceptibly widened into an irreconcilable breach. Hatred at length took the place of kind affections, and the calamities of war were substituted in lieu of the benefits of commerce.

In civil wars or revolutions, it is a matter of much consequence who strikes the first blow. The compassion of the world is in favour of the attacked, and the displeasure of good men falls on those who are the first to imbrue their hands in human blood. For the space of nine months after the arrival of general Gage, the people of Boston conducted their opposition with exquisite address. They avoided every kind of outrage and violence, preserved peace and good order among themselves, successfully engaged the other colonies to make a common cause with them, and counteracted general Gage so effectually as to prevent his doing any thing for his royal master, while by patience and moderation they screened themselves from censure. Though resolved to bear as long as prudence and policy dictated, they were all the time preparing for the last extremity. They were furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition, and training their militia.

BATTLE OF LEXINGTON.

PROVISIONS were also collected and stored in different places, particularly at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston. General Gage, though zealous for his master's interest, discovered a prevailing desire for a peaceable accommodation. He wished to prevent hostilities by depriving the inhabitants of the means necessary for carrying them on. With this view he determined to destroy the stores which he knew were collected for the support of a provincial army. Wishing to accomplish this without bloodshed, he took every precaution to effect it by surprise, and without alarming the country. At eleven o'clock at night on the 18th of April, eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the royal army, embarked at the Common, landed at Phipps's Farm, and marched for Concord, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Smith. About two in the morning, one hundred and thirty of the Lexington militia had assembled

to oppose them; between four and five o'clock in the morning the British regulars made their appearance. Major Pitcairn, who led the advanced corps, rode up to them, and called out, "Disperse, you rebels; throw down your arms and disperse." They still continued in a body, on which he advanced nearer, discharged his pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire. This was done with a human. A dispersion of the militia was the consequence, but the firing of the regulars was nevertheless continued. Individuals, finding they were fired upon, though dispersing, returned the fire. Three or four of the militia were killed on the green; a few more were shot after they had begun to disperse. The royal detachment proceeded on to Concord, and executed their commission. They disabled two twenty-four pounders, threw 500lb. of ball into rivers and wells, and broke in pieces about sixty barrels of flour. The king's troops having done their business, began their retreat towards Boston. This was conducted with expedition, for the adjacent inhabitants had assembled in arms, and began to attack them in every direction. In their return to Lexington they were exceedingly annoyed, both by those who pressed on their rear, and others, who pouring in on all sides, fired from behind stone walls, and similar coverts, which supplied the place of lines and redoubts. At Lexington the regulars were joined by a detachment of nine hundred men, under lord Piercy, which had been sent out by general Gage to support lieutenant-colonel Smith. This reinforcement having two pieces of cannon, owed the provincials, and kept them at a greater distance, but they continued a constant though irregular and scattering fire, which did great execution. The close firing from behind the walls by good marksmen, put the regular troops in no small confusion, but they nevertheless kept up a brisk retreating fire on the militia and minute-men. A little after sunset the regulars reached Bunker's Hill, worn down with excessive fatigue, having marched that day between thirty and forty miles. On the next day they crossed Charlestown ferry, and returned to Boston.

The provincial congress of Massachusetts, which was in session at the time of the Lexington battle, despatched an account of it to Great Britain, accompanied with many depositions, to prove that the British troops were the aggressors. They also made an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, in which, after complaining of their sufferings, they say, "These have not yet detached us from our royal sovereignty; we profess to be his loyal and dutiful subjects; and though hardly dealt with, as we have been, are still ready, with our lives and fortunes, to defend his person, crown, and dignity; nevertheless, to the persecution and tyranny of his evil ministry, we will not tamely submit. Appealing to heaven for the justice of our cause, we determine to die or be free." From the commencement of hostilities, the dispute between Great Britain and the colonies took a new direction.

Intelligence that the British troops had marched out of Boston into the country on some hostile purpose, being forwarded by expresses from one committee to another, great bodies of the militia, not only from Massachusetts but the adjacent colonies, grasped their arms, and marched to oppose them. Hitherto the Americans had no regular army. From principles of policy they cautiously avoided that measure, lest they might subject themselves to the charge of being aggressors. All their military regulations were carried on by their militia, and under the old established laws of the land. For the defence of the colonies, the inhabitants had been, from their early years, enrolled in companies, and taught the use of arms. The laws for this purpose had never been better observed than for some months previous to the Lexington battle. These military arrangements, which had been previously adopted for defending the colonies from hostile French and Indians, were on this occasion turned against the troops of the parent state. Forts, magazines, and arsenals, by the constitution of the country, were in the keeping of his majesty. Immediately after the Lexington battle, these were for the most part taken possession of throughout the colonies, by parties of the provincial militia. Ticonderoga, in which was a small royal garrison, was surprised and taken by adventurers from different states. Public money which had been collected in consequence of previous grants, was also seized for

common services. The provincial congress of Massachusetts voted that "an army of thirty thousand men be immediately raised, that thirteen thousand six hundred be of their own province, and that a letter and delegate be sent to the several colonies of New-Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode-Island." In consequence of this vote, the business of recruiting was begun, and in a short time a provincial army was paraded in the vicinity of Boston, which, though far below what had been voted by the provincial congress, was much superior in numbers to the royal army. The command of this force was given to general Ward.

Resistance therefore being resolved upon by the Americans, the pulpit, the press, the bench, and the bar, severally laboured to unite and encourage them. The clergy of New-England were a numerous, learned, and respectable body, who had a great ascendancy over the minds of their hearers. They connected religion and patriotism, and in their sermons and prayers represented the cause of America as the cause of heaven. The synod of New-York and Philadelphia also sent forth a pastoral letter, which was publicly read in their churches. This earnestly recommended such sentiments and conduct as were suitable to their situation. Writers and printers followed in the rear of the preachers, and next to them had the greatest hand in animating their countrymen. Gentlemen of the bench and of the bar denied the charge of rebellion, and justified the resistance of the colonists. A distinction founded on law between the king and his ministry was introduced. The former, it was contended, could do no wrong. The crime of treason was charged on the latter, for using the royal name to varnish their own unconstitutional measures. The phrase of a ministerial war became common, and was used as a medium for reconciling resistance with allegiance.

BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL.

ABOUT the latter end of May a great part of the reinforcements ordered from Great Britain, arrived at Boston. Three British generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, whose behaviour in the preceding war had gained them great reputation, also arrived on the twenty-fifth of May. General Gage, thus reinforced, prepared for acting with more decision; but before he proceeded to extremities he conceived it due to ancient forms to issue a proclamation, holding forth to the inhabitants the alternative of peace or war. He, therefore, (June 12th,) offered pardon in the king's name to all who should forthwith lay down their arms and return to their respective occupations and peaceful duties, excepting only from the benefit of that pardon Samuel Adams and John Hancock, whose offences were said to be of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment. He also proclaimed that not only the persons above named and excepted, but also all their adherents, associates, and correspondents, should be deemed guilty of treason and rebellion, and treated accordingly. By this proclamation it was also declared, "that as the courts of judicature were shut, martial law should take place, till a due course of justice should be re-established." It was supposed that this proclamation was a prelude to hostilities, and preparations were accordingly made by the Americans. A considerable height, by the name of Bunker's Hill, just at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, was so situated as to make the possession of it a matter of great consequence to either of the contending parties. Orders were therefore issued on the 16th of June, by the provincial commanders, that a detachment of a thousand men should entrench upon this height. By some mistake, Breed's Hill, high and large, like the other, but situated near Boston, was marked out for the entrenchments, instead of Bunker's Hill. The provincials proceeded to Breed's Hill, and worked with so much diligence, that between midnight and the dawn of the morning they had thrown up a small redoubt about eight rods square. They kept such a profound silence, that they were not heard by the British, on board their vessels, though very near. These having derived their first information of what was going on from the sight of the work near completion, began an incessant firing upon them. The provincials bore this with firmness, and though they were only young soldiers, continued to labour till they had thrown up a small breastwork, extend-

ing from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill. As this eminence overlooked Boston, general Gage thought it necessary to drive the provincials from it. About noon therefore of the 17th, he detached major-general Howe, and brigadier-general Pigot, with the flower of the army, consisting of four battalions, ten companies of the grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a proportion of field artillery, to effect this business. These troops landed at Moreton's Point, and formed after landing, but remained in that position till they were reinforced by a second detachment of light-infantry and grenadier companies, a battalion of land forces, and a battalion of marines, making in the whole near 3000 men. While the troops who first landed were waiting for this reinforcement, the provincials, for their farther security, pulled up some adjoining post and rail fences, and set them down in two parallel lines at a small distance from each other, and filled the space between with hay, which having been lately mowed, remained on the adjacent ground.

The king's troops formed in two lines, and advanced slowly, to give their artillery time to demolish the American works. While the British were advancing to the attack, they received orders to burn Charlestown.

Thousands, both within and without Boston, were anxious spectators of the bloody scene. The honour of British troops beat high in the breasts of many, who others, with keener sensibility, felt for the liberties of a great and growing country. The British moved on but slowly, which gave the provincials a better opportunity for taking aim. The latter, in general, reserved themselves till their adversaries were within ten or twelve rods, but then began a furious discharge of small arms. The stream of the American fire was so incessant, and did so great execution, that the king's troops retreated in disorder and precipitation. Their officers rallied them. The Americans again reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then put them a second time to flight. General Howe and the officers redoubled their exertions, and were at last successful. By this time the powder of the Americans began so far to fail, that they were not able to keep up the same brisk fire as before. The British also brought some cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breast-work from end to end. The fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery, was redoubled. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances a retreat from it was ordered.

While these operations were going on at the breast-work and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited the most undaunted courage, they met with an opposition which called for its greatest exertions. The provincials here, in like manner, reserved their fire till their adversaries were near, and then poured it upon the light infantry, with such an incessant stream, and in so true a direction, as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both sides with great resolution. The persevering exertions of the king's troops could not compel the Americans to retreat, till they observed that their main body had left the hill. This, when begun, exposed them to new danger, for it could not be effected but by marching over Charlestown Neck, every part of which was raked by the shot of the Glasgow man of war, and of two floating batteries.

The number of Americans engaged amounted only to 1500. It was apprehended that the conquerors would push the advantages they had gained, and march immediately to the American head-quarters at Cambridge, but they advanced no farther than Bunker's Hill; there they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same on Prospect Hill in front of them. Both were guarding against an attack, and both were in a bad condition to receive one. The loss of the peninsula depressed the spirits of the Americans, and their great loss of men produced the same effect on the British. The unexpected resistance of the Americans was such as wiped away the reproaches of cowardice, which had been cast on them by their enemies in Britain. The spirited conduct of the British officers merited and obtained great applause. The provincials were justly entitled to a large portion of fame, for having made the utmost exertions

of their adversaries necessary to dislodge them from Mass., which were the work only of a single night.

SECOND CONGRESS MEETS.

It has already been mentioned, that congress, previous to its dissolution, on the twenty-sixth of October 1774, recommended to the colonies to choose members for another to meet on the tenth of May 1775, unless the redress of their grievances was previously obtained.

On their meeting they chose Peyton Randolph for their president, and Charles Thompson for their secretary. On the next day Mr. Hancock laid before them a variety of depositions, proving that the king's troops were the aggressors in the late battle at Lexington, together with other papers relative to the great events which had lately taken place in Massachusetts: whereupon congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of America. They proceeded in the same line of moderation and firmness, which marked the acts of their predecessors in the past year.

The city and county of New-York having applied to congress for advice, how they should conduct themselves with regard to the troops expected to land there, they were advised "to act on the defensive so long as might be consistent with their safety; to permit the troops to remain in the barracks so long as they behaved peaceably, but not to suffer fortifications to be erected, or any steps to be taken for cutting off the communication between the towns and country." Congress also, on the seventeenth of May, resolved, "That exportation to all parts of British America, which had not adopted their association, should immediately cease;" and that "no provision of any kind, or other necessities, be furnished to the British fisheries on the American coasts." And "that no bill of exchange, draught, or order of any officer in the British army or navy, their agents or contractors, be received or negotiated, or any money supplied them by any person in America—that no provisions or necessities of any kind be furnished or supplied to or for the use of the British army or navy, in the colony of Massachusetts's Bay—that no vessel employed in transporting British troops to America, or from one part of North America to another, or warlike stores or provisions for the said troops, be freighted or furnished with provisions or any necessities." These resolutions may be considered as the counterpart of the British acts for restraining the commerce, and prohibiting the fisheries of the colonies. They were calculated to bring distress on the British islands in the West Indies, whose chief dependence for subsistence was on the importation of provision from the American continent. They also occasioned new difficulties in the support of the British army and fisheries. The colonists were so much indebted to Great Britain, that government bills for the most part found among them a ready market. A war in the colonies was therefore made subservient to commerce, by increasing the sources of remittance. This enabled the mother country, in a great degree, to supply her troops without shipping money out of the kingdom. From the operation of these resolutions, advantages of this nature were not only cut off, but the supply of the British army rendered both precarious and expensive.

The new congress had been convened but a few days, when their venerable president, Peyton Randolph, was under a necessity of returning home. On his departure John Hancock was unanimously chosen his successor. The objects of deliberation presented to this new congress were, if possible, more important than those which in the preceding year had engaged the attention of their predecessors.

In this awful crisis congress had but a choice of difficulties. The New-England states had already organised an army and blockaded general Gage. To desert them would have been contrary to pious faith and to sound policy: to support them would make the war general, and involve all the provinces in one general promiscuous state of hostilities. The resolution of the people in favour of the latter was fixed, and only wanted public sanction for its operation. Congress therefore, on the twenty-sixth of May, resolved, "That for the express purpose of defending and securing the colonies, and preserving them in safety, against all at-

tempts to carry the late acts of parliament into execution, by force of arms, they be immediately put in a state of defence; but as they wished for a restoration of the harmony formerly subsisting between the mother-country and the colonies, to the promotion of this most desirable reconciliation, an humble and dutiful petition be presented to his majesty. To resist and to petition were several resolutions. As freemen they could not tamely submit, but as loyal subjects, wishing for peace as far as was compatible with their rights, they once more, in the character of petitioners, humbly stated their grievances to the common father of the empire. To dissuade the Canadians from co-operating with the British, they again addressed them, representing the pernicious tendency of the Quebec act, and apologizing for their taking Ticonderoga and Crown Point, as measures which were dictated by the great law of self-preservation. About the same time congress took measures for warding off the danger that threatened their frontier inhabitants from Indians. Commissioners to treat with them were appointed, and a supply of goods for their use was ordered. A talk was also prepared by congress, and transmitted to them, in which the controversy between Great Britain and her colonies was explained, in a familiar Indian style. They were told that they had no concern in the family quarrel, and were urged by the ties of ancient friendship and a common birth-place, to remain at home, keep their hatchet buried deep, and to join neither side.

The novel situation of Massachusetts made it necessary for the ruling powers of that province to ask the advice of congress on a very interesting subject. "The taking up and extending the powers of civil government." For many months they had been kept together in tolerable peace and order by the flame of ancient habits, under the simple style of recommendation and advice from popular bodies, invested with no legislative authority. But as war now raged in their borders, and a numerous army was actually raised, some more efficient form of government became necessary. At this early day it neither comported with the wishes nor the designs of the colonists to erect forms of government independent of Great Britain; congress therefore recommended only such regulations as were immediately necessary, and these were conformable as nearly as possible to the spirit and substance of the charter, and were only to last till a governor of his majesty's appointment would consent to govern the colony according to its charter.

On the same principles of necessity, another assumption of new powers became unavoidable. The great intercourse that daily took place throughout the colonies, pointed out the propriety of establishing a general post-office. This was accordingly done, and Dr. Franklin, who had by royal authority been dismissed from a similar department about three years before, was appointed by his country, the head of the new department.

While congress was making arrangements for their proposed continental army, it was thought expedient once more to address the inhabitants of Great Britain, and to publish to the world a declaration setting forth their reasons for taking up arms; to address the speaker and gentlemen of the assembly of Jamaica, and the inhabitants of Ireland; and also to prefer a second humble petition to the king. In their address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, they again vindicated themselves from the charge of aiming at independency, professed their willingness to submit to the several acts of trade and navigation which were passed before the year 1763, recapitulated their reasons for rejecting lord North's conciliatory motion, stated the hardships they suffered from the operations of the royal army in Boston, and insinuated the danger the inhabitants of Britain would be in of losing their freedom, in case their American brethren were subdued.

In their declaration, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms, they enumerated the injuries they had received, and the methods taken by the British ministry to compel their submission; and then said, "We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery." They answered "that foreign assistance was undoubtedly attain-

able." This was not founded on any private information, but was an opinion derived from their knowledge of the principles of policy, by which states usually regulate their conduct towards each other.

But their petition to the king, which was drawn up at the same time, produced more solid advantages in favour of the American cause, than any other of their productions. In this, among other things, it was stated, "that, notwithstanding their sufferings, they had retained too high a regard for the kingdom from which they derived their origin, to request such a reconciliation as might, in any manner, be inconsistent with her dignity and welfare. Attached to his majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite society, and deploring every event that tended in any degree to weaken them, they not only most fervently desired the former harmony between her and the colonies to be restored, but that a concord might be established between them, upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations, in both countries. They, therefore, beseeched that his majesty would be pleased to direct some mode by which the united applications of his faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, might be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation." By this last clause, it is said that congress meant that the mother-country should propose a plan for establishing, by compact, something like a Magna Charta for the colonies.

This well-meant petition was presented on September 1st, 1775, by Mr. Penn and Mr. Lee; and on the 4th, lord Dartmouth informed them, "that to it no answer would be given." This slight contributed not a little to the union and perseverance of the colonies. When pressed by the calamities of war, a doubt would sometimes arise in the minds of scrupulous persons, that they had been too hasty in their opposition to their protecting parent-state.

GENERAL WASHINGTON APPOINTED COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

A MILITARY opposition to the armies of Great Britain being resolved upon by the colonies, it became an object of consequence to fix on a proper person to conduct that opposition. On the 15th of June, George Washington was, by a unanimous vote, appointed commander in chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the colonies. It was a fortunate circumstance attending his election, that it was accompanied with no competition, and followed by no envy.

General Washington, Dr. Ramsay informs us, was born on the 11th of February 1732. His education was such as favoured the production of a solid mind and a vigorous body. Mountain air, abundant exercise in the open country, the wholesome toils of the chase, and the delightful scenes of rural life, expanded his limbs to an unusual, but graceful and well-proportioned size. His youth was spent in the acquisition of useful knowledge, and in pursuits tending to the improvement of his fortune, or the benefit of his country. Fitted more for active than for speculative life, he devoted the greater proportion of his time to the former; but this was amply compensated by his being frequently in such situations as called forth the powers of his mind, and strengthened them by repeated exercise. Early in life, in obedience to his country's call, he entered the military line, and began his career of fame in opposing that power in concert with whose troops he acquired his last and most distinguished honours. He was with general Braddock in 1755, when that unfortunate officer, from an excess of bravery, chose rather to sacrifice his army than to retreat from an unseen foe. The remains of that unfortunate corps were brought off the field of battle chiefly by the address and good conduct of colonel Washington. After the peace of Paris, 1763, he retired to his estate, and with great industry and success pursued the arts of peaceful life. When the proceedings of the British parliament alarmed the colonists with apprehensions that a blow was levelled at their liberties, he again came forward into public view, and was appointed a delegate to

the congress, which met in September 1774. Possessed of a large proportion of common sense, directed by a sound judgment, he was better fitted for the exalted station to which he was called, than many others who to a greater brilliancy of parts frequently add the eccentricity of original genius. Engaged in the busy scenes of life, he knew human nature, and the most proper method of accomplishing the proposed objects. His passions were subdued, and kept in subjection to reason. His soul, superior to party spirit, to prejudice, and illiberal views, moved according to the impulse it received from an honest heart and a sound judgment. He was habituated to view things on every side, to consider them in all relations, and to trace the possible and probable consequences of proposed measures. Much addicted to close thinking, his mind was constantly employed. By frequent exercise, his understanding and judgment expanded so as to be able to discern truth, and to know what was proper to be done in the most difficult conjunctures.

Coeval with the resolutions for raising an army, was another for emitting a sum not exceeding two millions of Spanish milled dollars, in bills of credit for the defence of America, and the colonies were pledged for the redemption of them. This sum was increased from time to time by further emissions. The colonies having neither money nor revenue at their command, were forced to adopt this expedient, the only one which was in their power for supporting an army. No one delegate opposed the measure. So great had been the credit of the former emissions of paper in the greater part of the colonies, that very few at that time foresaw or apprehended the consequences of unfunded paper emissions; but had all the consequences which resulted from this measure in the course of the war been foreseen, it must, notwithstanding, have been adopted. A happy ignorance of future events, combined with the ardour of the times, prevented many reflections on this subject, and gave credit and circulation to these bills.

When general Washington arrived at Cambridge, July third, he was received with the joyful acclamations of the American army. At the head of his troops he published a declaration, previously drawn up by congress, in the nature of a manifesto, setting forth the reasons for taking up arms. In this, after enumerating various grievances of the colonies, and vindicating them from a premeditated design of establishing independent states, it was added, "In our own native land, in defence of the freedom which is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the industry of our forefathers and ourselves against violence actually offered—we have taken up arms; we shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before."

When general Washington joined the American army, he found the British intrenched on Bunker's Hill, having also three floating batteries in Mystic river, and a twenty gun ship below the ferry, between Boston and Charlestown. They had also a battery on Copse's Hill, and were strongly fortified on the Neck. The Americans were intrenched at Winter Hill, Prospect Hill, and Roxbury, communicating with one another by small posts, over a distance of ten miles. There were also parties stationed in several towns along the sea-coast. They had neither engineers to plan suitable works, nor sufficient tools for their execution.

Embarrassments from various quarters occurred in the formation of a continental army. The appointment of general officers made by congress was not satisfactory. Enterprising leaders had come forward with their followers, on the commencement of hostilities, without scrupulous attention to rank. When these were all blended together, it was impossible to assign to every officer the station which his services merited, or his vanity demanded. Materials for a good army were collected. The husbandmen who flew to arms were active, zealous, and of unquestionable courage; but to introduce discipline and subordination among free men, who were habituated to think for themselves, was an arduous labour.

The want of system and of union, under proper heads, pervaded every department. From the circumstance that the persons employed in providing

necessaries for the army were unconnected with each other, much waste and unnecessary delays were occasioned. The troops of the different colonies came into service under varied establishments—some were enlisted with the express condition of choosing their officers. The rations promised by the local legislatures varied both as to quantity, quality, and price. To form one uniform mass of these discordant materials, and to subject the licentiousness of independent freemen to the control of military discipline, was a delicate and difficult business.

The continental army put under the command of general Washington, amounted to about 14,500 men. These had been so judiciously stationed round Boston, as to confine the British to the town, and to exclude them from the forage and provisions of the adjacent country and islands in Boston Bay afforded. The force was thrown into three grand divisions. General Ward commanded the right wing at Roxbury; General Lee the left at Prospect Hill; and the centre was commanded by general Washington.

When some effectual pains had been taken to discipline the army, it was found that the term for which enlistments had taken place, was on the point of expiring. The troops from Connecticut and Rhode-Island were only engaged till the first day of December 1775, and no part of the army longer than the first day of January 1776. Such mistaken apprehensions respecting the future conduct of Great Britain prevailed, that many thought the appearance of a determined spirit of resistance would lead to a redress of all their grievances.

Towards the close of the year (on the 10th of October) general Gage sailed for England, and the command of the British troops devolved on general Howe.

The Massachusetts assembly and continental congress, both resolved to fit out armed vessels to cruise on the American coast, for the purpose of intercepting warlike stores and supplies designed for the use of the British army. The object was at first limited, but as the prospect of accommodation vanished, it was extended to all British property afloat on the high seas. The Americans were diffident of their ability to do any thing on the water in opposition to the greatest naval power in the world; but from a combination of circumstances, their first attempts were successful.

On the 29th of November, the Lee privateer, captain Manley, took the brig Nancy, an ordnance vessel from Woolwich, containing a large brass mortar, several pieces of brass cannon, a large quantity of arms and ammunition, with all manner of tools, utensils, and machines, necessary for camps and artillery. Had congress sent an order for supplies, they could not have made out a list of articles more suitable to their situation, than what was thus providentially thrown into their hands.

In about nine days after, three ships, with various stores for the British army, and a brig from Antigua with rum, were taken by captain Manley. Before five days more had elapsed, several other store-ships were captured. By these means the distresses of the British troops in Boston were increased, and supplies for the continental army were procured. Naval captures being unexpected, were matter of triumph to the Americans, and of surprise to the British.

PORT TICONDEROGA TAKEN.

WHILE these affairs were transacting, a bold enterprise was undertaken by the Americans against the British possessions on the frontiers of Canada, and this it will be proper to relate before we return to the transactions of the mother-country.

Situated on a promontory, formed at the junction of the waters of Lake George and Lake Champlain, Ticonderoga is the key of all communication between New York and Canada. Messrs. Deane, Wooster, Parsons, Stevens, and others of Connecticut, planned a scheme for obtaining possession of this valuable post. Having procured a loan of 1900 dollars of public money, and provided a sufficient quantity of powder and ball, they set off for Bennington, to obtain the co-operation of colonel Allen of that place. Two hundred and seventy men, mostly of that brave and hardy people who are called green mountain boys, were speedily col-

lected at Castleton, which was fixed on as the place of rendezvous. At this place colonel Arnold, who, though attended only with a servant, was prosecuting the same object, unexpectedly joined them. He had been early chosen a captain of a volunteer company, by the inhabitants of New Haven, among whom he resided. As soon as he received news of the Lexington battle, he marched off with his company for the vicinity of Boston, and arrived there, though 180 miles distant, in a few days. Immediately after his arrival, he waited on the Massachusetts committee of safety, and informed them, that there were at Ticonderoga many pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of valuable stores, and that the fort was in a ruinous condition, and garrisoned only by about 40 men. They appointed him a colonel, and commissioned him to raise 400 men, and to take Ticonderoga. The leaders of the party which had previously rendezvoused at Castleton, admitted colonel Arnold to join them, and it was agreed that colonel Allen should be the commander in chief of the expedition, and that colonel Arnold should be his assistant. They proceeded without delay, and arrived in the night of the 9th of May at Lake Champlain, opposite to Ticonderoga. Allen and Arnold crossed over with 83 men, and landed near the garrison. The commander, surprised in his bed, was called upon to surrender the fort; he asked by what authority? Colonel Allen replied, "I demand it in the name of the great Jehovah, and of the continental congress." No resistance was made, and the fort, with its valuable stores, and forty-eight prisoners, fell into the hands of the Americans. The boats had been sent back for the remainder of the men, but the business was done before they got over. Colonel Seth Warner was sent off with a party to take possession of Crown Point, where a sergeant and twelve men performed garrison duty. This was speedily effected.

The next object calling for the attention of the Americans, was to obtain the command of Lake Champlain; but to accomplish this, it was necessary for them to get possession of a sloop of war, lying at St. John's, at the northern extremity of the lake. With the view of capturing this sloop, it was agreed to man and arm a schooner lying at South Bay, and that Arnold should command her, and that Allen should command some batteaux on the same expedition. A favourable wind carried the schooner a-head of the batteaux, and colonel Arnold got immediate possession of the sloop by surprise. The wind again favouring him, he returned with his prize to Ticonderoga, and rejoined colonel Allen. The latter soon went home, and the former, with a number of men, agreed to remain there in garrison. In this rapid manner the possession of Ticonderoga, and the command of Lake Champlain, were obtained, without any loss, by a few determined men. Intelligence of these events was in a few days communicated to congress, which met for the first time, at ten o'clock of the same day in the morning of which Ticonderoga was taken. They rejoiced in the spirit of enterprise displayed by their countrymen, but feared the charge of being aggressors, or of doing any thing to widen the breach between Great Britain and the colonies; for an accommodation was at that time nearly their unanimous wish. They therefore recommended to the committees of the cities and counties of New York and Albany, to cause the cannon and stores to be removed from Ticonderoga to the south end of Lake George, and to take an exact inventory of them, "in order that they might be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, should render it prudent and consistent with the over-ruling law of self-preservation."

EXPEDITION AGAINST QUEBEC.

COLONEL Arnold having begun his military career with a series of successes, was urged by his native impetuosity to project more extensive operations. On the 13th of June he wrote a letter to congress, strongly urging an expedition into Canada, and offering with 5000 men to reduce the whole province. In his ardent zeal to oppose Great Britain, he had advised the adoption of an offensive war, even before congress had organised an army or appointed a single military officer. His impetuosity was at last successful. Such was the increasing fervour of the public mind in 1775, that what in the early

part of the year was deemed violent and dangerous, was in its progress pronounced both moderate and expedient.

Sir Guy Carleton, the king's governor in Canada, so soon heard that the Americans had surprised Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and obtained the command of Lake Champlain, than he planned a scheme for their recovery. Having only a few regular troops under his command, he endeavoured to induce the Canadians and Indians to co-operate with him; but they both declined. He established martial law, that he might compel the inhabitants to take up arms. They declared themselves ready to defend the province, but refused to march out of it, or to commence hostilities on their neighbours.

Congress had committed the management of their military arrangements, in this northern department, to general Schuyler and general Montgomery. While the former remained at Albany, to attend an Indian treaty, the latter was sent forward to Ticonderoga, with a body of troops from New York and New England. Soon after reaching Ticonderoga, he made a movement down Lake Champlain. General Schuyler overtook him at Cape la Motte, whence they moved on to Isle aux Noix. About this time general Schuyler addressed the inhabitants, informing them, "that the only views of congress were to restore to them their rights which every subject of the British empire, of whatever religious sentiments he may be, is entitled to; and that in the execution of these trusts he had received the most positive orders to cherish every Canadian, and every friend to the cause of liberty, and secretly to guard their property." The Americans, about 1000 in number, on the 10th of September effected a landing at St. John's, which being the first British post in Canada, lies only 115 miles to the northward of Ticonderoga. The British piquets were driven into the fort. The environs were then reconnoitred, and the fortifications were found to be much stronger than had been suspected. This induced the calling of a council of war, which recommended a retreat to Isle aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. John's, to throw a boom across the channel, and to erect works for its defence. Soon after this event, an extreme bad state of health induced general Schuyler to retire to Ticonderoga, and the command devolved on general Montgomery.

This enterprising officer in a few days returned to the vicinity of St. John's, and opened a battery against it. Ammunition was so scarce that the siege could not be carried on with any prospect of speedy success. The general detached a small body of troops to attempt the reduction of Fort Chambles, only six miles distant. Success attended this enterprise. By its surrender six tons of gunpowder were obtained, which enabled the general to prosecute the siege of St. John's with vigour. The garrison, though straitened for provisions, persevered in defending themselves with unabating fortitude. While general Montgomery was prosecuting this siege, the governor of the province collected at Montreal about 800 men, chiefly militia and Indians. He endeavoured to cross the river St. Lawrence with this force, and to land at Longueuil, intending to proceed thence to attack the besiegers; but colonel Warner with 300 green mountain boys and a four-pounder, prevented the execution of the design. The governor's party was forced to come near the shore, but was then fired upon with such effect as to make them retire, after sustaining great loss.

An account of this affair being communicated to the garrison in St. John's, major Preston, the commanding officer, surrendered, on receiving honourable terms of capitulation.

After the reduction of St. John's, general Montgomery proceeded towards Montreal. The few British forces there, unable to stand their ground, repaired for safety on board the shipping, in hopes of escaping down the river; but they were prevented by colonel Easton, who was stationed at the point of Sorel river with a number of continental troops, some cannon, and an armed gondola. General Prescott, who was on board with several officers, and about 120 privates, having no chance to escape, submitted to be prisoners on terms of capitulation. Eleven sail of vessels with all their contents, consisting of ammunition, provision, and entrenching tools, became the property of the provin-

dials. Governor Carleton was about this time conveyed in a boat with muffled paddles by a secret way to the Three Rivers, and thence to Quebec in a few days.

When Montreal was evacuated by the troops, the inhabitants applied to general Montgomery for a capitulation. He informed them, that as they were defenceless, they could not expect such a concession, but he engaged upon his honour to maintain the individuals and religious communities of the city, in the peaceable enjoyment of their property, and the free exercise of their religion. In all his transactions, he spoke, wrote, and acted with dignity and propriety, and in particular treated the inhabitants with liberality and politeness.

Montreal, which at this time surrendered to the provincials, carried on an extensive trade, and contained many of those articles, which from the operation of the resolutions of congress could not be imported into any of the united colonies. From these stores the American soldiers, who had hitherto suffered from the want of suitable clothing, obtained a plentiful supply.

General Montgomery, after leaving some troops in Montreal, and sending detachments into different parts of the province to encourage the Canadians, and to forward provisions, advanced towards the capital. His little army arrived with expedition before Quebec. Success had hitherto crowned every attempt of general Montgomery, but notwithstanding his situation was very embarrassing. In the choice of difficulties, the genius of Montgomery surmounted many obstacles. During his short career, he conducted himself with so much prudence, as to make it doubtful whether we ought to admire most the goodness of the man or the address of the general.

About the same time that Canada was invaded, in the usual route from New-York, a considerable detachment from the American army at Cambridge was conducted into that royal province by a new and unexpected passage. Colonel Arnold, who successfully conducted this bold undertaking, thereby acquired the name of the American Hannibal. The most pointed instructions had been given to this corps, to conciliate the affections of the Canadians. It was particularly enjoined upon them, if the son of lord Chatham, then an officer in one of the British regiments in that province, should fall into their hands, to treat him with all possible attention, in return for the great exertions of his father in behalf of American liberty.

While general Montgomery lay at Montreal, colonel Arnold arrived [November 8th] at Point Levy opposite to Quebec. Such was the consternation of the garrison and inhabitants at his unexpected appearance, that had not the river intervened, an immediate attack in the first surprise and confusion, might have been successful. The embarrassments of the garrison were increased by the absence of Sir Guy Carleton; that gallant officer, on hearing of Montgomery's invasion, prepared to oppose him in the extremes of the province. While he was collecting a force to attack invaders in one direction, a different corps, emerging out of the depths of an unexplored wilderness, suddenly appeared from another. In a few days after colonel Arnold had arrived at Point Levy, he crossed the river St. Lawrence, but his chance of succeeding by a coup de main was in that short space greatly diminished. The critical moment was passed. The panic occasioned by his first appearance had abated, and solid preparations for the defence of the town were adopted. The inhabitants, both English and Canadians, as soon as danger pressed, united for their common defence. Alarmed for their property, they were, at their own request, embodied for its security. The sailors were taken from the shipping in the harbour, and put to the batteries on shore. As colonel Arnold had no artillery, after parading some days on the heights near Quebec, he drew off his troops, intending nothing more until the arrival of Montgomery, than to cut off supplies from entering the garrison.

At the time the Americans were before Montreal, general Carleton, as has been related, escaped through their hands, and got safe to Quebec. His presence was itself a garrison. The confidence reposed in his talents, inspired the men under his command to make the most determined resistance.

General Montgomery having on the first of Decem-

ber effected at Point aux Trembles a junction with colonel Arnold, commenced the siege of Quebec.

Towards the end of the year, the tide of fortune began to turn. Dissensions broke out between colonel Arnold and some of his officers, threatening the annihilation of discipline. The continental currency had no circulation in Canada, and all the hard money furnished for the expedition was nearly expended. Difficulties of every kind were daily increasing. The extremities of fatigue were constantly to be encountered. The extremity of winter was fast approaching. From these combined circumstances, general Montgomery was impressed with a conviction, that the siege should either be raised, or brought to a summary termination. To storm the place was the only feasible method of effecting the latter purpose; but this was an undertaking, in which success was but barely possible.

The garrison of Quebec at this time consisted of about 1500 men, of which 800 were militia, and 450 were seamen belonging to the king's frigates, or merchants' ships in the harbour. The rest were marines, regular, or colonel Maclean's new raised emigrants. The American army consisted of about 800 men. Some had been left at Montreal, and near a third of Arnold's detachment, as has been related, had returned to Cambridge.

ATTACK ON QUEBEC AND DEATH OF MONTGOMERY.

GENERAL MONTGOMERY having divided this little force into four detachments, ordered two feints to be made against the upper town, one by colonel Livingston, at the head of the Canadians, against St. John's gate; and the other by major Brown, against Cape Diamond, reserving to himself and colonel Arnold the two principal attacks against the lower town. At five o'clock in the morning of the 31st of December general Montgomery advanced against the lower town. He passed the first barrier, and was just opening to attack the second, when he was killed, together with his aid-de-camp, captain John M'Pherson, captain Cheesman, and some others. This so dispirited the men, that colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, thought proper to draw them off. In the mean time colonel Arnold, at the head of about 550 men, passed through St. Roch, and approached near a two-gun battery, without being discovered. This he attacked, and though it was well defended, carried it, but with considerable loss. In this attack colonel Arnold received a wound, which made it necessary to carry him off the field of battle. His party nevertheless continued the assault, and pushing on, made themselves masters of a second barrier; but find-

ing themselves hemmed in, and without hopes either of success, relief, or retreat, they yielded to numbers, and the advantageous situation of their adversaries. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, was about 100, and 300 were taken prisoners.

This deliverance of Quebec may be considered as a proof how much may be done by one man for the preservation of a country. It also proves that soldiers may in a short time be formed out of the mass of citizens.

The conflict being over, the ill will which had subsisted, during the siege, between the royal and provincial troops gave way to sentiments of humanity. The Americans who surrendered, were treated with kindness. Ample provisions were made for their wounded, and no unnecessary severity shown to any. Few men have ever fallen in battle so much regretted by both sides as general Montgomery. His well-known character was almost equally esteemed by the friends and foes of the side which he had espoused. In America he was celebrated as a martyr to the liberties of mankind; in Great Britain as a misguided good man, sacrificing to what he supposed to be the rights of his country.

ASPECT OF AFFAIRS.

A SERIES of disasters followed the royal cause in the year 1775. General Gage's army was ceaped up in Boston, and rendered useless. In the southern states, where a small force would have made an impression, the royal governors were unsupported. Much was done to irritate the colonists and to cement their union, but very little, either in the way of conquest or concession, to subdue their spirits or conciliate their affections.

In this year the people of America generally took their side. Every art was made use of by the popular leaders to attach the inhabitants to their cause; nor were the votaries of the royal interest inactive. But little impression was made by the latter, except among the uninformed. The great mass of the wealth, learning, and influence, in all the southern colonies, and in most of the northern, was in favour of the American cause. Some aged persons were exceptions to the contrary. Attached to ancient habits, and enjoying the fruits of their industry, they were slow in approving new measures subversive of the former, and endangering the latter. A few who had basked in the sunshine of court favour, were restrained by honour, principle, and interest, from forsaking the fountain of their enjoyments. Some feared the power of Britain, and others doubted the perseverance of America; but a great majority resolved to hazard every thing in preference to a tame submission.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI.

1 The assembly of South Carolina voted 1800*l.* to this fund; and the committee, in their letter of thanks for the favour, took care, among other inflammatory suggestions, to hint that the parliament, as then constituted, had no right to levy taxes either in England or America, and that

"demands which were made without authority, should be heard without obedience."

2 This petition having been referred by the king to the privy council, and Dr. Franklin being summoned in his official capacity to support the charges, the lords of the council made their report to his

majesty, "that the petition was founded upon false and erroneous allegations, and that the same is groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and calculated only for the seditious purposes of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the province."

CHAPTER XII.

Fatal effects of the War—Meeting of Parliament—Defection of the Duke of Grafton and General Conway from the Ministry—Introduction of foreign troops—Prohibitory Bill—Changes in the Ministry—Affairs of Ireland—Debates on foreign troops—Conclusion of the Session—Boston evacuated by the British—Siege of Quebec raised—Americans defeated on the Lakes—Unsuccessful attempt upon Charlestown—Preparations against New-York—Declaration of Independence—Americans defeated at Long-Island—New-York taken—Americans retreat into the Jerseys and over the Delaware—Rhode-Island reduced—General Lee made prisoner—Hessians cut off at Trenton—British defeated at Princeton.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR.

THE war in America had no sooner seriously commenced, than its fatal effects were experienced in the trading world. The manufactures and trade of Great Britain appeared completely at a stand in all the great provincial towns and cities. Bristol and Liverpool, in particular, suffered considerably; and in the latter place, the African trade being almost annihilated by the war, and numbers of seamen having been thrown out of employ, some dangerous riots took place in the month of August, and were only quelled by the arrival of a military force from Manchester.

Notwithstanding the confident boasts of ministry, that the forces which had been voted in the last session were fully adequate to the subjugation of America, it was found that they were not sufficient to maintain their ground in the city of Boston.

Negotiations for foreign troops, therefore, became absolutely necessary. Russia was applied to in vain, nor could the Dutch be prevailed on to part with their Scotch brigade for this nefarious service.

With the slave-merchants of Germany the ministers were more successful, and a number of troops were purchased, like cattle, of the princes of Hesse and Brunswick.

It is always one of the principal artifices of a weak and bad ministry, to amuse the populace with fabricated plots and conspiracies to overturn the government. Previous to the meeting of parliament, something of this kind was deemed necessary, and a Mr. Sayre, a banker, an American by birth, was committed to the Tower, on a ridiculous charge of a plot to seize the king in his passage to the house of peers, and to convey him out of the kingdom. On an application, however, by habeas corpus, to the court of king's bench, the charge appeared so frivolous and ill-founded, that Mr Sayre was discharged; and he afterwards recovered in a court of law, 1000*l.* damages against lord Rochford, secretary of state, on an action for false imprisonment.

PARLIAMENT MEETS.

THE parliamentary session commenced rather earlier than usual, viz. on October 26th. His majesty, in a speech of unusual length, gave the present situation of America as a reason for having called the houses together early. It was observed, that those who had too long successfully laboured to influence the people in America by gross misrepresentations, and to infuse into their minds a system of opinions repugnant to the true constitution of the colonies, and to their subordinate relation to Great Britain, now openly avowed their revolt, hostility, and rebellion. They had raised troops, were collecting a naval force, had seized the public revenue, and assumed to themselves legislative, executive, and judicial powers, which they already exercised in the most arbitrary manner, over

the persons and properties of their fellow-subjects; and although many of these unhappy people might still retain their loyalty, too wise not to see the fatal consequences of this usurpation, and might wish to resist it, yet the torrent of violence had been strong enough to compel their acquiescence, till a sufficient force should appear to support them.

The rebellious war was now become more general, and was manifestly carried on for the purpose of establishing an independent empire. The object was too important, the spirit of the British nation too high, the resources with which God had blessed her too numerous, to give up so many colonies which she had planted with great industry, nursed with great tenderness, encouraged with many commercial advantages, and protected and defended at much expense of blood and treasure. It was now become the part of wisdom, and, in its effects, of clemency, to put a speedy end to these disorders by the most decisive exertions. For this purpose his majesty had increased his naval establishment, and greatly augmented his land forces; but in such a manner as might be least burdensome to the kingdom. His majesty informed them that the most friendly offers of foreign service had been made, and, if necessary, should be laid before them. He assured them, that when the unhappy and deluded multitude, against whom force was to be directed, should become sensible of their error, he would receive the misled with tenderness and mercy. An apology was made to the commons for the increased demand of supplies, and it was affirmed that the constant employment of his majesty's thoughts, and the most earnest wishes of his heart, tended wholly to the safety and happiness of his people; and that his majesty saw no probability that the measures which parliament might adopt would be interrupted by disputes with any foreign power.

The addresses, in answer to this speech, contained the same sentiments, and the efforts of opposition were powerfully directed to avoid the imputation of those addresses being the unanimous voice of the house.

GENERAL CONWAY AND THE DUKE OF GRAFTON JOIN THE OPPOSITION.

THEIR arguments were powerfully aided by the defection of general Conway and the Duke of Grafton; who, in their respective houses, pleaded the cause of the injured colonists with great ability, feeling, and correctness. They gave it as their opinion, that if ever a reconciliation could be effected, this was the time to make the attempt, by a repeal of every obnoxious act passed against the Americans since the year 1763. The addresses, however, passed in the original form in both houses, by prodigious majorities. The debates were unusually long, and the questions attended to with unusual zeal. The duke of Richmond distinguished himself in the house of lords, and was one of nineteen peers who signed a protest against the

proceedings of that house. What relates to the employment of Hanoverian troops, conveys the following sentiments: "That Hanoverian troops should, at the mere pleasure of the ministers, be considered as a part of the British military establishment, and take a rotation of garrison duties, through these dominions, is, in practice and precedent, of the highest danger to the safety and liberties of this kingdom, and tends wholly to invalidate the wise and salutary declaration of the grand fundamental law of our glorious deliverer, King William, which has bound together the rights of the subject, and the succession of the throne." Upon this opinion, a few days after the address had been delivered, the duke of Manchester founded a resolution, "That bringing into any part of the dominions of Great Britain, the electoral troops of his majesty, or any other foreign troops, without the previous consent of parliament, is dangerous and unconstitutional." The Hanoverians, his grace observed, would not be under the command of any military law in those garrisons, and the mutiny act could not extend to them, being confined to those troops only which are specified in it, or voted by parliament. There was no security in putting fortified places of such importance into the hands of foreign troops, and the king had no right to maintain, in any part of his British dominions, any troops to which parliament had not given their consent. On the other hand, the lords in administration said, that the clause in the bill of rights, which is in question, is to be understood with the conditions annexed to it, one of which relates to the bringing of troops within the kingdom, and another mentions the time of peace, and in the present case neither of those conditions were violated. Nay, the bill of rights, it was said, confirms to the king a power to raise an army, in time of war, in any part of his dominions, both of natives and foreigners—a power which had been exerted on several occasions, without the consent of parliament, and was justified now by necessity. The opposition answered, that the words "within the kingdom," if confined to England alone, would exclude Ireland, Scotland, and other places into which armies of foreigners might be introduced. "However the circumstantial quibbling of law might pretend to determine, the measure was certainly contrary to the spirit and intention of the bill of rights, which particularly provides against keeping a standing army without the consent of parliament." They maintained that no foreign troops had been brought into the kingdom at any time since the revolution, without the previous consent of parliament, either by an address, or by some former treaty which it had ratified; and the hiring of foreign troops, and afterwards prevailing on parliament to ratify the engagements, had always been considered as an unwarrantable step. In the late war, ministers were exceedingly cautious in this respect, and even after the parliament had agreed to the raising of 4000 Germans for American service, such effectual provision was made for the security of this kingdom, that it was impossible any mischief could ensue. With all the deference King William's parliament entertained for that prince, they never would consent to the admission of his Dutch guards into England. Notwithstanding these and other forcible arguments, the previous question was put, and the numbers were, 75 who voted against, and 32 who supported the motion.

A further infraction on the constitution presented itself at this time to the opposition. A new militia-bill which was introduced, was said to be subversive of every idea of a constitutional militia, as they were not to be called out except in cases of invasion or rebellion, pretences of which might at any time be made; a minister had it in his power to embody them, and in that case they composed a standing army. The ministry endeavoured to assure the house that their fears on this topic were groundless, and that it was not to be supposed that any minister would dare to abuse the power granted to him, and that if he did, he was accountable for it at the risk of his life. This apology, however, did not satisfy the opposition; part of the Devonshire militia had offered their personal service against all internal enemies; this was a specimen of what we had to expect from the establishment of this new militia, who were to obey any orders that might be given, no matter by whom; and where would they, who might differ from administration

in matters of political opinion, find security against the undue exertion of this power, or the misconstruction of the sentiments of opposition? On the contrary it was replied, that the Devonshire militia, by this address, only wished to give a proof of their attachment to the crown, and that it was proper for other societies to do the same, as a counterpart to the addresses of London and Middlesex, and to undeceive the people in the country, who dreaded that nothing less than a revolution was meditated by the present adverse proceedings of some bodies of men. The question being put, the bill was carried by 250 to 50.

These debates were followed by the augmentation of the land-tax to four shillings in the pound. This passed with little opposition, excepting some complaints about the want of information.

PROHIBITORY BILL.

No ministry had in any preceding war exerted themselves more to prosecute military operations against alien enemies, than the present to make the ensuing campaign decisive of the dispute between the mother-country and the colonies. One legislative act was still wanting to give full efficacy to the intended prosecution of hostilities. This was brought into parliament in a bill interdicting all trade and intercourse with the thirteen united colonies. By it all property of Americans, whether of ships or goods on the high seas, or in harbour, was declared "to be forfeited to the captors, being the officers and crews of his majesty's ships of war." It further enacted, "that the masters, crews, and other persons found on board captured American vessels, should be entered on board his majesty's vessels of war, and there considered to be in his majesty's service to all intents and purposes, as if they had entered of their own accord." This bill also authorised the crown to appoint commissioners, who, over and above granting pardons to individuals, were empowered to "inquire into general and particular grievances, and to determine whether any colony, or part of a colony, was returned to that state of obedience which might entitle it to be received within the king's peace and protection." In that case, upon a declaration from the commissioners, "the restrictions of the proposed law were to cease."

It was said in favour of this bill, that as the Americans were already in a state of war, it became necessary that hostilities should be carried on against them, as was usual against alien enemies: That the more vigorously and extensively military operations were prosecuted, the sooner would peace and order be restored: That as the commissioners went out with the sword in one hand, and terms of conciliation in the other, it was in the power of the colonists to prevent the infliction of any real or apparent severities in the proposed statute.

In opposition to it, it was said that treating the Americans as a foreign nation, was marking out the way for their independence. One member observed, that as the indiscriminate rapine of property, authorised by the bill, would oblige the colonists to coalesce as one man, its title ought to be, "A bill for carrying more effectually into execution the resolves of the congress." But of all parts of this bill, none was so severely condemned as that clause by which persons taken on board the American vessels, were indiscriminately compelled to serve as common sailors in British ships of war. This was said to be "a refinement of tyranny worse than death." It was also said, "that no man could be despoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, and at the same time obliged to serve as a citizen, and that compelling captives to bear arms against their families, kindred, friends, and country; and after being plundered themselves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren; was unexampled, except among pirates, the outlaws and enemies of human society." To all these high charges the ministry replied, "that the measure was an act of grace and favour; for," said they, "the crews of American vessels, instead of being put to death, the legal punishment of their demerits, as traitors and rebels, are by this law to be rated on the king's books, and treated as if they were on the same footing with a great body of his most useful and faithful subjects."

In the progress of the debates on this bill, Lord Mansfield declared, "that the questions of original

right and wrong were no longer to be considered—
that they were engaged in a war, and must use
their utmost efforts to obtain the ends proposed by
it; that they must either fight or be pursued; and
that the justice of the cause must give way to their
present situation." Perhaps no speech in or out of
parliament operated more extensively on the irri-
tated minds of the colonists than this.

CHANGES IN THE CABINET.

THE recess for the holidays now took place, but
previous to it, some changes in the ministry had
happened which it is proper to notice; the privy
seal, vacant by the resignation of the duke of Grafton,
was given to the earl of Dartmouth, who resigned
the secretaryship of the American department; lord
George Sackville Germaine succeeded him, who
once had been attached to opposition and a
zealous friend of Mr. Grenville, after whose death
he gradually came over to the side of administration,
and had voted with them in favour of all the
late measures respecting America. Lord Wey-
mouth succeeded the earl of Rochford as secretary
for the southern department.

IRISH AFFAIRS.

1776. THE first business of any consequence, af-
ter the recess, related to Ireland. The lord lieut-
enant of that kingdom had sent a written message
to the house of commons, containing a requisition
in the king's name, of 4000 additional troops from
that kingdom for the American service, not to be
paid by that establishment during their absence,
and, if desired by them, to be replaced by an equal
number of foreign protestant troops, the charges of
which should be defrayed without any expense to
Ireland. The commons granted 4000 troops, but
rejected the offer of foreign troops, and the patriotic
members wished rather to embody a part of the
nation under the description of volunteers for their
internal defence.

DEBATE ON FOREIGN TROOPS.

THE treaties which had been concluded with the
landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the duke of Brunswick,
and the hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, for hiring
their troops to the king of Great Britain, to be em-
ployed in the American service, being on the 29th of
February laid before the house of commons, a mo-
tion was made thereon for referring them to the
committee of supply. This occasioned a very in-
teresting debate on the propriety of employing
foreign troops against the Americans. The mea-
sure was supported on the necessity of prosecuting
the war, and the impracticability of raising a suf-
ficient number of domestic levies. It was also
urged, "that foreign troops, inspired with the
military maxims and ideas of implicit submission,
would be less apt to be biased by that false lenity
which native soldiers might indulge, at the expense
of national interest." It was said, "Are we to sit
still and suffer an unprovoked rebellion to ter-
minate in the formation of an independent hostile
empire?" "Are we to suffer our colonies, the ob-
ject of great national expense, and of two bloody
wars, to be lost for ever to us, and given away to
strangers, from a scruple of employing foreign
troops to preserve our just rights over colonies for
which we have paid so dear a purchase? As the
Americans, by refusing the obedience and taxes of
subjects, deny themselves to be a part of the British
empire, and make themselves foreigners, they can-
not complain that foreigners are employed against
them." On the other side, the measure was severe-
ly condemned; the necessity of the war was de-
nied, and the nation was represented as disgraced
by applying to the petty princes of Germany for
assistance against her own rebellious subjects. The
tendency of the example to induce the Americans
to form alliances with foreign powers, was strongly
urged. It was said, "Hitherto the colonists have
ventured to commit themselves singly in this ardu-
ous contest, without having recourse to foreign aid,
but it is not to be doubted, that in future they will
think themselves fully justified, both by our ex-
ample and the laws of self-preservation, to engage
foreigners to assist them in opposing those mer-
cenaries, whom we are about to transport for their
destruction. Nor is it doubtful that, in case of
their application, European powers of a rank far
superior to that of those petty princes, to whom we
have so abjectly sued for aid, will consider them-

selves to be equally entitled to interfere in the
quarrel between us and our colonies."

The supposition of the Americans receiving aid
from France or Spain, was on this and several
other occasions ridiculed, on the idea that these
powers would not dare to set to their own colonies
the dangerous example of encouraging those of
Great Britain in opposing their sovereign. It was
also supposed, that they would be influenced by
considerations of future danger to their American
possessions, from the establishment of an independ-
ent empire in their vicinity.

A bill for the establishment of a militia in Scot-
land had been brought in by lord Monmouth, on
the 8th of December 1775; but from want of at-
tendance, and multiplicity of other business, had
been neglected during the greater part of the ses-
sion. It was now brought under consideration;
but, notwithstanding the apparent sanction of ad-
ministration, as well as the patronage of the Scots
gentlemen, it was at last thrown out by 112 to
85. On this occasion the minister divided with the
minority.

On the 22d of May his majesty put an end to the
session. In the speech, his majesty expressed the
usual satisfaction with their proceedings; that no
alteration had taken place in the state of foreign
affairs; the commons were thanked for their readi-
ness and despatch in granting the supplies, which
unavoidably were this year extraordinary; a proper
frugality was promised, and it was observed that
they were engaged in a great national cause, the
prosecution of which must be attended with great
difficulties, and much expense; but when they con-
sidered, that the essential rights and interests of the
whole empire were deeply concerned in the issue
of it, and could have no safety or security but in
that constitutional subordination for which they
were contending, it afforded a conviction that they
could not think any price too high for such objects.
His majesty hoped, that his rebellious subjects
would be awakened to a sense of their errors, and
by a voluntary return to their duty, justify the re-
stitution of harmony; but if a due submission
should not be obtained from such motives and dis-
positions on their part, it was trusted, that it would
be effected by a full exertion of the great force
with which they had entrusted him.

BOSTON EVACUATED BY THE BRITISH.

WHILE these affairs were transacting in England,
the troops at Boston were suffering the inconven-
ience of a blockade. From the 16th of April they
were cut off from those refreshments which their
situation required; their supplies from Britain did
not reach the coast for a long time after they were
expected. Several were taken by the American
cruisers, and others were lost at sea. This was in
particular the fate of many of their coal-ships. The
want of fuel was peculiarly felt in a climate where
the winter is both severe and tedious. They re-
lieved themselves in part from their sufferings on
this account, by the timber of houses which they
pulled down and burned. Vessels were despatched
to the West Indies to procure provisions; but the
Islands were so straitened that they could afford
but little assistance. Armed ships and transports
were ordered to Georgia, with an intent to procure
rice; but the people of that province, with the aid
of a party from South Carolina, so effectually op-
posed them, that of eleven vessels, only two got off
safe with their cargoes. It was not till the stock of
the garrison was nearly exhausted, that the trans-
ports from England entered the port of Boston,
and relieved the distresses of the garrison.

While the troops within the lines were appre-
hensive of suffering from want of provisions, the
troops without were equally uneasy for want of
employment. Used to labour and motion on their
farms, they relished ill the inactivity and confine-
ment of a camp-life. Fiery spirits declaimed in
favour of an assault. They preferred a bold spirit
of enterprise to that passive fortitude which bears
up under present evils, while it waits for favourable
conjunctures. To be in readiness for an attempt of
this kind, a council of war recommended to call in
7200 militia-men, from New Hampshire or Con-
necticut. This number, added to the regular army be-
fore Boston, would have made an operating force
of about 17,000 men.

The eyes of all were fixed on general Washing-
ton, and from him it was unreasonably expected

that he would, by a bold exertion, free the town of Boston from the British troops. The dangerous situation of public affairs led him to conceal the real scarcity of arms and ammunition, and with that magnanimity which is characteristic of great minds, to suffer his character to be assailed, rather than vindicate himself by exposing his many wants. There were not wanting persons who, judging from the superior numbers of men in the American army, boldly asserted, that if the commander in chief was not desirous of prolonging his importance at the head of an army, he might, by a vigorous exertion, gain possession of Boston. Such suggestions were reported and believed by several, while they were uncontradicted by the general, who chose to risk his fame rather than expose his army and his country.

Agreeably to the request of the council of war, about 7000 of the militia had rendezvoused in February. General Washington stated to his officers, that the troops in camp, together with the reinforcements which had been called for, and were daily coming in, would amount nearly to 17,000 men—that he had not powder sufficient for a bombardment, and asked their advice whether, as reinforcements might be prudently expected to the enemy, it would not be prudent, before that event took place, to make an assault on the British lines. The proposition was negatived; but it was recommended to take possession of Dorchester Heights. To conceal this design, and to divert the attention of the garrison, a bombardment of the town, from other directions commenced, and was carried on for three days with as much brilliancy as a deficient stock of powder would admit. In this first essay, three of the mortars were broken, either from a defect in their construction, or more probably from ignorance of the proper mode of using them.

The night of the 4th of March was fixed upon for taking possession of Dorchester Heights. A covering party of about 600 men led the way; these were followed by the carts with the entrenching tools, and 1200 of a working-party, commanded by general Thomas. In the rear there were more than 200 carts, loaded with fascines and hay in bundles. While the cannon were playing in other parts, the greatest silence was kept by this working-party. The active zeal of the provincials completed lines of defence by the morning, which astonished the garrison. The difference between Dorchester Heights on the evening of the 4th, and the morning of the 5th, seemed to realise the tales of romance. The admiral informed general Howe, that if the Americans kept possession of these heights, he would not be able to keep one of his majesty's ships in the harbour. It was therefore determined in a council of war, to attempt to dislodge them. An engagement was hourly expected. It was intended by general Washington, in that case, to force his way into Boston with 4000 men, who were to have embarked at the mouth of Cambridge river. The militia had come forward with great alertness, each bringing three days' provision, in expectation of an immediate assault. The men were in high spirits, and impatiently waiting for the appeal.

In a few days after, a flag came out of Boston with a paper signed by four select men, informing, "that they had applied to general Robertson, who, on application to general Howe, was authorised to assure them that he had no intention of burning the town; unless the troops under his command were molested during their embarkation, or at their departure, by the armed force without." When this paper was presented to general Washington, he replied, "that as it was an unauthenticated paper, and without an address, and not obligatory on general Howe, he could take no notice of it;" but at the same time intimated his good wishes for the security of the town.

A proclamation was issued by general Howe, ordering all woollen and linen goods to be delivered to Cream Brush, esq. Shops were opened and stripped of their goods. A licentious plundering took place; much was carried off, and more was wantonly destroyed. These irregularities were forbidden in orders, and the guilty threatened with death, but nevertheless, every mischief which disappointed malice could suggest was committed.

The British, amounting to more than 7000 men, evacuated Boston on the 17th of March, leaving their barracks standing, and also a number of pieces of cannon spiked, four large iron sea-mortars,

and stores to the value of 50,000*l*. They demolished the castle, and knocked off the trunnions of the cannon. Various incidents caused a delay of nine days after the evacuation, before they left Nantasket-road.

The evacuation of Boston had been previously determined upon by the British ministry, from principles of political expedience. Being resolved to carry on the war for purposes affecting all the colonies, they conceived a central position to be preferable to Boston. Reasoning of this kind had induced the adoption of the measure, but the American works on Roxbury expedited its execution. The abandonment of their friends, and the withdrawing their forces from Boston, was the first act of a tragedy in which evacuations and retreats were the scenes which most frequently occurred, and the epilogue of which was a total evacuation of the United States.

SIEGE OF QUEBEC RAISED.

THOUGH congress and the states made great exertions to support the war in Canada, yet from the fall of Montgomery their interest in that colony daily declined. The reduction of Quebec was an object to which their resources were inadequate. Their unsuccessful assault on Quebec made an impression both on the Canadians and Indians unfavourable to their views. By the first of May so many new troops had arrived, that the American army, in name, amounted to 3000, but from the prevalence of the small-pox there were only 900 fit for duty. The increasing number of invalids retarded their military operations, and discouraged their friends, while the opposite party was buoyed up with the expectation that the advancing season would soon bring them relief.

On the 6th of May, the van of the British force destined for the relief of Quebec made good its passage through the ice up the river St. Lawrence. The expectation of their coming had for some time damped the hopes of the besiegers, and had induced them to think of a retreat. The day before the first of the British reinforcements arrived, that measure was resolved upon by a council of war, and arrangements were made for carrying it into execution.

Governor Carleton was too great a proficient in the art of war, to delay seizing the advantages which the consternation of the besiegers, and the arrival of a reinforcement afforded. A small detachment of soldiers and marines from the ships which had just ascended the river St. Lawrence, being landed and joined to the garrison in Quebec, he marched out at their head to attack the Americans. On his approach, he found every thing in confusion; the late besiegers, abandoning their artillery and military stores, had in great precipitation retreated. In this manner, at the expiration of five months, the mixed siege and blockade of Quebec was raised.

The reputation acquired by general Carleton in his military character, for bravely and judiciously defending the province committed to his care, was exceeded by the superior applause, merited from the exercise of the virtues of humanity and generosity. Among the numerous sick in the American hospitals, several incapable of being moved were left behind. The victorious general proved himself worthy of success by his treatment of these unfortunate men; he not only fed and clothed them, but permitted them when recovered to return home. Apprehending that fear might make some conceal themselves in the woods, rather than by applying for relief, make themselves known, he removed their doubts by a proclamation, [May 16th] in which he engaged, "that as soon as their health was restored, they should have free liberty of returning to their respective provinces." This humane line of conduct was more injurious to the views of the leaders in the American councils, than the severity practised by other British commanders. The truly politic as well as humane, general Carleton, dismissed these prisoners, after liberally supplying their wants, with a recommendation, "to go home, mind their farms, and keep themselves and their neighbours from all participation in the unhappy war."

The small force which arrived at Quebec in May, was followed by several British regiments, together with the Brunswick troops, in such a rapid

succession, that in a few weeks the whole was estimated at thirteen thousand men.

The Americans retreated forty-five miles before they stopped. After a short halt, they proceeded to the Sorel, at which place they threw up some slight works for their safety. They were there joined by some battalions coming to reinforce them. About this time, general Thomas, the commander in chief in Canada, was seized with the small-pox, and died; having forbidden his men to inoculate, he conformed to his own rule, and refused to avail himself of that precaution. On his death, the command devolved at first on general Arnold, and afterwards on general Sullivan. It soon became evident that the Americans must abandon the whole province of Canada.

The possession of Canada so eminently favoured the plans of defence adopted by congress, that the province was evacuated with great reluctance. The Americans were not only mortified at the disappointment of their favourite scheme, of annexing it as a fourteenth link in the chain of their confederacy, but apprehended the most serious consequences from the ascendancy of the British power in that quarter. Anxious to preserve a footing there, they had persevered for a long time in stemming the tide of unfavourable events.

General Gates was about this time appointed to command in Canada, but on coming to the knowledge of the late events in that province, he determined to stop short within the limits of New-York. The scene was henceforth reversed. Instead of meditating the recommencement of offensive operations, that army which had lately excited so much terror in Canada, was called upon to be prepared for repelling an invasion threatened from that province.

The attention of the Americans being exclusively fixed on plans of defence, their general officers commanding in the northern department were convened to deliberate on the place and means most suitable for that purpose. To form a judgment on this subject, a recollection of the events of the late war between France and England was of advantage. The same ground was to be fought over, and the same posts to be again contended for. On the confines of Lake George and Lake Champlain, two inland seas, which stretch almost from the sources of Hudson's river to the St. Lawrence, are situated the famous posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. These are of primary necessity to any power which contends for the possession of the adjacent country, for they afford the most convenient stand either for its annoyance or defence. In the opinion of some American officers, Crown Point, to which the army on the evacuation of Canada had retreated, was the most proper place for erecting works of defence; but it was otherwise determined by the council convened on this occasion. It was also by their advice resolved to move lower down, and to make the principal work on the strong ground east of Ticonderoga, and especially by every means to endeavour to maintain a naval superiority on Lake Champlain. In conformity to these resolutions, general Gates, with about twelve thousand men, which collected in the course of the summer, was fixed in command of Ticonderoga, and a fleet was constructed at Skeneborough. This was carried on with so much rapidity, that in a short time there were afloat in Lake Champlain, one sloop, three schooners, and six gondolas, carrying in the whole fifty-eight guns, eighty-six swivels, and four hundred and forty men. Six other vessels were also nearly ready for launching at the same time. The fleet was put under the command of general Arnold, and he was instructed by general Gates to proceed beyond Crown Point, down Lake Champlain to the Split Rock; but most perceptibly restrained from advancing any farther, as security against an apprehended invasion was the ultimate end of the armament.

AMERICANS DEFEATED ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

THE expulsion of the American invaders from Canada was but a part of the British designs in that quarter. They urged the pursuit no farther than St. John's, but indulged the hope of being soon in a condition for passing the lakes, and penetrating through the country to Albany, so as to form a communication with New-York. The objects they had in view were great, and the obstacles in the way

of their accomplishment equally so. Before they could advance with any prospect of success, a fleet superior to that of the Americans on the lakes was to be constructed. The materials of some large vessels were, for this purpose, brought from England, but their transportation, and the labour necessary to put them together, required both time and patience. The spirit of the British commanders rose in proportion to the difficulties which were to be encountered. Nevertheless it was so late as the month of October before their fleet was prepared to face the American naval force on Lake Champlain. The former consisted of the ship *Infatigable*, mounting eighteen twelve pounders, which was so expeditiously constructed, that she sailed from St. John's twenty-eight days after laying her keel; one schooner mounting fourteen, and another twelve six-pounders, a flat-bottomed redoubt carrying six twenty-four, and six twelve pounders, besides howitzers, and a gondola with seven nine pounders. There were also twenty smaller vessels with brass field pieces, from nine to twenty-four pounders, or with howitzers. Some longboats were furnished in the same manner. An equal number of large boats acted as tenders. Besides these vessels of war, there was a vast number destined for the transportation of the army, its stores, artillery, baggage, and provisions. The whole was put under the command of captain Pringle. The naval force of the Americans, from the deficiency of means, was far short of what was brought against them.

No one step could be taken towards accomplishing the designs of the British, on the northern frontiers of New-York, till they had the command of Lake Champlain. With this view their fleet proceeded up the lake, and on the eleventh of October engaged the Americans. The wind was so unfavourable to the British, that their ship *Infatigable*, and some other vessels of force, could not be brought to action. This lessened the inequality between the contending fleets so much, that the principal damage sustained by the Americans was the loss of a schooner and gondola. At the approach of night the action was discontinued. The vanquished took the advantage which the darkness afforded to make their escape. This was effected by general Arnold with great judgment and ability. By the next morning the whole fleet under his command was out of sight. The British pursued with all the sail they could crowd. The wind having become more favourable, they overtook the Americans, and on the seventeenth of October brought them to action near Crown Point. A smart engagement ensued, and was well supported on both sides for about two hours. Some of the American vessels which were most a-head escaped to Ticonderoga. Two gallees and five gondolas remained, and resisted an unequal force with a spirit approaching to desperation. One of the gallees struck and was taken. General Arnold, though he knew that to escape was impossible, and to resist unavailing, yet, instead of surrendering, determined that his people should not become prisoners, nor his vessels a reinforcement to the British. This spirited resolution was executed with a judgment equal to the boldness with which it had been adopted. He ran the Congress galley, on board of which he was, together with the five gondolas, on shore, in such a position as enabled him to land his men and blow up the vessels. In the execution of this perilous enterprise he paid a romantic attention to a point of honour. He did not quit his own galley till she was in flames, lest the British should board her and strike his flag.

The American naval force being nearly destroyed, the British had undisputed possession of Lake Champlain. On this even a few continental troops, which had been at Crown Point, retired to their main body at Ticonderoga. General Carrton took possession of the ground from which they had retreated, and was there soon joined by his army. He sent out several reconnoitering parties, and at one time pushed forward a strong detachment on both sides of the lake, which approached near to Ticonderoga. Some British vessels appeared at the same time, within cannon shot of the American works at that place. It is probable he had it in contemplation, if circumstances favoured, to reduce the post, and that the apparent strength of the works restrained him from making the attempt, and induced his return to Canada.

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON CHARLESTOWN.

THE command of the force which was destined to make an impression on the southern colonies, was by the British ministry committed to general Clinton and Sir Peter Parker; the former with a small force having called at New-York, and also visited in Virginia lord Dunmore, the late royal governor of that colony, and finding that nothing could be done at either place, proceeded to Cape Fear river.

At Cape Fear a junction was formed between Sir Henry Clinton and Sir Peter Parker. They concluded to attempt the reduction of Charlestown, as being, of all places within the line of their instructions, the object at which they could strike with the greatest prospect of advantage. They had 3000 land forces, which they hoped, with the co-operation of their shipping, would be fully sufficient.

For some months every exertion had been made by the Americans to put the colony of South Carolina, and especially its capital, Charlestown, in a respectable posture of defence. In subserviency to this view, works had been erected on Sullivan's Island, which is situated so near the channel leading up to the town, as to be a convenient post for annoying vessels approaching it.

On the 18th of July Sir Peter Parker attacked the fort on that island, with two fifty-gun ships, the Bristol and Experiment, four frigates, the Active, Acton, Solebay, and Syren, each of 28 guns; the Sphynx of 20 guns, the Friendship armed vessel of 23 guns, the Ranger sloop, and Thunder bomb, each of 8 guns. On the fort were mounted 30 cannon, 26, 16, and 9 pounders. The attack commenced between ten and eleven in the forenoon, and was continued for upwards of ten hours. The garrison, consisting of 22 regulars and a few militia, under the command of colonel Moultrie, made a most gallant defence. They fired deliberately, for the most part took aim, and seldom missed their object. The ships were torn almost to pieces, and the killed and wounded on board exceeded 300 men. The loss of the garrison was only ten men killed, and 23 wounded. The fort being built of palmetto, was little damaged; the shot which struck it was ineffectually buried in its soft wood. General Clinton had, some time before the engagement, landed with a number of troops on Long Island, and it was expected that he would have co-operated with Sir Peter Parker, by crossing over the narrow passage which divides the two islands, and attacking the fort in its unfinished rear; but the extreme danger to which he must unavoidably have exposed his men, induced him to decline the perilous attempt. Colonel Thomson, with 7 or 800 men, was stationed at the east end of Sullivan's Island, to oppose their crossing. No serious attempt was made to land, either from the fleet, or the detachment commanded by Sir Henry Clinton. The firing ceased in the evening, and soon after the ships slipped their cables; before morning they had retired about two miles from the island. Within a few days more the troops re-embarked, and the whole sailed for New-York. The thanks of congress were given to general Lee, who had been sent on by congress to take the command in Carolina, and also to colonels Moultrie and Thomson, for their good conduct on this memorable day. In compliance to the commanding officer, the fort from that time was called Fort Moultrie.

By the repulse of this armament, the southern states obtained a respite from the calamities of war for two years and a half. The defeat the British experienced at Charlestown, seemed in some measure to counterbalance the unfavourable impression made by their subsequent successes to the northward.

The effects of this victory, in animating the Americans, were much greater than could be warranted by the circumstances of the action. As it was the first attack made by the British party, its unsuccessful issue inspired a confidence which a more exact knowledge of military calculations would have corrected. The circumstance of its happening in the early part of the war, and in one of the weaker provinces, were instrumental in dispelling the gloom which overshadowed the minds of many of the colonists on hearing of the powerful fleets and numerous armies which were coming against them.

PREPARATIONS AGAINST NEW-YORK.

THE command of the force which was designed to operate against New-York, in this campaign, was given to admiral lord Howe, and his brother Sir William, officers who, as well from their personal characters, as the known bravery of their family, stood high in the confidence of the British nation. To this service was allotted a very powerful army, consisting of about 30,000 men. This force was far superior to any thing that America had hitherto seen. The troops were amply provided with artillery, military stores, and warlike materials of every kind, and were supported by a numerous fleet. The admiral and general, in addition to their military powers, were appointed commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies.

General Howe having in vain waited two months at Halifax for his brother, and the expected reinforcements from England, impatient of further delays, on the 10th of June sailed from that harbour, with the force with which he had previously commanded in Boston, and directing his course towards New-York, arrived in the latter end of June, off Sandy Hook. Admiral lord Howe, with part of the reinforcement from England, arrived at Halifax soon after his brother's departure. Without dropping anchor he followed, and soon after joined him near Staten Island. The British general, on his approach, found every part of New-York island, and the most exposed parts of Long Island, fortified and well defended by artillery. About fifty British transports anchored near Staten Island, which had not been so much the object of attention. The inhabitants, either from fear, policy, or affection, expressed great joy on the arrival of the royal forces. General Howe was there met by Tryon, late governor of the province, and by several of the loyalists, who had taken refuge with him in an armed vessel. He was also joined by about sixty persons from New-Jersey, and 200 of the inhabitants of Staten Island were embodied as a royal militia. From these appearances, great hopes were indulged that as soon as the army was in a condition to penetrate into the country, and protect the loyalists, such numbers would flock to their standard as would facilitate the attainment of the objects of the campaign.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

WHILE such were the arrangements of the British generals, a bold and decisive measure was taken by their opponents, which gave a new complexion to the contest, and was soon productive of the most important consequences. We speak of the declaration of independence.

The public mind had been long prepared by pamphlets and harangues for this important step. But in the people the eagerness for independence resulted more from feeling than reasoning. The advantages of an unfettered trade, the prospect of honours and emoluments in administering a new government, were of themselves insufficient motives for adopting this bold measure. But what was wanting from considerations of this kind, was made up by the perseverance of Great Britain in her schemes of coercion and conquest. The determined resolution of the mother-country to subvert the colonies, together with the plans she adopted for accomplishing that purpose, and their equally determined resolution to appeal to Heaven rather than submit, made a declaration of independence as necessary in 1776, as was the non-importation agreement of 1774, or the assumption of arms in 1775. The last naturally resulted from the first. The revolution was not forced on the people by ambitious leaders grasping at supreme power, but every measure of it was forced on congress, by the necessity of the case and the voice of the people.

The motion for declaring the colonies free and independent was first made in congress by Richard Henry Lee of Virginia; he was warranted in making this motion by the particular instructions of his immediate constituents, and also by the general voice of the people of all the states. The debates were continued for some time, and with great animation. In these John Adams, and John Dickinson, took leading and opposite parts. The former strongly urged the immediate dissolution of all political connection of the colonies with Great Britain, from the voice of the people, from the necessity of the measure in order to obtain foreign as-

distance, from a regard to constancy, and from the prospects of glory and happiness, which opened beyond the war, to a free and independent people. Dickinson urged that the present time was improper for the declaration of independence, that the war might be conducted with equal vigour without it, and that it would divide the Americans, and unite the people of Great Britain against them. He then proposed that some assurance should be obtained of assistance from a foreign power, before they renounced their connection with Great Britain, and that the declaration of independence should be the condition to be offered for this assistance. He likewise stated the disputes that existed between several of the colonies, and proposed that some measures for the settlement of them should be determined upon, before they lost sight of that tribunal which had hitherto been the umpire of all their differences.

After a full discussion, the measure of declaring the colonies free and independent was approved, by nearly an unanimous vote. The anniversary of the day on which this great event took place, has ever since been consecrated by the Americans to religious gratitude and social pleasures; it is considered by them as the birth-day of their freedom.

The act of the united colonies for separating themselves from the government of Great Britain, and declaring their independence, was expressed in the following words :

"When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its power in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

"He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

"He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

"He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

"He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the mean time exposed to all the danger of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

"He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states, for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

"He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

"He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

"He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

"He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

"He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

"He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation :

"For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

"For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states :

"For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world :

"For imposing taxes on us without our consent :

"For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury :

"For transporting us beyond the seas to be tried for pretended offences :

"For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies :

"For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the form of our governments :

"For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

"He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

"He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

"He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

"He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

"He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

"In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms : Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

"Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts made by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and

we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

"We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

"JOHN HANCOCK, President.

NEW GOVERNMENT ARRANGEMENTS.

FROM the promulgation of this declaration, every thing assumed a new form. The Americans no longer appeared in the character of subjects in arms against their sovereign, but as an independent people, repelling the attacks of an invading foe. The propositions and supplications for reconciliation were done away. The dispute was brought to a single point, whether the late British colonies should be conquered provinces, or free and independent states.

All political connection between Great Britain and her colonies being dissolved, the institution of new forms of government became unavoidable. The necessity of this was so urgent, that congress, before the declaration of independence, had recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United States, to adopt such governments as should, in their opinion, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents. During more than twelve months the colonists had been held together by the force of ancient habits, and by laws under the simple style of recommendations. The impropriety of proceeding in courts of justice by the authority of a sovereign, against whom the colonies were in arms, was self-evident. The impossibility of governing, for any length of time, three millions of people, by the ties of honour, without the authority of law, was equally apparent. The rejection of British sovereignty therefore drew after it the necessity of fixing on some other principle of government. The genius of the Americans, their republican habits and sentiments, naturally led them to substitute the majesty of the people, in lieu of discarded royalty. The kingly office was dropped, but in most of the subordinate departments of government, ancient forms and names were retained. Such a portion of power had at all times been exercised by the people and their representatives, that the change of sovereignty was hardly perceptible, and the revolution took place without violence or convulsion. Popular elections elevated private citizens to the same offices which formerly had been conferred by royal appointment. The people felt an uninterrupted continuation of the blessings of law and government under old names, though derived from a new sovereignty, and were scarcely sensible of any change in their political constitution. The checks and balances which restrained the popular assemblies under the royal government, were partly dropped and partly retained, by substituting something of the same kind. The temper of the people would not permit that any one man, however exalted by office, or distinguished by abilities, should have a negative on the declared sense of a majority of their representatives; but the experience of all ages had taught them the danger of lodging all power in one body of men. A second branch of legislature, consisting of a few select persons, under the name of senate, or council, was therefore constituted in eleven of the thirteen states, and their concurrence made necessary to give the validity of Law to the acts of a

more numerous branch of popular representatives. New-York and Massachusetts went one step further. The former constituted a council of revision, consisting of the governor and the heads of judicial departments, on whose objecting to any proposed law, a reconsideration became necessary, and unless it was confirmed by two-thirds of both houses, it could have no operation. A similar power was given to the governor of Massachusetts: Georgia and Pennsylvania were the only states whose legislature consisted of only one branch. Though many in these states, and a majority in all the others, saw and acknowledged the propriety of a compounded legislature, yet the mode of creating two branches out of a homogeneous mass of people, was a matter of difficulty. No distinction of ranks existed in the colonies, and none were entitled to any rights, but such as were common to all. Some possessed more wealth than others, but riches and ability were not always associated. Ten of the eleven states, whose legislatures consisted of two branches, ordained that the members of both should be elected by the people. This rather made two co-ordinate houses of representatives, than a check on a single one, by the moderation of a select few. Maryland adopted a singular plan for constituting an independent senate. By her constitution, the members of that body were elected for five years, while the members of the house of delegates held their seats only for one. The number of senators was only fifteen, and they were all elected indiscriminately from the inhabitants of any part of the state, excepting that nine of them were to be residents on the west, and six on the east side of the Chesapeake Bay. They were elected not immediately by the people, but by electors, two from each county, appointed by the inhabitants for that sole purpose. By these regulations, the senate of Maryland consisted of men of influence, integrity, and abilities; and such as were a real and beneficial check on the hasty proceedings of a more numerous branch of popular representatives. The laws of that state were well digested, and its interests steadily pursued, with a peculiar unity of system; while elsewhere it too often happened, in the fluctuation of public assemblies, and where the legislative department was not sufficiently checked, that passion and party predominated over principle and public good.

Pennsylvania, instead of a legislative council or senate, adopted the expedient of publishing bills after the second reading, for the information of the inhabitants. This had its advantages and disadvantages. It prevented the precipitate adoption of new regulations, and gave an opportunity of ascertaining the sense of the people on those laws by which they were to be bound: But it carried the spirit of discussion into every corner, and disturbed the peace and harmony of neighbourhoods. By making the business of government the duty of every man, it drew off the attention of many from the steady pursuit of their respective businesses.

The state of Pennsylvania also adopted another constitution peculiar to itself, under the denomination of a council of censors. These were to be chosen once every seven years, and were authorized to inquire whether the constitution had been preserved—whether the legislative and executive branch of government had performed their duty, or assumed to themselves, or exercised other or greater powers than those to which they were constitutionally entitled: To inquire whether the public taxes had been justly laid and collected, and in what manner the public monies had been disposed of, and whether the laws had been duly executed. However excellent this institution may appear in theory, it is doubtful whether in practice it will answer any valuable end. It most certainly opens a door for discord, and furnishes abundant matter for periodical altercation. Either from the disposition of its inhabitants, its form of government, or some other cause, the people of Pennsylvania have constantly been in a state of fermentation. The end of one public controversy has been the beginning of another. From the collision of parties, the minds of the citizens were sharpened, and their active powers improved; but internal harmony has been unknown. Those who were out of place so narrowly watched those who were in, that nothing injurious to the public could be easily effected; but from the fluctuation of power, and the total want of permanent system, nothing great or lasting could with safety be undertaken, or prosecuted to effect.

Under all these disadvantages the state flourished, and, from the industry and ingenuity of its inhabitants, acquired an unrivalled ascendancy in arts and manufactures. This must, in a great measure, be ascribed to the influence of habits, of order, and industry, that had long prevailed.

The Americans agreed in appointing a supreme executive head to each state, with the title either of governor or president. They also agreed in deriving the whole powers of government, either immediately or immediately, from the people. In the eastern states, and in New-York, their governors were elected by the inhabitants, in their respective towns or counties, and in the other states by the legislatures; but in no case was the smallest title of power exercised from hereditary right. New-York was the only state which invested its governor with executive authority without a council. Such was the extreme jealousy of power which pervaded the American states, that they did not think proper to trust the man of their choice with the power of executing their own determinations, without obliging him in many cases to take the advice of such councillors as they thought proper to nominate. The disadvantages of the institution far outweighed its advantages. Had the governors succeeded by hereditary right, a council would have been often necessary to supply the real want of abilities; but when an individual had been selected by the people as the fittest person for discharging the duties of this high department, to fetter him with a council was either to lessen his capacity of doing good, or to furnish him with a screen for doing evil. It destroyed the secrecy, vigour, and despatch, which the executive power ought to possess; and by making government acts the acts of a body, diminished individual responsibility. In some states it greatly enhanced the expenses of government, and in all, retarded its operations without any equivalent advantages.

New-York, in another particular, displayed political sagacity superior to her neighbours. This was in her council of appointment, consisting of one senator from each of her four great election districts, authorised to designate proper persons for filling vacancies in the executive departments of government. Large bodies are far from being the most proper depositories of the power of appointing to offices. The assiduous attention of candidates is too apt to bias the voice of individuals in popular assemblies. Besides, in such appointments, the responsibility for the conduct of the officer is in a great measure annihilated. The concurrence of a select few on the nomination of one, seems a more eligible mode for securing a proper choice, than appointments made either by one, or by a numerous body. In the former case there would be danger of favoritism; in the latter, a modest unassuming merit would be overlooked, in favour of the forward and obsequious.

A rotation of public officers made a part of most of the American constitutions. Frequent elections were required by all, but several proceeded still farther, and deprived the electors of the power of continuing the same office in the same hands, after a specified length of time. Young politicians suddenly called from the ordinary walks of life, to make laws and institute forms of government, turned their attention to the histories of ancient republics, and the writings of speculative men on the subject of government. This led them into many errors, and occasioned them to adopt opinions, unsuitable to the state of society in America, and contrary to the genius of real republicanism.

The principle of rotation was carried so far, that in some of the states, public officers in several departments scarcely knew their official duty, till they were obliged to retire and give place to others, as ignorant as they had been on their first appointment. If offices had been instituted for the benefit of the holders, the policy of diffusing these benefits would have been proper; but instituted as they were for the convenience of the public, the end was marred by such frequent changes. By confining the objects of choice, it diminished the privileges of electors, and frequently deprived them of the liberty of choosing the man who, from previous experience, was of all men the most suitable. The favourers of this system of rotation contended for it, as likely to prevent a perpetuity of office and power in the same individual or family, and as a security against hereditary honours. To this it

was replied, that free, fair, and frequent elections were the most natural and proper securities for the liberties of the people. It produced a more general diffusion of political knowledge, but made more snarlers than adepts in the science of government.

As a farther security for the continuance of republican principles in the American constitution, they agreed in prohibiting all hereditary honours and distinction of ranks.

It is not easy to define the power of the state legislatures, so as to prevent a clashing between their jurisdiction and that of the general government. On mature deliberation it was thought proper, that the former should be abridged of the power of forming any other confederation or alliance—of laying on any imposts or duties that might interfere with treaties made by congress—or keeping up any vessels of war, or granting letters of marque or reprisals. The powers of congress were also defined. Of these the principal were as follows: To have the sole and exclusive right of determining on peace and war—of sending and receiving ambassadors—of entering into treaties and alliances—of granting letters of marque and reprisals in time of war—to be the last resort on appeal in all disputes between two or more states—to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the alloy and value of coin—of fixing the standard of weights and measures—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians—establishing and regulating post-offices—to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota of men, in proportion to the number of its white inhabitants.

On the fourth day after the arrival of the British off Sandy Hook congress ratified the declaration of independence; it was published at the head of the American army, and though they were eye-witnesses of the immense force which was preparing to act against them, both officers and privates gave every evidence of their hearty approbation of the decree which severed the colonies from Great Britain, and submitted to the decision of the sword, whether they should be free states or conquered provinces.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEFENCE OF NEW-YORK.

It had early occurred to general Washington, that the possession of New-York would be with the British a favourite object. Its central situation and contiguity to the ocean enabled them to carry with facility the war to any part of the sea-coast. The possession of it was rendered still more valuable by the ease with which it could be maintained. Surrounded on all sides by water, it was defensible by a small number of British ships, against adversaries whose whole navy consisted only of a few frigates. Hudson's river being navigable for ships of the largest size to a great distance, afforded an opportunity of severing the eastern from the more southern states, and of preventing almost any communication between them.

From these well-known advantages, it was presumed by the Americans, that the British would make great exertions to effect the reduction of New-York. General Lee, while the British were yet in possession of the capital of Massachusetts, had been detached from Cambridge, to put Long Island and New-York into a posture of defence. As the departure of the British from Boston became more certain, the probability of their instantly going to New-York increased the necessity of collecting a force for its safety. It had been therefore agreed in a council of war, that five regiments, together with a rifle battalion, should march without delay to New-York, and that the states of New-York and New-Jersey should be requested to furnish, the former two thousand, and the latter one thousand men for its immediate defence. General Washington soon followed, and early in April fixed his head quarters in that city. A new distribution of the American army took place: Part was left in Massachusetts, between two and three thousand were ordered to Canada, but the greater part rendezvoused at New-York.

Experience had taught the Americans the difficulty of attacking an army after it had effected a

lodgment. They therefore made strenuous exertions to prevent the British from enjoying the advantages in New-York, which had resulted from their having been permitted to land and fortify themselves in Boston. The sudden commencement of hostilities in Massachusetts, together with the previous undisturbed landing of the royal army, allowed no time for deliberating on a system of war. A change of circumstances indicated the propriety of fixing on a plan for conducting the defence of the new-formed states. On this occasion general Washington, after much thought, determined on a war of posts. This mode of conducting military operations gave confidence to the Americans, and besides, it both retarded and alarmed their adversaries. The soldiers in the American army were new levies, and had not yet learned to stand uncovered before the instruments of death; habituating them to the sound of fire-arms, while they were sheltered from danger, was one step towards inspiring them with a portion of mechanical courage. The British remembered Bunker's Hill, and had no small reverence for even slight fortifications, when defended by freemen. From views of this kind, works were erected in and about New-York, on Long Island, and the heights of Harlem. These, besides batteries, were field redoubts, formed of earth, with a parapet and ditch. The former were sometimes fringed, and the latter palisaded, but they were in no instance formed to sustain a siege. Slight as they were, the campaign was nearly wasted away before they were so far reduced, as to permit the royal army to penetrate into the country.

The war having taken a more important turn than in the preceding year had been foreseen, congress, at the opening of the campaign, found themselves destitute of a force sufficient for their defence. They therefore in June determined on a plan to reinforce their continental army by bringing into the field a new species of troops, that would be more permanent than the common militia, and yet more easily raised than regulars. With this view they instituted a flying camp, to consist of an intermediate corps, between regular soldiers and militia. Ten thousand men were called for from the states of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, to be in constant service to the first day of the ensuing December. Congress at the same time called for 12,000 of the common militia from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey. The men for forming the flying camp were generally procured, but there were great deficiencies of the militia, and many of those who obeyed their country's call, manifested a reluctance to submit to the necessary discipline of camps.

The uncertainty of the place where the British would commence their operations added much to the embarrassment of general Washington.

ATTEMPTS AT NEGOTIATION.

THE two royal commissioners, admiral and general Howe, thought proper, before they commenced their military operations, to try what might be done in their civil capacity, towards effecting a reunion between Great Britain and the colonies. It was one of the first acts of lord Howe, to send on shore a circular letter to several of the royal governors in America, informing them of the late act of parliament, "for restoring peace to the colonies, and granting pardon to such as should deserve mercy," and desiring them to publish a declaration which accompanied the same. In this he informed the colonists of the powers with which his brother and he were intrusted, "of granting general or particular pardons to all those who, though they had deviated from their allegiance, were willing to return to their duty," and of declaring "any colony, province, county, or town, post, district, or place, to be at the peace of his majesty." Congress, impressed with a belief, that the proposals of the commissioners, instead of disuniting the people, would have a contrary effect, ordered them to be speedily published in the several American newspapers. Had a redress of grievances been at this late hour offered, though the honour of the states was involved in supporting their late declaration of independence, yet the love of peace, and the bias of great numbers to their parent state, would in all probability have made a powerful party for rescinding the act of separation, and for reuniting with Great Britain. But when it appeared that the power of the royal commissioners was little

more than to grant pardons, congress appealed to the good sense of the people for the necessity of adhering to the act of independence. The resolution for publishing the circular letter, and the declaration of the royal commissioners, assigned a reason thereof to be, "that the good people of the United States may be informed of what nature are the commissioners, and what the terms, with expectation of which the insidious court of Great Britain had endeavoured to amuse and disarm them, and that the few who still remain suspended by a hope, founded either in the justice or moderation of their late king, may now at length be convinced that the valour alone of their country is to save its liberties."

About the same time flags were sent ashore by lord Howe with a letter directed to George Washington, Esq. which he refused to receive, as not being addressed to him with the title due to his rank. In his letter to congress on this subject he wrote as follows: "I would not on any occasion sacrifice essentials to passivité; but in this instance I deemed it a duty to my country and appointment, to insist on that respect, which in any other than a public view I would willingly have waived." Congress applauded his conduct in a public resolution, and at the same time directed, that no letter or message should be received on any occasion whatever, from the enemy, by the commander in chief, or others the commanders of the American army, but such as were directed to them in the characters they severally sustained.

Some time after adjutant-general Patterson was sent to New-York by general Howe, with a letter addressed to general Washington, &c. &c. &c. On an interview the adjutant-general, after expressing his high esteem for the person and character of the American general, and declaring that it was not intended to derogate from the respect due to his rank, expressed his hopes that the *et ceteras* would remove the impediments to their correspondence. General Washington replied, "That a letter directed to any person in a public character should have some description of it, otherwise it would appear a mere private letter; that it was true the *et ceteras* implied every thing; but they also implied any thing; and that he should therefore decline the receiving of any letter directed to him as a private person, when it related to his public station." A long conference ensued, in which the adjutant-general observed, "that the commissioners were armed with great powers, and would be very happy in effecting an accommodation." He received for answer, "that from what appeared, their powers were only to grant pardon; that they who had committed no fault wanted no pardon." Soon after this interview, a letter from Howe, respecting prisoners, which was properly addressed to Washington, was received.

While the British, by their manifestoes and declarations, were endeavouring to separate those who preferred a reconciliation with Great Britain from those who were the friends of independence, congress, by a similar policy, was attempting to detach the foreigners, who had come with the royal troops, from the service of his Britannic majesty. Before hostilities had commenced, the following resolution was adopted and circulated among those on whom it was intended to operate: "Resolved, that these states will receive all such foreigners who shall leave the armies of his Britannic majesty in America, and shall choose to become members of any of these states, and they shall be protected in the free exercise of their respective religions, and be invested with the rights, privileges, and immunities of natives, as established by the laws of these states; and moreover, that this congress will provide for every such person fifty acres of unappropriated lands in some of these states, to be held by him and his heirs as absolute property."

The numbers which were prepared to oppose the British, when they should disembark, made them for some time cautious of proceeding to their projected land operations; but the superiority of their navy enabled them to go by water whithersoever they pleased.

On the 15th of July, a British forty-gun ship, with some smaller vessels, sailed up North River, without receiving any damage of consequence, though fired upon from the batteries of New-York, Paul's Hook, Red Bank, and Governor's Island. An attempt was made, not long after, with two fire ships,

to destroy the British vessels in the North River, but without effecting any thing more than the burning of a tender. They were also attacked with row-galleys, but to little purpose. After some time the Phoenix and Rose men of war came down the river and joined the fleet. Every effort of the Americans from their batteries on land, as well as their exertions on the water, proved ineffectual. The British ships passed with less loss than was generally expected; but nevertheless the damage they received was such as deterred them from frequently repeating the experiment. In two or three instances they ascended the North River, and in one or two the East River; but those which sailed up the former speedily returned, and by their return a free communication was opened through the upper part of the state.

The American army in and near New-York amounted to seventeen thousand two hundred and twenty-five men. These were mostly new troops, and were divided in many small and unconnected posts, some of which were fifteen miles removed from others. The British force about New-York was increasing by frequent successive arrivals from Halifax, South-Carolina, Florida, the West Indies, and Europe. But so many unforeseen delays had taken place, that the month of August was far advanced before they were in a condition to open the campaign.

AMERICANS DEFEATED AT LONG ISLAND.

When all things were ready, the British commanders resolved to make their first attempt upon Long Island. This was preferred to New-York, as it abounded with those supplies which their forces required.

The British landed, without opposition, between two small towns, Utrecht and Gravesend. The American works protected a small peninsula, having Wallabout Bay to the left, and stretching over to Red Hook on the right, the East River being in their rear. General Sullivan, with a strong force, was encamped within these works at Brooklyn. From the east side of the narrows runs a ridge of hills covered with thick wood, about five or six miles in length, which terminates near Jamaica. There were three passes through these hills, one near the narrows, a second on the Flatbush road, and a third on the Bedford road, and they are all defensible. These were the only roads which could be passed from the south side of the hills to the American lines, except a road which led round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica. The Americans had eight hundred men on each of these roads, and Colonel Miles was placed with his battalion of riflemen, to guard the road from the south of the hills to Jamaica, and to watch the motions of the British.

General de Heister, with his Hessians, took post at Flatbush in the evening of the twenty-sixth of August. In the following night the greater part of the British army, commanded by general Clinton, marched to gain the road leading round the easterly end of the hills to Jamaica, and to turn the left of the Americans. He arrived about two hours before day within half a mile of this road. One of his parties fell in with a patrol of American officers, and took them all prisoners, which prevented the early transmission of intelligence. Upon the first appearance of day, general Clinton advanced, and took possession of the heights over which the road passed. General Grant, with the left wing, advanced along the coast by the west road, near the narrows; but this was intended chiefly as a feint.

The guard which was stationed at this road fled without making any resistance. A few of them were afterwards rallied by Lord Stirling, who advanced with fifteen hundred men, and took possession of a hill about two miles from the American camp, and in front of general Grant.

An attack was made very early in the morning of the twenty-seventh of August, by the Hessians from Flatbush, under general de Heister, and by general Grant on the coast, and was well supported for a considerable time by both sides. The Americans who opposed general de Heister were first informed of the approach of general Clinton, who had come round on their left. They immediately began to retreat to their camp, but were intercepted by the right wing under general Clinton, who got into the rear of their left, and attacked them with his light-infantry and dragoons while returning to

their lines. They were driven back till they were met by the Hessians. They were thus alternately chased and intercepted, between general de Heister and general Clinton. Some of their regiments nevertheless found their way to the camp. The Americans under Lord Stirling, consisting of Colonel Miles's two battalions, Colonel Adair's, Colonel Smallwood's, and Colonel Hatcher's regiments, who were engaged with general Grant, fought with great resolution for about six hours. They were uninformed of the movements made by general Clinton, till some of the troops under his command had traversed the whole extent of country in their rear. Their retreat was thus intercepted; but several, notwithstanding, broke through, and got into the woods; many threw themselves into the marsh, some were drowned, and others perished in the mud, but a considerable number escaped by this way to their lines.

The king's troops displayed great valour throughout the whole day. The variety of the ground occasioned a succession of small engagements, pursuits, and slaughter, which lasted for many hours. British discipline in every instance triumphed over the native valour of raw troops, who had never been in action, and whose officers were unacquainted with the stratagems of war.

In the time of the engagement, and subsequent to it, general Washington drew over to Long Island the greatest part of his army. After he had collected his principal force there, it was his wish and hope that Sir William Howe would attempt to storm the works on the island. These, though insufficient to stand a regular siege, were strong enough to resist a coup-de-main. The remembrance of Braker's Hill, and a desire to spare his men, restrained the British general from making an assault. On the contrary, he made demonstrations of proceeding by siege, and broke ground within three hundred yards to the left at Putnam's redoubt. Though general Washington wished for an assault, yet being certain that his works would be untenable when the British batteries should be fully opened, on the thirtieth of August he called a council of war, to consult on the measures proper to be taken. It was then determined that the objects in view were in no degree proportioned to the dangers to which, by a continuance on the island, they would be exposed. Conformably to this opinion, dispositions were made for an immediate retreat. This commenced soon after it was dark from two points, the upper and lower ferries on East River. General McDougal regulated the embarkation of the island, and Colonel Knorr at the other. The intention of evacuating the island had been so prudently concealed from the Americans, that they knew not whither they were going, but supposed to attack the enemy. The field artillery, tents, baggage, and about nine thousand men, were conveyed to the city of New-York over East River, more than a mile wide, in less than thirteen hours, and without the knowledge of the British, though not six hundred yards distant. Providence in a remarkable manner favoured the retreating army. For some time after the Americans began to cross, the state of the tide and a strong north-east wind made it impossible for them to make use of their sail-boats, and their whole number of row-boats was insufficient for completing the business in the course of the night. But about eleven o'clock the wind died away, and soon after sprang up at south-east, and blew fresh, which rendered the sail-boats of use, and at the same time made the passage from the island to the city, direct, easy, and expeditious. Towards morning an extreme thick fog came on, which hovered over Long Island, and by concealing the Americans, enabled them to complete their retreat without interruption, though the day had begun to dawn some time before it was finished. By a mistake in the transmission of orders, the American lines were evacuated for about three quarters of an hour before the last embarkation took place; but the British, though so near, that their working parties could be distinctly heard, being enveloped in the fog, knew nothing of the matter. The lines were repossessed and held till six o'clock in the morning, when every thing except some heavy cannon was removed. General Mifflin, who commanded the rear-guard, left the lines, and under the cover of the fog got off safe. In about half an hour the fog cleared away, and the British entered the works which had been just relinquished.

Had the wind not shifted, the half of the American army could not have crossed, and even as it was, if the fog had not concealed their rear, it must have been discovered, and could hardly have escaped. General Sullivan, who was taken prisoner on Long Island, was immediately sent on parole, with the following verbal message from lord Howe to congress, "That though he could not at present treat with them in that character, yet he was very desirous of having a conference with some of the members, whom he would consider as private gentlemen; that he, with his brother the general, had full power to compromise the dispute between Great Britain and America, upon terms advantageous to both—that he wished a compact might be settled at a time when no decisive blow was struck, and neither party could say it was compelled to enter into such agreement—that were they disposed to treat, many things which they had not yet asked, might and ought to be granted; and that if upon conference they found any probable ground of accommodation, the authority of congress would be afterwards acknowledged, to render the treaty complete." Three days after this message was received, general Sullivan was requested to inform lord Howe, "That congress being the representatives of the free and independent States of America, they cannot with propriety send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private characters; but that, ever desirous of establishing peace on reasonable terms, they will send a committee of their body, to know whether he has any authority to treat with persons authorised by congress for that purpose, on behalf of America, and what that authority is; and to hear such propositions as he shall think fit to make respecting the same." They elected Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, their committee for this purpose. In a few days they met lord Howe on Staten Island, and were received with great politeness. On their return they made a report of their conference, which they summed up by saying, "It did not appear to your committee that his lordship's commission contained any other authority than that expressed in the act of parliament; namely, that of granting pardons, with such exceptions as the commissioners shall think proper to make, and of declaring America, or any part of it, to be in the king's peace on submission: for as to the power of inquiring into the state of America, which his lordship mentioned to us, and of conferring and consulting with any persons the commissioners might think proper, and representing the result of such conversation to the ministry, who, provided the colonies would subject themselves, might after all, or might not, at their pleasure, make any alterations in the former instructions to governors, or propose in parliament any amendment of the acts complained of; we apprehend any expectation from the effect of such a power would have been too uncertain and precarious to be relied on by America, had she still continued in her state of dependence." Lord Howe had ended the conference on his part, by expressing his regard for America, and the extreme pain he would suffer in being obliged to distress those whom he so much regarded. Dr. Franklin thanked him for his regards, and assured him, "that the Americans would show their gratitude, by endeavouring to lessen as much as possible all pain he might feel on their account, by exerting their utmost abilities in taking good care of themselves."

The committee in every respect maintained the dignity of congress. Their conduct and sentiments were such as became their character. The friends to independence rejoiced that nothing resulted from this interview that might disunite the people. Congress, trusting to the good sense of their countrymen, ordered the whole to be printed for their information. All the states would have then rejoiced at less beneficial terms than they obtained about seven years after. But Great Britain counted on the certainty of their absolute conquest, or unconditional submission. Her offers therefore comported so little with the feelings of America, that they neither caused demur nor disunion among the new-formed states.

The unsuccessful termination of the action on the 27th led to consequences more seriously alarming to the Americans than the loss of their men. The army was universally dispirited. The militia ran off by companies. Their example infected the regular regiments. The loose footing on

which the militia came to camp, made it hazardous to exercise over them that discipline, without which an army is a mob. To restrain one part of an army while another claimed and exercised the right of doing as they pleased, was no less impracticable than absurd.

NEW-YORK TAKEN.

A COUNCIL of war recommended to act on the defensive, and not to risk the army for the sake of New-York. To retreat, subjected the commander in chief to reflections painful to bear, and yet impolitic to refute: to stand his ground, and, by suffering himself to be surrounded, to hazard the fate of America on one decisive engagement, was contrary to every rational plan of defending the wide-extended states committed to his care. A middle line between abandoning and defending was therefore for a short time adopted. The public stores were moved to Dobb's Ferry, about 26 miles from New-York; 13,000 men were ordered to the northern extremity of New-York Island, and 4500 to remain for the defence of the city, while the remainder occupied the intermediate space, with orders either to support the city or Kingsbridge, as circumstances might require. Before the British landed, it was impossible to tell what place would be first attacked: this made it necessary to erect works for the defence of a variety of places as well as of New-York. Though every thing was abandoned when the crisis came that either the city must be relinquished, or the army risked for its defence, yet from the delays occasioned by the redoubts and other works which had been erected on the idea of making the defence of the states a war of posts, a whole campaign was lost to the British, and saved to the Americans. The year began with hopes that Great Britain would recede from her demands, and therefore every plan of defence was on a temporary system. The declaration of independence, which the violence of Great Britain forced the colonies to adopt in July, though neither foreseen nor intended at the commencement of the year, pointed out the necessity of organising an army on new terms, corresponding to the enlarged objects for which they had resolved to contend. Congress accordingly, on the 16th of September, determined to raise 60 battalions, to serve during the war. Under these circumstances, to wear away the campaign with as little misfortune as possible, and thereby to gain time for raising a permanent army against the next year, was to the Americans a matter of the last importance. Though the commander in chief abandoned those works, which had engrossed much time and attention, yet the advantage resulting from the delays they occasioned, far overbalanced the expense incurred by their erection.

General Howe having prepared every thing for a descent on New-York Island, began, on September 15, to land his men under cover of ships of war, between Kepp's Bay and Turtle Bay. A breastwork had been erected in the vicinity, and a party stationed in it to oppose the British, in case of their attempting to land; but on the first appearance of danger, they ran off in confusion. The commander in chief came up, and in vain attempted to rally them. Though the British in sight did not exceed sixty, he could not, either by example, entreaty, or authority, prevail on a superior force to stand their ground, and face that inconsiderable number. Such cowardly conduct raised a tempest in the usually tranquil mind of general Washington. Having embarked in the American cause from the purest principles, he viewed with infinite concern this shameful behaviour, as threatening ruin to his country. He recollected the many declarations of congress of the army, and of the inhabitants, preferring liberty to life, and death to dishonour, and contrasted them with their present scandalous flight. Extensive confiscations and numerous attainders presented themselves in full view to his agitated mind. He saw, in imagination, new formed states, with the means of defence in their hands, and the glorious prospects of liberty before them, levelled to the dust, and such constitutions imposed on them as were likely to crush the vigour of the human mind, while the unsuccessful issue of the present struggle would, for ages to come, deter posterity from the bold design of asserting their rights. Impressed with these ideas, he hurried his person for some considerable time in the rear of his own men and in front of the enemy, with his horse's head towards the

letter, as if in expectation that by an honourable death he might escape the infamy he dreaded from the dastardly conduct of troops on whom he could place no dependence. His aide and the confidential friends around his person, by indirect violence compelled him to retire.

The royal army, after a halt of six days at Frog's Neck, advanced on the 13th of October near to New-Rochelle. After three days, general Howe moved the right and centre of his army two miles to the northward of New Rochelle, on the road to the White Plains, and there he received a large reinforcement.

General Washington, while retreating from New-York island, was careful to make a front towards the British, from East-Chester almost to White Plains, in order to secure the march of those who were behind, and to defend the removal of the sick, the cannon, and stores of his army. In this manner his troops made a line of small detached and entrenched camps on the several heights and strong grounds, from Valentine's Hill on the right, to the vicinity of the White Plains on the left.

On the 25th of October the royal army moved in two columns, and took a position with the Bronx in front, upon which the Americans assembled their main force at White Plains, behind entrenchments. A general action was hourly expected, and a considerable one took place, in which several hundreds fell. The Americans were commanded by general M'Dougal, and the British by general Lee. While they were engaged the American baggage was moved off, in full view of the British army. Soon after this, general Washington changed his front, his left wing stood fast, and his right fell back to some hills. In this position, which was an admirable one in a military point of view, he both desired and expected an action; but general Howe declined it, and drew off his forces towards Dobb's Ferry. The Americans afterwards retired to North-Castle.

General Washington, with part of his army, crossed the North River, and took post in the neighbourhood of Fort Lee. A force of about 7500 men was left at North Castle, under general Lee.

The Americans having retired, on the 12th of November Sir William Howe determined to improve the opportunity of their absence, for the reduction of Fort Washington. This, the only post the Americans then held on New-York island, was under the command of colonel Mawg. The royal army made four attacks upon it. The first, on the north side, was led on by general Kniphausen; the second, on the east, by general Matthews, supported by lord Cornwallis. The third was under the direction of lieutenant-colonel Netling, and the fourth was commanded by lord Percy. The troops under Kniphausen, when advancing to the fort, had to pass through a thick wood, which was occupied by colonel Rawling's regiment of riflemen, and suffered very much from their well-directed fire. During this attack, a body of the British light-infantry advanced against a party of the Americans, who were annoying them from behind rocks and trees, and obliged them to disperse. Lord Percy carried an advance work on his side, and lieutenant-colonel Sterling forced his way up a steep height, and took 170 prisoners. Their out-works being carried, the Americans left their lines, and crowded into the fort. Colonel Rahl, who led the left wing of Kniphausen's attack, pushed forward, and lodged his column within a hundred yards of the fort, and was there soon joined by the left column. The garrison surrendered on terms of capitulation, by which the men were to be considered as prisoners of war, and the officers to keep their baggage and side-arms. The number of prisoners amounted to 2700. The loss of the British, inclusive of killed and wounded, was about 1800. Shortly after Fort Washington had surrendered, lord Cornwallis with a considerable force passed over to attack Fort Lee, on the opposite Jersey shore.

WASHINGTON RETREATS.

The garrison was saved by an immediate evacuation, but at the expense of their artillery and stores. General Washington about this time retreated to Newark. Having abundant reason, from the posture of affairs, to count on the necessity of a further retreat, he asked colonel Reed—"Should we retreat to the back parts of Pennsylvania, will

the Pennsylvanians support us?" The colonel replied, "If the lower countries are subdued and give up, the back countries will do the same." The general replied, "We must retire to Augusta county in Virginia; numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety, and we must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war, and if overpowered, we must cross the Alleghany mountains."

While a tide of success was flowing in upon general Howe, he and his brother, as royal commissioners, issued a proclamation, in which they commanded "all persons assembled in arms against his majesty's government to disband, and all general or provincial congresses to desist from their treasonable actings, and to relinquish their usurped power." They also declared, "that every person who, within sixty days, should appear before the governor, lieutenant-governor, or commander in chief of any of his majesty's colonies, or before the general or commanding officer of his majesty's forces, and claim the benefit of the proclamation, and testify his obedience to the laws, by subscribing a certain declaration, should obtain a full and free pardon of all treasons by him committed, and of all forfeitures and penalties for the same." Many who had been in office, and taken an active part in support of the new government, accepted of these offers, and made their peace by submission. Some who had been the most vehement in favour of independence, veered round to the strongest side. Men of fortune generally gave way; the few who stood firm, were mostly to be found in the middle ranks of the people.

When it was expected that the conquerors would retire to winter-quarters, they commenced a new plan of operations, more alarming than all their previous conquests. The reduction of Fort Washington, the evacuation of Fort Lee, and the diminution of the American army, by the departure of those whose time of service had expired, encouraged the British, notwithstanding the severity of the winter, and the badness of the roads, to pursue the remaining inconsiderable continental force, with the prospect of annihilating it. By this turn of affairs, the interior country was surprised into confusion, and found an enemy within its bowels, without a sufficient army to oppose it. To retreat was the only expedient left. This having commenced, lord Cornwallis followed, and was close in the rear of general Washington as he retreated successively to Newark, to Brumswick, to Princeton, to Trenton, and to the Pennsylvania side of the Delaware. The pursuit was urged with so much rapidity, that the rear of the one army pulling down bridges was often within sight and shot of the van of the other building them up.

On the day general Washington retreated over the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island without any loss, and at the same time blocked up commodore Hopkin's squadron, and a number of privateers, at Providence.

In this period, when the American army was relinquishing its general, the people giving up the cause, some of their leaders going over to the enemy, and the British commanders succeeding in every enterprise, general Lee was taken prisoner at Hakenridge, by lieutenant-colonel Harcourt. This caused a depression of spirits among the Americans, far exceeding any real injury done to their essential interest. He had been repeatedly ordered to come forward with his division, and join general Washington; but these orders were not obeyed. This circumstance, and the dangerous crisis of public affairs, together with his being alone at some distance from the troops which he commanded, begat suspicions that he chose to fall into the hands of the British. Though these apprehensions were without foundation, they produced the same extensive mischief as if they had been realities. The Americans had reposed extravagant confidence in his military talents, and experience of regular European war. Merely to have lost such an idol of the state at any time, would have been distressful; but losing him under circumstances, which favoured an opinion that, despairing of the American cause, he chose to be taken a prisoner, was to many an extinguishment of every hope.

By the advance of the British into New-Jersey, the neighbourhood of Philadelphia became the seat of war. This prevented that undisturbed attention to public business which the deliberations of congress required. They therefore, on the 13th of

December, adjourned themselves to meet in eight days at Baltimore, resolving at the same time, "that general Washington should be possessed of full power to order and direct all things relative to the department and operations of war."

The activity of the British in the close of the campaign, seemed in some measure to compensate for their tardiness in the beginning of it.

Hitherto they had succeeded in every scheme; they marched up and down the Jersey side of the river Delaware, and through the country, without any molestation. All opposition to the re-establishment of royal government seemed to be on the point of expiring. The Americans had thus far acted without system, or rather feebly executed what had been tardily adopted. Though the war was changed from its first ground, a redress of grievances to a struggle for sovereignty, yet some considerable time elapsed before arrangements conformable to this new system were adopted, and a much longer before they were carried into execution.

EXERTIONS OF CONGRESS.

In proportion as difficulties increased, congress redoubled their exertions to oppose them; on the tenth of December they addressed the states in animated language, calculated to remove their despondency, renew their hopes, and confirm their resolutions.

They at the same time despatched gentlemen of character and influence to excite the militia to take the field. General Mifflin was, on this occasion, particularly useful; he exerted his great abilities in rousing his fellow-citizens, by animated and affectionate addresses, to turn out in defence of their endangered liberties.

Congress also recommended to each of the United States "to appoint a day of solemn fasting and humiliation to implore of Almighty God the forgiveness of their many sins, and to beg the countenance and assistance of his providence in the prosecution of the present just and necessary war."

In the dangerous situation to which every thing dear to the friends of independence was reduced, congress transferred extraordinary powers to general Washington, "to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by congress; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry; to raise, officer, and equip three thousand light-horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay; to apply to any of the states for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier-general, and to fill up all vacancies in every other department in the American armies; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause; and return to the states of which they are citizens, their names and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them: That the foregoing powers be vested in general Washington, for and during the term of six months from the date hereof, unless sooner determined by congress."

In this hour of extremity, the attention of congress was employed in devising plans to save the states from sinking under the heavy calamities which were bearing them down. It is remarkable, that neither in the present condition, though trying and severe, nor in any other since the declaration of independence, was congress influenced either by force, distress, artifice, or persuasion, to entertain the most distant idea of purchasing peace, by returning to the condition of British subjects. So low were they reduced in the latter end of 1776, that some members, distrustful of their ability to resist the power of Great Britain, proposed to authorise their commissioners at the court of France to transfer to that country the same monopoly of their trade which Great Britain had hitherto enjoyed. On examination it was found, that concessions of this kind would destroy the force of many arguments heretofore used in favour of independence, and probably disunite their citizens. It was next

proposed to offer a monopoly of certain enumerated articles of produce. To this the variant interests of the different states were so directly opposed, as to occasion a speedy and decided negative. Some proposed offering to France a league offensive and defensive, in case she would heartily support American independence; but this was also rejected. The more enlightened members of congress argued, "I though the friendship of small states might be purchased, that of France could not." They alleged, that if she would risk a war with Great Britain, by openly espousing their cause, it would not be so much from the prospect of direct advantage, as from a natural desire to lessen the overgrown power of a dangerous rival. It was therefore supposed, that the only inducement likely to influence France to an interference, was an assurance that the United States were determined to persevere in refusing a return to their former allegiance. Instead of listening to the terms of the royal commissioners, or to any founded on the idea of their resuming the character of British subjects, it was therefore again resolved, to abide by their declared independence, and proffered freedom of trade to every foreign nation, trusting the event to Providence, and risking all consequences. Copies of these resolutions were sent to the principal courts of Europe, and proper persons were appointed to solicit their friendship to the new-formed states. These despatches fell into the hands of the British, and were by them published. This was the very thing wished for by congress; they well knew, that an apprehension of their making up all differences with Great Britain was the principal objection to the interference of foreign courts, in what was represented to be no more than a domestic quarrel. A resolution adopted in the deepest distress and the worst of times, that congress would listen to no terms of reunion with their parent state, convinced those who wished for the dismemberment of the British empire, that it was sound policy to interfere, so far as would prevent the conquest of the United States.

These judicious determinations in the cabinet were accompanied with vigorous exertions in the field. The delay so judiciously contrived on the retreat through Jersey, afforded time for these volunteer reinforcements to join general Washington. The number of troops under his command at that time fluctuated between two and three thousand men. To turn round and face a victorious and numerous foe, with this inconsiderable force, was risking much; but the urgency of the case required that something should be attempted. The recruiting business for the proposed new continental army was at a stand, while the British were driving the Americans before them. The present regular soldiers could, as a matter of right, in less than a week claim their discharge; and scarce a single recruit offered to supply their place. Under these circumstances, the bold resolution was formed of re-crossing into the state of Jersey, and attacking that part of the enemy which was posted at Trenton.

HESSIANS CAPTURED AT TRENTON.

WHEN the Americans retreated over the Delaware, the boats in the vicinity were removed out of the way of their pursuers. This arrested their progress: but the British commanders, in the security of conquest, cantoned their army at Burlington, Bordentown, Trenton, and other towns of New-Jersey, in daily expectation of being enabled to cross over into Pennsylvania, by means of the ice which is generally formed about that time.

In the evening of Christmas-day, general Washington made arrangements for re-crossing the Delaware in three divisions; at M'Konkey's Ferry, at Trenton Ferry, and at or near Bordentown. The troops which were to have crossed at the two last places, were commanded by generals Ewing and Cadwallader; they made every exertion to get over, but the quantity of ice was so great, that they could not effect their purpose. The main body, which was commanded by general Washington, crossed at M'Konkey's Ferry, but the ice in the river retarded their passage so long, that it was three o'clock in the morning before the artillery could be got over. On their landing in Jersey, they were formed into two divisions commanded by generals Sullivan and Greene, who had under their command brigadiers Lord Stirling, Mercer, and St. Clair. One of these divisions was ordered to proceed on the lower, or river road, the other on the

upper, or Pennington road. Colonel Stark, with some light troops, was also directed to advance near to the river, and to possess himself of that part of the town which is beyond the bridge. The divisions having nearly the same distance to march, were ordered immediately, on forcing the out-guards, to push directly into Trenton, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form. Though they marched different roads, yet they arrived at the enemy's advanced post within three minutes of each other. The out-guards of the Hessian troops at Trenton soon fell back, but kept up a constant retreating fire. Their main body being hard pressed by the Americans, who had already got possession of half their artillery, attempted to flee off by a road leading towards Princeton, but were checked by a body of troops thrown in their way. Finding they were surrounded, they laid down their arms. The number which submitted was twenty-three officers, and eight hundred and eighty-six men. Between thirty and forty of the Hessians were killed and wounded. Colonel Rahl was among the former, and seven of his officers among the latter. Captain Washington, of the Virginia troops, and five or six of the Americans, were wounded; two were killed, and two or three were frozen to death. The detachment in Trenton consisted of the regiment of Rahl, Losberg, and Kniphausen, amounting in the whole to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of British light-horse. About six hundred escaped by the road leading to Bordentown.

The British had a strong battalion of light-infantry at Princeton, and a force yet remaining near the Delaware, superior to the American army. General Washington therefore, in the evening of the same day, thought it most prudent to re-cross into Pennsylvania with his prisoners.

The effects of this successful enterprise were speedily felt in recruiting the American army. About fourteen hundred regular soldiers, whose time of service was on the point of expiring, agreed to serve six weeks longer, on a promised gratuity of ten paper dollars to each. Men of influence were sent to different parts of the country to rouse the militia.

The Hessian prisoners taken on the twenty-sixth being secured, general Washington re-crossed the Delaware, and took possession of Trenton. The detachments which had been distributed over New-Jersey, previous to the capture of the Hessians, immediately after that event assembled at Princeton, and were joined by the army from Brunswick under lord Cornwallis. From this position, on the second of January 1777, they came forward towards Trenton in great force, hoping, by a vigorous onset, to repair the injury their cause had sustained by the late defeat. Truly delicate was the situation of the feeble American army. To retreat was to hazard the city of Philadelphia, and to destroy every ray of hope which had begun to dawn from their late success. To risk an action with a superior force in front, and a river in the rear, was dangerous in the extreme. To get round the advanced party of the British, and by pushing forwards to attack in their rear, was deemed preferable to either. The British on their advance from Princeton, about four o'clock in the afternoon, attacked a body of Americans which were posted, with four field-pieces, a little to the northward of Trenton, and compelled them to retreat. The pursuing British being checked at the bridge over Sampink Creek, which runs through that town, by some field-pieces which were posted on the opposite banks of that rivulet, fell back so far as to be out of reach of the cannon, and kindled their fires. The Americans were drawn up on the other side of the creek, and in that position remained till night, cannonading the enemy and receiving their fire. In this critical hour two armies, on which the success or failure of the American revolution materially depended, were crowded into the small village of Trenton, and only separated by a creek in many places fordable. The British believing they had all the advantages they could wish for, and that they could use them when they pleased, discontinued all further operations, and kept themselves in readiness to make the attack next morning. The next morning presented a scene as brilliant on the one side, as it was unexpected on the other. Soon after it became dark, general Washington ordered all his baggage to be silently removed, and having left guards for the purpose of deception, marched with his whole force, by a cir-

cuitous route, to Princeton. This manoeuvre was determined upon in a council of war, from a conviction that it would avoid the appearance of a retreat, and at the same time the hazard of an action in a bad position, and that it was the most likely way to preserve the city of Philadelphia from falling into the hands of the British. General Washington also presumed, that from an eagerness to efface the impressions made by the late capture of the Hessians at Trenton, the British commanders had pushed forward their principal force, and that of course the remainder in the rear at Princeton was not more than equal to his own. The event verified this conjecture. The more effectually to disguise the departure of the Americans from Trenton, fires were lighted up in front of their camp. These not only gave an appearance of going to rest, but as flame cannot be seen through, concealed from the British what was transacting behind them. In this relative position they were a pillar of fire to the one army, and a pillar of cloud to the other. Providence favoured this movement of the Americans. The weather had been for some time so warm and moist, that the ground was soft, and the roads so deep as to be scarcely passable: but the wind suddenly changed to the north-west, and the ground in a short time was frozen so hard, that when the Americans took up their line of march, they were no more retarded than if they had been upon a solid pavement.

General Washington reached Princeton early the next morning, and would have completely surprised the British, had not a party, which was on their way to Trenton, descried his troops, when they were about two miles distant, and sent back couriers to alarm their unsuspecting fellow-soldiers in their rear. These consisted of the seventeenth, the fortieth, and sixty-fifth regiments of British infantry, and some of the royal artillery with two field-pieces, and three troops of light dragons. The centre of the Americans, consisting of the Philadelphia militia, while on their line of march, was briskly charged by a party of the British, and gave way in disorder. The moment was critical: general Washington pushed forward, and placed himself between his own men and the British, with his horse's head fronting the latter. The Americans, encouraged by his example and exhortations, made a stand, and returned the British fire. The general, though between both parties, was providentially unharmed by either. A party of the British fled into the college, and were there attacked with field-pieces which were fired into it. The seat of the muses became for some time the scene of action. The party which had taken refuge in the college, after receiving a few discharges from the American field-pieces, came out and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. In the course of the engagement, sixty of the British were killed, and a greater number wounded, and about three hundred of them were taken prisoners. The rest made their escape, some by pushing on towards Trenton, others by returning towards Brunswick. The Americans lost only a few; but colonel Haslet and Potter, and captain Neal of the artillery were among the slain. General Mercer received three bayonet wounds, of which he died in a short time. He was a Scotchman by birth, but from principle and affection had engaged to support the liberties of his adopted country, with a zeal equal to that of any of its native sons. In private life he was amiable, and his character as an officer stood high in the public esteem.

While they were fighting in Princeton, the British in Trenton were under arms, and on the point of making an assault on the evacuated camp of the Americans. With so much address had the movement to Princeton been conducted, that though, from the critical situation of the two armies, every ear may be supposed to have been open, and every degree of watchfulness to have been employed, yet general Washington moved completely off the ground with his whole force, stores, baggage, and artillery, unknown to, and unsuspected by his adversaries. The British in Trenton were so entirely deceived, that when they heard the report of the artillery at Princeton, though it was in the depth of winter, they supposed it to be thunder.

That part of the royal army, which having escaped from Princeton, retreated towards New-Brunswick, was pursued for three or four miles. Another party which had advanced as far as Mankinhead,

on their way to Trenton, hearing the frequent discharge of fire-arms in their rear, wheeled round and marched to the aid of their companions. The Americans, by destroying bridges, retarded these, though close in their rear, so long as to gain time for themselves to move off, in good order to Plankemin.

So great was the consternation of the British at these unexpected movements, that they instantly evacuated both Trenton and Princeton, and retreated with their whole force to New-Brunswick. The American militia collected, and forming themselves into parties, waylaid their enemies, and cut them off whenever an opportunity presented. In a few days they over-ran the Jerseys. General Maxwell surprised Elizabeth Town, and took near 100 prisoners. Newark was abandoned, and the late conquerors were forced to leave Woodbridge. The royal troops were confined to Amboy and Brunswick, which held a water communication with New-York. Thus, in the short space of a month, that part of Jersey, which lies between New-Brunswick and Delaware, was both over-run by the British, and recovered by the Americans.

The victories of Trenton and Princeton seemed to be like a resurrection from the dead to the despairing friends of independence. A melancholy gloom had in the first twenty five days of December overspread the United States; but from the memorable era of the 26th of the same month, their prospects began to brighten. The recruiting service, which for some time had been at a stand, was successfully renewed; and hopes were soon indulged, that the commander in chief would be enabled to take the field in the spring, with a permanent regular force. General Washington retired to Morristown, that he might afford shelter to his suffering army. The American militia had some successful skirmishes with detachments of their adversaries. Within four days after the affair at Princeton, between forty and fifty Waldeckers were killed, wounded, or taken at Springfield, by an equal number of the same New-Jersey militia, which but a month before suffered the British to over-run their country without opposition. This enterprise was conducted by colonel Spencer, whose gallantry on the occasion was rewarded with the command of a regiment.

During the winter movements, which have been just related, the soldiers of both armies underwent great hardships; but the Americans suffered by far the greater. Many of them were without shoes, though marching over frozen ground, which so gashed their naked feet, that each step was marked with blood: there was scarcely a tent in their whole army: the city of Philadelphia had been twice laid under contribution to provide them with blankets: officers had been appointed to examine every house, and, after leaving a scanty covering for the family, to bring off the rest for the use of the troops in the field; but notwithstanding these exertions, the quantity procured was far short of decency, much less of comfort.

The officers and soldiers of the American army were about this time inoculated in their cantonment at Morristown; as very few of them had ever had the small pox, the inoculation was nearly universal. The disorder had previously spread among them in the natural way, and proved mortal to many: but after inoculation was introduced, though whole regiments were inoculated in a day, there was little or no mortality from the small pox, and the disorder was so slight, that from the beginning to the end of it, there was not a single day in which they could not, and if called upon, would not, have turned out and fought the British. To induce the inhabitants to accommodate officers and soldiers

in their houses, while under the small pox, they and their families were inoculated gratis by the military surgeons. Thus in a short time, the whole army and the inhabitants in and near Morristown were subjected to the small pox, and with very little inconvenience to either.

Three months, which followed the actions of Trenton and Princeton, passed away without any important military enterprise on either side. Major-general Putnam was directed to take post at Princeton, and cover the country in the vicinity. He had only a few hundred troops, though he was no more than eighteen miles distant from the strong garrison of the British at Brunswick. At one period he had fewer men for duty than he had miles of frontier to guard. The situation of general Washington at Morristown was not more eligible. His force was trifling when compared with that of the British; but the enemy and his own countrymen believed the contrary. Their deception was cherished, and artfully continued by the specious parade of a considerable army.

Throughout the campaign of 1776, an uncommon degree of sickness raged in the American army. Husbandmen, transferred at once from the conveniences of domestic life, to the hardships of a field encampment, could not accommodate themselves to the sudden change. On the eighth of August, the whole American army before New-York consisted of seventeen thousand two hundred and twenty five men, but of that number only ten thousand five hundred and fourteen were fit for duty. These numerous sick suffered much from the want of necessaries; hurry and confusion added much to their distresses: there was besides a real want of the requisites for their relief.

RESULT OF THE CAMPAIGN.

The campaign of 1776 did not end till it had been protracted into the first month of the year 1777. The British had counted on the complete and speedy reduction of their late colonies, but they found the work more difficult of execution than was supposed. They wholly failed in their designs on the southern states. In Canada they recovered what in the preceding year they had lost; drove the Americans out of their borders, and destroyed their fleet on the lakes; but they failed in making their intended impression on the north-western frontier of the states. They obtained possession of Rhode Island, but the acquisition was of little service; perhaps was of detriment. For near three years several thousand men stationed thereon for its security, were lost to every purpose of active co-operation with the royal forces in the field, and the possession of it secured no equivalent advantages. The British completely succeeded against the city of New-York and the adjacent country; but when they pursued their victories into New-Jersey, and subdivided their army, the receding Americans soon recovered the greater part of what they had lost.

Sir William Howe, after having nearly reached Philadelphia, was confined to limits so narrow, that the fee-simple of all he commanded would not reimburse the expense incurred by his conquest.

The war on the part of the Americans, was but barely begun. Hitherto they had engaged with temporary forces for a redress of grievances, but towards the close of this year they made arrangements for raising a permanent army to contend with Great Britain for the sovereignty of the country. To have thus far stood their ground with their new levies, was a matter of great importance, because to them delay was victory, and not to be conquered was to conquer.

CHAPTER XIII.

State of Great Britain in the summer of 1776—Meeting of Parliament—Debate on the Proclamation of the American Commissioners—Secession of the Minority—Habeas Corpus Act suspended—Fire in Portsmouth Dock Yard—Shameful Profusion of Ministers—Debates on the Augmentation of the Civil List—Address of the Speaker, Sir F. Norton, to the King—Censured by Ministry—Dispute with Holland—Campaign in America—Action on the Brandywine—Philadelphia taken—Battle of Germantown—American Forts taken—Progress of General Burgoyne—Ticonderoga evacuated—British repulsed at Fort Mifflin—Defeat of Colonel Bann—Actions at Stillwater, &c.—Surrender of Burgoyne—Conclusion of the Campaign.

STATE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

1777. **T**HE summer of 1776 passed in England with but little agitation of the public mind. The pompous accounts which had been detailed by ministry of the successes of our arms, amused and misled the unthinking many; and the extensive influence which they had established by means of jobs, loans, contracts, and commissions, alienated all opposition. Even the minority in both houses of parliament, though consisting of the most respectable of the ancient nobility of the realm, and of the best families of the landed interest, were so dispirited by continued disappointments and fruitless efforts, that they even meditated a secession from their public duty.

The inattention of the British nation to the deplorable situation, in which the errors and wickedness of ministry had involved them, is the more extraordinary, when we recollect the ever wakeful attention of the commercial world to their own interests, and observe, at the same time, that the captures made on the seas by the American cruisers were calculated at not less than one million sterling. The West-India islands were also reduced to a state of almost intolerable distress, from the failure of the usual supplies from America; and in most of them the necessities of life had risen to three or four times their usual price.

A contemporary historian has remarked, that the speech from the throne at the opening of parliament, on the 31st October 1776, was distinguished by "an unguarded and undignified intemperance of language."

Nothing, his majesty observed, could have afforded him so much satisfaction, as to have been able to inform the houses, at the opening of this session, that the troubles in North America were at an end; but so daring and desperate was the spirit of those leaders whose object had always been dominion and power, that they had now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with this country; they had rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them under the authority of his majesty's commission, and had presumed to set up their rebellious confederacies for independent states. If their treason were suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it, to the safety of his majesty's colonies, the commerce of the kingdom, and indeed the present system of all Europe. One great advantage, however, would be derived from the object of the rebels having been openly avowed, and clearly understood; we should have unanimity at home, founded in the general conviction of the justice and necessity of our measures. The two houses were informed of the recovery of Canada, and the success on the side of New-York, which, although they had been so important as to give the strongest hopes of the most decisive good consequences, would nevertheless not prevent the

preparations for another campaign. His majesty observed that he continued to receive assurances of amity from the several courts of Europe, but that nevertheless it was necessary we should be in a respectable state of defence at home. An apology was made to the commons for the unavoidable expense. The speech concluded with an assurance that his majesty had no object in this arduous contest but to promote the true interest of all his subjects. No people ever enjoyed more happiness, or lived under a milder government, than those now evinced provinces: the improvements in every art, of which they boast, declare it; their numbers, their wealth, their strength by sea and land, which they think sufficient to enable them to make head against the whole power of the mother-country, are irrefragable proofs of it.—The debates on the addresses, in consequence of this speech, were long and tedious.

Addresses, the echo of the speech, were brought forward in both houses; but an amendment, which was in reality another address in a totally different strain, was moved by lord John Cavendish in the house of commons, and the marquis of Rockingham in the house of lords, containing a masterly recapitulation of the manifold errors of that system which had caused the entire alienation, and at length the open revolt of so large a part of his majesty's once loyal and affectionate subjects. It concluded with the observation, "that a wise and provident use of the late advantages might be productive of happy effects, as the means of establishing a permanent connexion between Great Britain and her colonies, on principles of liberty, and terms of mutual benefit."

"We should look," said this truly excellent and admirable address, "with shame and horror on any events that should bow them to any abject and unconditional submission to any power whatsoever—annihilate their liberties, and subdue them to servile principles and passive habits by the mere force of foreign mercenary arms."

The speech from the throne, under the established and decorous pretext of its being the speech of the minister, was treated with the most contemptuous and sarcastic severity. "Where," it was asked, "are those mighty leaders to be found whom the Americans obey so implicitly, and who govern them with so despotic a rule? They have no grandees among them; their soil is not productive of nobility; in no country are there in fact so few individuals possessed of a commanding or extensive influence; the president of their supreme assembly was a merchant; the general of their armies a private gentleman. Nothing could be more evident than that a sense of common danger and of common suffering had driven them to the necessity of creating leaders, who were possessed only of such powers as the people had thought it expedient to entrust them with. In the same spirit of falsehood it was asserted, 'that the Americans had rejected

with circumstances of indignity and insult the terms of conciliation offered them.' The truth was, that no terms had been offered them, but the offer of a pardon on unconditional submission, which the ministers well knew they would never accept; nor was even this mock offer made till the whole system of irritation and oppression was completed by the injustice and cruelty of the capture act, by which they were put out of the protection of the law, and their property held out as common spoil. The position in the speech, so undeniably true, 'that no people ever enjoyed greater happiness, or lived under a milder government, than these now revolted colonies,' implied the severest censure on those who had so wantonly and wickedly departed from a system which had produced such noble and wonderful effects." The expectation of unanimity from the present situation of affairs was, however, said to be of all the parts of this extravagant speech the most ridiculous. "What! shall we at last concur in measures, because all the mischiefs which were originally predicted have ultimately resulted from them? Have ministers the unparalleled effrontery to put upon us to give our sanction to the fatal system which we in vain warned and implored them to shun, and which persisted in must terminate in utter ruin?" On a division, the amendment was rejected in the house of commons by a majority of 243 to 57, and in the house of peers by 91 to 30, fourteen of whom joined in a protest, in which the proposed amendment was verbatim inserted, in order that it might remain as a perpetual memorial on the journals of that house.

DEBATE ON THE PROCLAMATION OF THE BRITISH COMMISSIONERS IN AMERICA.

In a few days after the addresses were presented, lord John Cavendish exhibited in the house a printed paper, purporting to be a proclamation of his majesty's commissioners in America, and called upon ministers to inform him as to the authenticity of it. This being acknowledged, his lordship expressed in the strongest terms his astonishment at the contempt and indignity offered to the house, who, through the medium of a common newspaper only, were at length informed that they stand engaged to America to undertake a revision of all those laws by which the Americans had conceived themselves to be aggrieved. Notwithstanding the resentment he felt as a member of the house at this ministerial insolence of conduct, his lordship said that he felt a dawn of joy break in upon his mind at the bare mention of reconciliation, whatever colour the measures might wear that led to so desirable an event. The great object of restoring peace and unity to this distracted empire outweighed so far with him all other present considerations, that he not only would overlook punctilios on this account, but even such matters of real import as would upon any other occasion call all his powers into action. On these grounds his lordship moved, "that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the revocation of all acts of parliament by which his majesty's subjects in America think themselves aggrieved."

SECESSION OF THE MINORITY IN PARLIAMENT.

Tax opposition were strenuous in asserting, that the crown promised in this proclamation more than it could grant without permission of parliament; the crown having only a voice in the passing or repeal of laws, but no power to revise such as the parliament have again and again confirmed contrary to all endeavours from opposition. Nothing can be more unjust than to pretend to disarm the Americans previous to a negotiation. Such practice cannot derive a foundation even from the most tyrannical edicts or practices; and after having by sure and deliberate deception impelled the Americans to the natural protection, self-defence, to ask them to lay down their arms and entrust themselves to their mercy, who had undone them, who had tortured them to desperation, is not more absurd than cruel, and not more unlike Britons, than unlike savages.—The question, after great animosity of debate, being put, the motion was rejected by a majority of 169 to 47.—This event was followed by that secession, which had been long meditated, of a great number of the members of opposition, parti-

cularly of the Rockingham party; they no longer saw duty or advantage to the public in wasting their time and strength in unavailing attempts to oppose the resistless determinations of ministry. They had long ago foretold every thing that had happened; they had made uniform efforts to prevent the impending danger, but they saw that all their efforts now served only to expose them to the resentment of a people infatuated and deluded. We may add, that few circumstances contributed more to open the eyes of the besotted people of England, than this secession. They now felt themselves at the mercy of the ministry, and deserted by all the wisdom and patriotism of the nation; and the dissatisfaction which soon after broke forth in various patriotic meetings and resolves, may in part be attributed to this proceeding.

HABEAS CORPUS ACT SUSPENDED.

Soon after the recess, which continued from December the thirteenth to the twenty-first of January 1777, lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his majesty to secure and detain persons charged with, or suspected of the crime of high treason committed in America, or on the high seas, or the crime of piracy. The bill was brought in and read the following day (February the 7th), and a motion made, that it should be read a second time on the 16th: But the principal enacting clause appearing in a very alarming point of view, it was strongly combated by such of the opposition as were present. This clause declared all persons taken in the act of high treason, committed in any of the colonies, or on the high seas, or in the act of piracy, or who are or shall be charged with or suspected of any of these crimes, liable to be committed to any common gaol, or to any other place of confinement, appointed for that purpose under his majesty's sign manual, within any part of his dominions, there to be detained in safe custody, without bail, mainprize, or trial, during the continuance of the law, with a proviso, however, enabling a certain number of the privy council to grant an order for admitting such persons to bail or trial.

Of the few members in opposition who happened to be present, Mr. Dunning animadverted most severely on the bill now proposed by the minister. He expressed the utmost astonishment, that a bill of such magnitude and importance, which was to suspend all the functions of the constitution, should be attempted to be smuggled through a this house under false colours, before the nation could be apprised of its danger, or their constituents have the smallest notice, that they were going to surrender the foundation of all their other rights, and the peculiar characteristic of the British government.

The alarm excited by this measure recalled a few of the minority gentlemen, who had before refused their attendance, and the debates were renewed with as great violence as ever. Among the manifold objections to this bill, it was remarked, that it was framed with "such treacherous artifice of construction" that by the enacting clauses, the crown was enabled, at its pleasure, to commit, not only Americans, but any other person resident in the British dominions, without bail or mainprize to any place of confinement in Great Britain or elsewhere. Thus was the habeas corpus act, that great bulwark of British liberty, completely annihilated by a construction of law, which left it in the power of the crown to apprehend on the slightest suspicion, or pretence of suspicion, any individual against whom the vengeance of the court was meant to be directed; and to convey them beyond the seas to any of the garrisons in Africa or the Indies, far from all hope or possibility of relief. At length the minister, with that inconsistency which marked his conduct, explicitly disavowed as to himself all design of extending the operation of the bill beyond its open and avowed objects. He said, "that the bill was intended for America, and not for England; that, as he would ask for no power that was not wanted, so he would scorn to receive it by any covert means; and that, far from wishing to establish any unconstitutional precedent, he neither sought nor wished any powers to be vested in the crown or its ministers which were capable of being employed to bad or oppressive purposes." He therefore agreed to receive the amendments proposed; the principal of which were in substance: 1. That the clause empowering his majesty to confine such persons as might be apprehended under this act "in any part

of his dominions, should be notified by the insertion of the words, "within the realm;" and secondly, That an additional clause or proviso be inserted, "that nothing in this act shall be construed to extend to persons resident in Great Britain." These concessions gave extreme offence to the leaders of the high prerogative party, who had zealously defended the bill in its original state, and who now exclaimed, that they were deserted by the minister in a manner which seemed calculated to disgrace the whole measure, to condemn all the charges and surmises of their adversaries, and to fix all the odium upon them. "And it was indeed sufficiently evident (a modern writer observes) from the whole conduct of the business, that the minister, on this as on other occasions, was not admitted into the intimate recesses of the royal cabinet."

JOHN THE PAINTER'S PLOT.

WHILE these affairs were transacting, the ministry were enabled by a fortunate occurrence to raise an alarm in the minds of the people, and still farther to excite their abhorrence of the Americans. The absurd story of a plot against the government which had been fabricated in 1775, and on which Mr. Sayre had been committed to the Tower, was not found to answer the purposes of the ministry, and had rather contributed to overwhelm them with disgrace, than to raise their popularity. The instance we have to relate was more favourable to their views; either the man in question was really guilty, or the circumstances were involved in such perplexity, that it was impossible to unravel the mystery. In the latter end of the year 1776, a fire was discovered in the robing house at the royal dock-yard at Portsmouth, which was however extinguished without communicating to the other magazines. On the seventh of January, a fire also broke out in some warehouses at Bristol; six or seven of which were consumed. The alarm was instantly raised of plots and incendiaries, and the suspicions of the public were at length directed to an itinerant preacher of the name of John Altker, by birth a Scotchman, but who was said lately to have returned from America, where he had resided some time. As the fire at Bristol had taken place while he was supposed to be in that city, and some suspicious circumstances in his conduct, and his solitary mode of life, had attracted attention, he was arrested soon after his departure from that place. On his examination, however, before the lords of the admiralty, nothing appeared to criminate him, but he was nevertheless committed to prison. In the mean time every stratagem was employed to draw from him a confession of guilt. Another American painter was enlisted for this purpose, who by pretending to sympathize with the misfortune of John the Painter, asserted that he had extorted from him a full confession of his crime. This man was almost the sole evidence brought forward on the trial, and though a person of infamous character, on his testimony respecting the communications which took place in the prison, John the Painter was condemned and executed. On his way to the place of execution he is said to have made a confession of his guilt to a certain commissioner of the admiralty, adding, that he had been encouraged to the undertaking by Silas Deane, one of the American agents at Paris.

Such are the outlines of this mysterious transaction. The fact was generally believed at the time, though there were some who entertained doubts, even then, concerning the truth of every particular. It was thought extraordinary that John the Painter, who was certainly a man of considerable talents, and who knew how much depended upon keeping his own counsel, should unburden himself at a few interviews to a man who was before a perfect stranger to him, and who, he might justly suspect, was sent purposely to draw from him the fatal secret. The infamous character of the witness was also severely animadverted upon; and even the confession which he was said to have made to the commissioner of the admiralty, did not serve entirely to remove these doubts. The confession, as to its genuineness, must ultimately rest upon the veracity of that commissioner; but we are not informed, it was said, what methods were made use of to extort that confession, or what hopes of pardon might have been held out to a man, who, within sight of the gibbet, considered his case as desperate. The other circumstances adduced on

his trial were too slight to have determined a case where the life of a fellow-creature is depending; and it must not be forgotten that the poor victim was a friendless and destitute wretch, without either money or support of any kind, and whose character, from his itinerant mode of life, &c. was involved in suspicion. In a word, however guilty John the Painter might be, we trust the precedent will not operate in other cases; we trust that no person more innocent or more meritorious will ever be convicted on circumstantial proof, or on the testimony of such a witness as the varron on whose evidence he was condemned.

MINISTERIAL PROFUSION.

SEVERAL inquiries were about this period instituted in parliament concerning the expenditure of the public money. The accounts were said to be in many places obscure, and, if any where intelligible, they were extravagant, and only calculated to enrich the avaricious contractor at the expense of the public. Lord North assured the house, that great economy had been observed, and that in some cases the contractors were losers; but in every exigency he had been careful to make such bargains as were most advantageous for the public. The landgrave of Hesse however had made a demand for forty-four thousand pounds of levy-money; this demand was unexpected, and seemingly unfair; the minister to this replied, that the landgrave quoted the treaty of 1755 as a precedent, and was entitled to the advantages both of the former and present treaties, although his troops had never served in America; the demand was unexpected, indeed, but perfectly fair. A very warm and continual debate was daily renewed in the committee of supply on these subjects, and the minister had scarcely finished his defence, however lame, when he was under a necessity of laying before them a message from his majesty, at a time very unfavourable for the request contained in it.

On the ninth of April 1777, a message was delivered by the minister from the king, in which his majesty expressed "his concern in acquainting the house with the difficulties he laboured under from the debts incurred by expenses of the civil government, amounting, on the fifth of January preceding, to upwards of six hundred thousand pounds." And the house on this message resolving itself into a committee of supply, the minister moved, "That the sum of six hundred and eighteen thousand pounds be granted, to enable his majesty to discharge the debts of the civil government; and that the sum of one hundred thousand pounds per annum, over and above the sum of eight hundred thousand pounds, be granted as a farther provision for the same."

These propositions called forth the whole strength of opposition. The gentlemen on that side of the house, while they seemed the degrading situation of the sovereign, and the many distresses brought upon individuals, ascribed the debt entirely to the boundless and scandalous profusion of ministers, and insisted that the present revenue was, without any possibility of doubt, not only sufficient to answer all the purposes of government, when under the restriction of a prudent economy, but also fully to support the grandeur, splendour, and magnificence of the crown, in a manner suitable to its own dignity, and the greatness of the nation, even in its happiest era. It was too manifest, however, that the debt had been incurred in supporting and carrying on a system of corruption.

The opposition animadverted on the accounts in the most severe manner. They were fabricated, they said, to perplex, and not to give information; the facts of which their titles announced the discovery, could not bear the light. It was observed, that the large sums of one hundred and seventy-one thousand pounds, and one hundred and fourteen thousand pounds were charged in two lines for secret service, under the disposal of the two secretaries of the treasury, which could not but seem dangerous as well as mysterious. It was allowed to be right and necessary that the secretaries of state should be allowed money for the purposes of procuring foreign intelligence; but that the officers of the treasury, who can have no public connection beyond their own office, much less any intercourse with foreign states, should be the agents for disbursement of the public money in secret service, was most

alarming, and had in itself sufficient evidence to put an end at once to all doubts as to its design or application. The expense charged under the heads of *Cofficer's Office, Board of Works, and Foreign Ministers*, was said to be enormous beyond measure. It now appeared, that an attempt was made to realise the wretched policy of James II. viz. the maintaining an army of ambassadors, at the same time that every transaction, either with regard to foreign or domestic affairs, precluded almost the imbecility of ministers, and the folly of their negotiations. Above half a million was stated under the article of the Board of Works, without the least item to show to whom, or for what purpose it was disposed ; or on what palace, house, park, or royal garden it had been expended.

But leaving inquiries into past transactions, and deductions drawn from them, it was maintained by several members in both houses, that if the revenue proceeding from Wales, Cornwall, the dutchy of Lancaster, Ireland, the West India Islands, American quit-rents, and other sources of smaller consequence, were taken into consideration, and added to the civil-list establishment, the crown would be found to have possessed, for several years, a revenue of more than a million sterling : that if the American quit-rents had not been lost, or could be recovered, this revenue, solely in the crown, independent of account, and free from inquiry, would, in a few years, increase in such a degree, as to afford a greater fund of treasure for private design in Christendom could boast of. Though the revenues of Hanover and Osnaburg did not come within the jurisdiction of parliament, they were, however, to be considered as objects of attention in all questions relative to the excessive growing power, and dangerous influence of the crown.

Notwithstanding these arguments, and the detectable light in which the ministry were placed by opposition on the present occasion, the grant of six hundred eighteen thousand three hundred and forty pounds, was, however, carried without a division ; and soon after that of one hundred thousand pounds additional revenue, by a great majority.

SPEAKER'S ADDRESS TO THE KING.

THE most remarkable circumstance attending this extraordinary grant, was the speech made by the speaker of the house of commons to his majesty, on presenting it a few days afterwards for the royal assent. "In a time, sir," said he, "of public distress, full of difficulty and danger, their constituents labouring under burdens almost too heavy to be borne, your faithful commons, postponing all other business, have not only granted to your majesty a large present supply, but also a very great additional revenue, great beyond example, great beyond your majesty's highest expense ; but all this, sir, they have done in the well-grounded confidence, that you will apply wisely what they have granted liberally." The countenance of the king plainly indicated how little acceptable was this unexpected liberty. On the return of the speaker and the attendant members, the thanks of the house were nevertheless immediately voted him ; yet not without exciting the secret and scornful resentment of the king's friends, or pre-regative party ; one of whom, Rigby, took occasion in a subsequent debate to arraign the conduct of the speaker with unusual vehemence, as conveying little less than an insult on the king, and as equally misrepresenting the sense of parliament and the state of the nation. The sentiments delivered at the bar of the other house, he said, were not those of the house of commons ; he for one totally disclaimed them ; and he had no doubt but the majority of the house thought with him. The speaker appealed to the vote of thanks which had been passed, as a proof that he had not been guilty of the misrepresentation imputed to him : and the minister, uneasy at the altercation, intimated his wish that the subject might not be further discussed. But Fox, immediately rising, declared, "that a serious and direct charge having been brought, the question was now at issue. Either the speaker had misrepresented the sense of the house, or he had not. He should therefore, in order to trying this question in a proper and final decision, move, that the speaker of the house, in his speech to his majesty at the bar of the house of peers, did express

with just and proper energy the sentiments of this house." The speaker himself declared, "that he would sit no longer in that chair than he was supported in the free exercise of his duty. He had discharged what he conceived to be his duty, intending only to express the sense of the house and from the vote of approbation with which he had been honoured, he had reason to believe he was not chargeable with any misrepresentation." The ministers now found themselves involved in a most unpleasant dilemma, and in pressing terms recommended the withdrawing of the motion. This being positively refused, Rigby moved for the house to adjourn. But the house appearing evidently sensible of the degradation which its dignity must sustain from any effort offered to the chair, he at length thought fit in some degree to concede ; and professed, "that he meant no reflection upon the character of the speaker, but that what he had said was the mere expression of his private opinion, and the result of that freedom of speech which was the right and privilege of every member of that house, without respect of persons ; and that, if what he had advanced was not agreeable to the sense of that house, he would readily withdraw his motion of adjournment !" which being done, Fox's motion was unanimously carried ; and, to complete the triumph, the thanks of the house to the speaker for his conduct in this affair was also moved, and agreed to without opposition.

On the seventh of June the session was closed, and his majesty expressed in his speech his entire approbation of the conduct of parliament, lavishing upon them high and flattering compliments for the unquestionable proofs they had given of their clear discernment of the true interests of their country.

DISPUTE WITH HOLLAND.

WHILE these affairs were transacting in parliament, a memorial, in a very unusual style, was delivered by Sir Joseph Yorke, ambassador at the Hague, to the States-general, in which his excellency declared, "That the king, his master, had hitherto borne with unexampled patience the irregular conduct of the subjects of their high mightinesses, in their interested commerce at St. Eustatia, as also in America. If," said the ambassador, "the measures which your high mightinesses have thought proper to take, had been as officious as your assurances have been amicable, the undersigned would not now have been under the necessity of bringing to the cognizance of your high mightinesses, facts of the most serious nature." His excellency then proceeds to state, that M. Van Graaf, governor of St. Eustatia, had permitted the seizure of an English vessel, by an American pirate, within cannon shot of the island ; and that he had returned from the fortress of his government the salute of a rebel flag ; and the ambassador concludes, with demanding, in his majesty's name, and by his express order, from their high mightinesses, a formal disavowal of the salute by Fort Orange, a formal disavowal of the seized ship, and the discontinuance and immediate recall of the governor Van Graaf ; declaring farther, that until such satisfaction is given, they are not to expect, that his majesty will suffer himself to be amused by more assurances, or that he will delay one instant to take such measures as he shall think due to the interest and dignity of his crown.

The states, offended at the imperious language of this memorial, yet acting with their usual caution, did not condescend to give an answer to the British ambassador, but ordered count Wolderen, their resident in London, to deliver into the king of England's own hand a counter-memorial, in which they complained of the menacing tone of the English count, such as ought not to take place between sovereign and independent powers ; adding, however, "that, from the sole motive of demonstrating their regard to his majesty, they have actually despatched orders to M. Van Graaf, to render himself within the republic without delay, in order to give the necessary information respecting his conduct ; and that they expect to discover, in the most express manner, any act or mark of honour which may have been given by their officers to any vessels belonging to the colonies of America, so far as it may imply a recognition of American independence." The ministry pretended to be satisfied with this conduct, but secretly mediated a blow against the United Provinces on the very first favourable opportunity.

We return now to the most important scene of action, and resume our narrative of the proceedings in America during the campaign of 1777.

CAMPAIGN IN AMERICA.

Soon after the declaration of independence, the authority of congress was obtained for raising an army that would be more permanent than the temporary levies which they had previously brought into the field. It was at first proposed to recruit for the indefinite term of the war; but it being found on experiment that the habits of the people were averse to engagements for such an uncertain period of service, the recruiting officers were instructed to offer the alternative of either enlisting for the war, or for three years. Those who engaged on the first condition, were promised a hundred acres of land in addition to their pay and bounty. The troops raised by congress for the service of the United States were called continental. Though in September 1776, it had been resolved to raise eighty-eight battalions, and in December following, authority was given to general Washington to raise sixteen more, yet very little progress had been made in the recruiting business, till after the battles of Trenton and Princeton. Even after that period, so much time was necessarily consumed before these new recruits joined the commander in chief, that his whole force at Morristown, and the several outposts, for some time did not exceed fifteen hundred men; yet, what is almost incredible, these fifteen hundred kept as many thousands of the British closely pent up in Brunswick. Almost every party that was sent out by the latter was successfully opposed by the former, and the adjacent country preserved in a great degree of tranquillity.

It was matter of astonishment, that the British suffered the dangerous interval between the disbanding of one army and the raising of another, to pass away without attempting something of consequence against the remaining shadow of an armed force. Hitherto there had been a deficiency of arms and ammunition, as well as of men; but in the spring of 1777, a vessel of 84 guns arrived from France at Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, with upwards of eleven thousand stand of arms, and one thousand barrels of powder. Ten thousand stand of arms arrived about the same time in another part of the United States.

As the season advanced, the American army in New-Jersey was reinforced by the successive arrival of recruits; but nevertheless at the opening of the campaign it amounted only to seven thousand two hundred and seventy-two men.

Towards the latter end of May, general Washington quitted his winter encampment at Morristown, and took a strong position at Middlebrook. Soon after this movement was effected, the British marched from Brunswick, and extended their van as far as Somerset Court-house, but in a few days returned to their former station.

Sir William Howe, after his retreat to Brunswick, endeavoured to provoke general Washington to an engagement, and left no manoeuvre untried, that was calculated to induce him to quit his position. At one time he appeared as if he intended to push on without regarding the army opposed to him. At another he accurately examined the situation of the American encampment, hoping that some unguarded point might be found on which an attack might be made that would open the way to a general engagement: all these hopes were frustrated; general Washington knew the full value of his situation. He had too much penetration to lose it from the circumvention of military manoeuvres, and too much temper to be provoked to a dereliction of it. He was well apprised that it was not the interest of his country to commit its fortune to a single action.

Sir William Howe suddenly relinquished his position in front of the Americans, and retired with his whole force to Amboy. The apparently retreating British were pursued by a considerable detachment of the American army, and general Washington advanced from Middlebrook to Quibbletown, to be near at hand for the support of his advanced parties. The British general immediately marched his army back from Amboy, with great expedition, hoping to bring on a general action on equal ground; but he was disappointed. General Washington fell back, and posted his army in such an advantageous position, as compensated for the inferiority of

his numbers. Sir William Howe was now fully convinced of the impossibility of compelling a general engagement on equal terms, and also satisfied that it would be too hazardous to attempt passing the Delaware, while the country was in arms, and the main American army in full force in his rear. He therefore returned to Amboy, and thence passed over to Staten Island, resolving to prosecute the objects of the campaign by another route. During the period of these movements, the real designs of general Howe were involved in great obscurity. Though the season for military operations was advanced as far as the month of July, yet his determinate object could not be ascertained. Nothing on his part had hitherto taken place, but alternately advancing and retreating. General Washington's embarrassment on this account was increased by intelligence which arrived, that Burgoyne was coming in great force towards New-York from Canada. Approaching the Sir William Howe would ultimately move up the North River, and that his movements, which looked southward, were calculated to deceive, the American general detached a brigade to reinforce the northern division of his army. Successive advices of the advance of Burgoyne favoured the idea that a junction of the two royal armies near Albany was intended. Some movements were therefore made by general Washington towards Peekskill, and on the other side towards Trenton, while the main army was encamped near the Clove, in readiness to march either to the north or south, as the movements of Sir William Howe might require. At length the main body of the royal army, consisting of thirty-six British and Hessian battalions, with a regiment of light-horse, and a loyal provincial corps, called the Queen's Rangers, and a powerful artillery, amounting in the whole to about 16,000 men, departed from Sandyhook, and were reported to steer southward. About the time of this embarkation, a letter from Sir William Howe to general Burgoyne was intercepted. This contained intelligence that the British troops were destined to New-Hampshire. The intended deception was so superfluously veiled, that in conjunction with the intelligence of the British embarkation, it produced a contrary effect. Within one hour after the reception of this intercepted letter, general Washington gave orders to his army to move to the southward, but he was nevertheless so much impressed with a conviction that it was the true interest of Howe to move towards Burgoyne, that he ordered the American army to halt for some time, at the river Delaware, suspecting that the apparent movement of the royal army to the southward was a feint calculated to draw him farther from the North River. The British fleet having sailed from Sandyhook, were a week at sea before they reached Cape Henlopen. At this time and place, for reasons that do not obviously occur, general Howe gave up the idea of approaching Philadelphia, by ascending the Delaware, and resolved on a circuitous route by the way of the Chesapeake. Perhaps he counted on being joined by large reinforcements from the numerous Tories in Maryland or Delaware, or perhaps he feared the obstructions which the Pennsylvanians had planted in the Delaware. If these were his reasons, he was mistaken in both: from the Tories he received no advantage, and from the obstructions in the river, his ships could have received no detriment, if he had landed his troops at Newcas, which was 14 miles nearer Philadelphia than the head of Chesapeake Bay.

The British fleet, after they had left the capes of the Delaware, had a tedious and uncomfortable passage, being twenty days before they entered the capes of Virginia. They ascended the bay with a favourable wind, and on the 25th of August landed at Turkey Point. The circumstance of the British fleet putting out to sea, after they had looked into the Delaware, added to the apprehensions before entertained, that the whole was a feint calculated to draw the American army farther from the North River, so as to prevent their being at hand to oppose a junction between Howe and Burgoyne. Washington therefore fell back to such a middle station, as would enable him either speedily to return to the North River, or advance to the relief of Philadelphia. The British fleet, after leaving the capes of Delaware, were not heard of for near three weeks, except that they had once or twice been seen near the coast steering southward.

A council of officers convened at Neshaminy, near Philadelphia, unanimously gave it as their opinion, that Charlestown, in South-Carolina, was most probably their object, and that it would be impossible for the army to march in season for its relief. It was therefore concluded to try to repair the loss of Charlestown, which was considered as unavoidable, either by attempting something on New-York Island, or, by uniting with the northern army, to give more effectual opposition to Burgoyne. A small change of position, conformably to this new system, took place. The day before the above resolution was adopted, the British fleet entered the Chesapeake: The intelligence in a few days reached the American army, and dispelled that mist of uncertainty, in which general Howe's movements had been before enveloped. The American troops were put in motion to meet the British army. Their numbers on paper amounted to 14,000, but their real effective force, on which dependence might be placed in the day of battle, did not much exceed 8000 men. Every appearance of confidence was assumed by them as they passed through Philadelphia, that the citizens might be intimidated from joining the British. About the same time a number of the principal inhabitants of that city, being suspected of disaffection to the American cause, were taken into custody and sent to Virginia.

Soon after Sir William Howe had landed his troops in Maryland, he put forth a declaration, in which he informed the inhabitants, that he had issued the strictest orders to the troops "for the preservation of regularity and good discipline, and that the most exemplary punishment should be inflicted upon those who should dare to plunder the property, or molest the persons, of any of his majesty's well-disposed subjects." It seemed as if, fully apprised of the consequences which had resulted from the indiscriminate plunderings of his army in New-Jersey, he was determined to adopt a more politic line of conduct. Whatever his intentions might be, they were by no means seconded by his troops.

ACTION ON THE BRANDYWINE.

On the third of September, the royal army set out from the eastern heads of the Chesapeake, with a spirit which promised to compensate for the various delays which had hitherto wasted the campaign. Their tents and baggage were left behind, and they trusted their future accommodation to such quarters as their arms might procure. They advanced with boldness, till they were within two miles of the American army, which was then posted near Newport. General Washington soon changed his position, and took post on the high ground near Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine Creek, with an intention of disputing the passage. It was the wish, but by no means the interest, of the Americans to try their strength in an engagement. The regular troops were not only greatly inferior in discipline, but in numbers, to the royal army. The opinion of the inhabitants, though founded on no circumstances more substantial than their wishes, imposed a species of necessity on the American general to keep his army in front of the enemy, and to risk an action for the security of Philadelphia. Instead of this, had he taken the ridge of high mountains on his right, the British must have respected his numbers, and probably would have followed him up the country. In this manner the campaign might have been wasted away in a manner fatal to the invaders; but the bulk of the American people were so impatient of delays, and had such an overweening conceit of the numbers and prowess of their army, that they could not comprehend the wisdom and policy of manoeuvres to shun a general engagement.

On this occasion, necessity dictated that a sacrifice should be made on the altar of public opinion. A general action was therefore hazarded; this took place on the 11th of September at Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine, a small stream which empties itself into Christmas Creek, near its conflux with the river Delaware.

The royal army advanced at day-break in two columns, commanded by Lieutenant-general Knipphausen, and by Lord Cornwallis. They first took the direct road to Chadd's Ford, and made a show of passing it, in front of the main body of the Americans; at the same time the other column moved up on the west side of the Brandywine to its fork, and crossed both its branches about two o'clock in

the afternoon, and then marched down on the east side of it, with the view of turning the right wing of their adversaries.

This they effected, and compelled them to retreat with great loss. General Knipphausen amused the Americans with the appearance of crossing the ford, but did not attempt it until Lord Cornwallis having crossed above, and moved down on the opposite side, had commenced his attack. Knipphausen then crossed the ford, and attacked the troops posted for its defence. These, after a severe conflict, were compelled to give way. The retreat of the Americans soon became general, and was continued to Chester, under cover of general Woodford's brigade, which came off in good order. The final issue of battles often depends on small circumstances, which human prudence cannot control—one of these occurred here, and prevented general Washington from executing a bold design, to effect which his troops were actually in motion. This was to have crossed the Brandywine, and attacked Knipphausen, while general Sullivan and Lord Stirling should keep Lord Cornwallis in check. In the most critical moment, general Washington received intelligence which he was obliged to credit, that the column of Lord Cornwallis had been only making a feint, and was returning to join Knipphausen. This prevented the execution of a plan, which, if carried into effect, would probably have given a different turn to the events of the day. The killed and wounded in the royal army were near six hundred; the loss of the Americans was twice that number. In the list of their wounded were two of their general officers, the marquis de la Fayette, and general Woodford. The former was a French nobleman of high rank, who, animated with the love of liberty, had left his native country, and offered his services to congress. While in France, and only nineteen years of age, he espoused the cause of the Americans with the most disinterested and generous ardour. Having determined to join them, he communicated his intentions to the American commissioners at Paris. They justly conceived, that a patron of so much importance would be of service to their cause, and encouraged his design. Before he had embarked from France, intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American insurgents, reduced to two thousand men, were fleeing through Jersey before a British force of thirty thousand. Under these circumstances, the American commissioners at Paris thought it but honest to dissuade him from the present prosecution of his perilous enterprise. It was in vain that they acted so candid a part; his zeal to serve a distressed country was not abated by her misfortunes. Having embarked in a vessel which he purchased for the purpose, he arrived in Charlestown early in 1777, and soon after joined the American army. Congress resolved, that "in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connections, he should have the rank of major-general in their army." Independent of the risk he ran as an American officer, he hazarded his large fortune in consequence of the laws of France, and also the confinement of his person, in case of capture, when on his way to the United States, without the chance of being acknowledged by any nation; for his court had forbidden his proceeding to America, and had despatched orders to have him confined in the West Indies, if found in that quarter. This gallant nobleman, who under all these disadvantages had demonstrated his good-will to the United States, received a wound in his leg at the battle of Brandywine; but he nevertheless continued in the field, and exerted himself both by word and example in rallying the Americans. Other foreigners of distinction also shared in the engagement. Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, the same who a few years before had carried off king Stanislaus from his capital, though surrounded with a numerous body of guards, and a Russian army, fought with the Americans at Brandywine; he was a thunder-bolt of war, and always sought for the post of danger as the post of honour. Soon after this engagement, congress appointed him commander of horse, with the rank of brigadier.

General Howe persevered in the scheme of gaining the right flank of the Americans. This was no less steadily pursued on the one side, than avoided on the other. Washington came forward in a few days with a resolution of risking another action. He accordingly advanced as far as the Warren Tavern, on the Lancaster Road. Near that place both ar-

miles were on the point of engaging with their whole force, but were prevented by a most violent storm of rain, which continued for a whole day and night. When the rain ceased, the Americans found that their ammunition was entirely ruined; they therefore withdrew to a place of safety. Before a proper supply was procured, the British marched from their position near the White Horse Tavern, down towards the Swedes Ford. The Americans again took post in their front; but the British, instead of urging an action, began to march up towards Reading. To save the stores which had been deposited in that place, Washington took a new position, and left the British in undisturbed possession of the roads which lead to Philadelphia. His troops were worn down by a succession of severe duties; there were in his army above a thousand men who were barefooted, and who had performed all their late movements in that condition. About this time the Americans sustained a considerable loss by a night attack, conducted by general Grey, on a detachment of their troops, which was encamped near the Paoli Tavern. The outposts and pickets were forced without noise about one o'clock in the morning of the twentieth of September. The men had scarcely time to turn out, and when they did, they unfortunately paraded in the light of their fires; this directed the British how and where to proceed; they rushed in upon them, and put about three hundred to death in a silent manner by a free and exclusive use of the bayonet. The enterprise was conducted with so much address, that the loss of the assailants did not exceed eight.

Congress, which after a short residence at Baltimore had returned to Philadelphia, were obliged a second time to consult their safety by flight. They retired at first to Lancaster, and afterwards to York-Town.

PHILADELPHIA TAKEN.

THE bulk of the British army being left in German-Town, Sir William Howe, with a small part, on the twenty-sixth of September, made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, and was received with the hearty welcome of numerous citizens, who either from conscience, cowardice, interest or principle, had hitherto separated themselves from the class of active whigs.

The possession of the largest city in the United States, together with the dispersion of that grand council which had hitherto conducted their public affairs, were accounted by the short-sighted as decisive of their fate. The submission of countries, after the conquest of their capital, had often been a thing of course; but in the great contest for the sovereignty of the United States, the question did not rest with a ruler, or a body of rulers, nor was it to be determined by the possession or loss of any particular place. It was the public mind, the sentiments and opinions of the yeomanry of the country, which were to decide. Though Philadelphia had become the residence of the British army, yet, as long as the bulk of the people of the United States were opposed to their government, the country was unsubdued.

One of the first objects of the British after they had got possession, was to erect batteries to command the river, and to protect the city from any insult by water. The British shipping were prevented from ascending the Delaware, by obstructions, which were fixed near Mud Island. Philadelphia, though possessed by the British army, was exposed to danger from the American vessels in the river. The American frigate Delaware, of thirty-two guns, anchored within five hundred yards of the unfinished batteries, and being seconded by some smaller vessels, commenced a heavy cannonade upon the batteries and town; but upon the falling of the tide she ran aground. Being briskly fired upon from the town, while in this condition, she was soon compelled to surrender. The other American vessels, not able to resist the fire from the batteries, after losing one of their number, retired.

General Washington having been reinforced by two thousand five hundred men from Peekskill and Virginia; and having been informed that general Howe had detached a considerable part of his force for reducing the forts on the Delaware, conceived a design of attacking the British post at German-Town. Their line of encampment crossed the town at right angles near its centre; the left wing

extended to the Schuylkill, and was covered in front by the mounted and dismounted chamois. The queen's American rangers and a battalion of light infantry were in front of the right. The fourth regiment, with another battalion of light infantry, were posted on the Chesnut Hill road, three quarters of a mile in advance. Lord Cornwallis lay at Philadelphia, with four battalions of grenadiers. A few of the general officers of the American army, whose advice was requested on the occasion, unanimously recommended an attack; and it was agreed that it should be made in different places, to produce the greater confusion, and to prevent the several parts of the British forces from affording support to each other. From an apprehension that the Americans, from the want of discipline, would not persevere in a long attack, it was resolved that it should be sudden and vigorous, and if unsuccessful to make an expeditious retreat.

The morning was extremely foggy.—This, by concealing the true situation of the parties, occasioned mistakes, and made so much caution necessary, as to give the British time to recover from the effects of their first surprise. From these causes the early promising appearances on the part of the assailants were speedily reversed. The Americans left the field hastily, and all efforts to rally them were ineffectual. Lord Cornwallis arrived with a party of light-horse, and joined in the pursuit; this was continued for some miles.

Soon after this battle the British left German-Town, and turned their principal attention towards opening a free communication between their army and their shipping.

Much industry and ingenuity had been exerted for the security of Philadelphia on the water side. Thirteen gallees, two floating batteries, two bombesques, one brig, one ship, besides a number of armed boats, fire-ships, and rafts, were constructed or employed for this purpose. The Americans had also built a fort on Mud Island, to which they gave the name of Fort Mifflin, and erected there a considerable battery. This island is admirably situated for the erection of works to annoy shipping on their way up the Delaware. It lies near the middle of the river, about seven miles below Philadelphia; no vessels of burden can come up but by the main ship channel, which passes close to Mud Island, and is very narrow for more than a mile below. Opposite to Fort Mifflin there is a height, called Red Bank; this overlooks not only the river, but the neighbouring country; on this eminence a battery was erected. Between these two fortresses, which are half a mile distant from each other, the American naval armament for the defence of the river Delaware made their harbour of retreat. Two ranges of chevaux de frise were also sunk into the channel. These consisted of large pieces of steel for strongly framed together, in the manner of stiel for marking the foundations of wharfs in deep water. Several large points of bearded iron projecting down the river were annexed to the upper parts of these chevaux de frise, and the whole was sunk with stones, so as to be about four feet under the water at low tide. Their prodigious weight and strength could not fail to effect the destruction of any vessel which came upon them. Thirty of these machines were sunk about three hundred yards below Fort Mifflin, so as to stretch in a diagonal line across the channel. The only open passage left was between two piers lying close to the fort, and that was secured by a strong boom, and could not be approached but in a direct line to the battery. Another fortification was erected on a high bank on the Jersey shore, called Billingsport; and opposite to this, another range of chevaux de frise was deposited, leaving only a narrow and shoal channel on the one side. There was also a temporary battery of two heavy cannon at the mouth of Mantua Creek, about half way from Red Bank to Billingsport. The British were well apprised, that, without the command of the Delaware, their possession of Philadelphia would be of no advantage. They therefore strained every nerve to open the navigation of that river. To this end Lord Howe had early taken the most effectual measures for conducting the fleet and transports round from Chesapeake to the Delaware, and drew them up on the Pennsylvania shore, from Reedy Island to Newcastle. Early in October a detachment from the British army crossed the Delaware, with a view of dislodging the Americans from Billingsport. On their

approach the place was evacuated. As the season advanced, more vigorous measures for removing the obstructions were concerted between the general and the admiral. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvania shore to assist in dislodging the Americans from Mud Island. At the same time Count Donop with two thousand men, having crossed into New-Jersey, opposite to Philadelphia, marched down on the eastern side of the Delaware, to attack the redoubt at Red Bank. This was defended by about four hundred men under the command of colonel Greene. The attack immediately commenced by a smart cannonade, under cover of which the count advanced to the redoubt. This place was intended for a much larger garrison than was then in it; it had therefore become necessary to run a line in the middle thereof, and one part of it was evacuated. That part was easily carried by the assailants, on which they indulged in loud huzzas for their supposed victory. The garrison kept up a severe well-directed fire on the assailants, by which they were compelled to retire. They suffered not only in the assault, but in the approach to, and retreat from the fort. Their whole loss in killed and wounded was about four hundred; count Donop was mortally wounded and taken prisoner. Congress resolved to present colonel Greene with a sword for his good conduct on this occasion. An attack about the same time on Fort Mifflin by men of war and frigates was not more successful than the assault on Red Bank. The Augusta man of war of sixty-four guns, and the Merlie, two of the vessels which were engaged in it, got aground : the former was fired and blew up; the latter was evacuated.

AMERICAN FORTS TAKEN.

THROUGH the first attempts of the British for opening the navigation of the Delaware were unsuccessful, they carried their point in another way that was unexpected. The *chevaux de frise* having been sunk some considerable time, the current of the water was diverted by this great bulk into new channels; in consequence of which the passage between the islands and the Pennsylvania shore was so deepened, as to admit vessels of some considerable draught of water. Through this passage, the *Vigilant*, a large ship, cut down so as to draw but little water, mounted with 24-pounders, made her way to a position from which she might enfilade the works on Mud Island. This gave the British such an advantage, that the post was no longer tenable. Colonel Smith, who had with great gallantry defended the fort from the latter end of September to the 11th of November, being wounded, was removed to the main. Within five days after his removal, major Thayer, who as a volunteer had nobly offered to take charge of this dangerous post, was obliged to evacuate it.

This event did not take place till the works were entirely beaten down, every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the British ships so near that she threw grenades into the fort, and killed the men uncovered in the platform. The troops who had so bravely defended Fort Mifflin, made a safe retreat to Red Bank. Within three days after Mud Island was evacuated, the garrison was also withdrawn from Red Bank, on the approach of lord Cornwallis at the head of a large force prepared to assault it. Some of the American galleys and armed vessels escaped, by keeping close in with the Jersey shore, to places of security above Philadelphia: but seventeen of them were abandoned by their crews and fired. Thus the British gained a free communication between their army and shipping. This event was to them very desirable. They had been previously obliged to draw their provisions from Chester, a distance of sixteen miles, at some risk, and a certain great expense. The long-protracted defence of the Delaware deranged the plans of the British for the remainder of the campaign, and consequently saved the adjacent country.

About this time the chair of congress became vacant by the departure of Hancock, after he had discharged the duties of that office to great satisfaction two years and five months. Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, was unanimously elected his successor.

BURGOYNE'S CAMPAIGN.

WHILE Sir William Howe was succeeding in

every enterprise in Pennsylvania, a fatal reverse of fortune took place in the north, to which it will not be improper, at this period of our narrative, to direct the reader's attention.

To effect a free communication between New-York and Canada, and to maintain the navigation of the intermediate lakes, was a principal object with the British for the campaign of 1777. The Americans, presuming on this, had been early attentive to their security in that quarter. They had resolved to construct a fort on Mount Independence, which is an eminence adjoining the strait on which Ticonderoga stands, and nearly opposite to that fortress. They had also resolved to obstruct the navigation of the strait by cassoons, to be sunk in the water, and joined so as to serve at the same time for a bridge between the fortifications on the east and west side of it; and that, to prevent the British from drawing their small craft over land into Lake George, the passage of that lake should be obstructed; that Fort Schuyler, the same which had formerly been called Fort Stanwix, should be strengthened, and other fortifications erected near the Mohawk river. Requisitions were made by the commanding officer in the department for thirteen thousand six hundred men, as necessary for the security of this district. The adjacent states were urged to fill up their recruits, and in all respects to be in readiness for an active campaign.

The British ministry were very sanguine in their hopes, from the consequences of forming a line of communication between New-York and Canada. They considered the New-England people to be the soul of the confederacy, and promised themselves much by severing them from all free communication with the neighbouring states. They hoped, when this was accomplished, to be able to surround them so effectually with fleets and armies, and Indian allies, as to compel them to submission. Animated with these expectations, they left nothing undone which might ensure the success of the plans they had formed for this purpose.

The regular troops, British and German, allotted to this service, were upwards of seven thousand. As artillery is considered to be particularly useful in the American war, where numerous inhabitants are to be driven out of woods and fastnesses, this part of the service was particularly attended to. The brass train that was sent out, was perhaps the finest, and the most excellently supplied, both as to officers and men, that had ever been allotted to second the operations of an equal force. In addition to the regulars, it was supposed that the Canadians and the loyalists, in the neighbouring states, would add large reinforcements, well calculated for the peculiar nature of the service. Arms and accoutrements were accordingly provided to supply them. Several nations of savages had also been induced to take up the hatchet, as allies to his Britannic majesty.

The vast force destined for this service was put under the command of lieutenant-general Burgoyne, an officer whose abilities were well known, and whose spirit of enterprise and ardour for military fame could not be exceeded. He was supported by major-general Phillips of the artillery, who had established a solid reputation by his good conduct during the late war in Germany, and by major-general Reidesdal and brigadier-general Speeche of the German troops, together with the British generals Fraser, Powell, and Hamilton, all officers of distinguished merit.

The British had also undisputed possession of the navigation of Lake Champlain. The marine force there, with which in the preceding campaign they had destroyed the American shipping on the lakes, was not only entire but unopposed.

A considerable force was left in Canada for its internal security, and Sir Guy Carleton's military command was restricted to the limits of that province. Though the British ministry attributed the preservation of Canada to his abilities in 1775 and 1776, yet, by their arrangements for the year 1777, he was only called upon to act a secondary part, in suberviency to the grand expedition committed to general Burgoyne.

The plan of the British for their projected irruption into the north-western frontier of New-York, consisted of two parts. General Burgoyne, with the main body, was to advance by the way of Lake Champlain, with positive orders, as has been said, to force his way to Albany, or at least so far as to

effect a junction with the royal army from New-York. A detachment was to ascend the river St. Lawrence, as far as Lake Ontario, and from that quarter to penetrate towards Albany, by the way of the Mohawk river. This was put under the command of lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, and consisted of about two hundred British troops, a regiment of New-York loyalists raised and commanded by Sir John Johnson, and a large body of savages. Lieutenant-general Burgoyne arrived in Quebec on the 6th of May, and exerted all diligence to prosecute in due time the object of the expedition. On the 26th of June he proceeded up Lake Champlain, and on the 21st landed near Crown Point. At this place he met the Indians, gave them a war feast, and made a speech to them. This was well calculated to excite them to take part with the royal army, but at the same time to repress their barbarity. He positively forbade them to shed blood when not opposed in arms, and commanded that aged men, women, children, and prisoners, should be held sacred from the knife and the hatchet, even in the heat of actual conflict. A reward was promised for prisoners, and a severe inquiry threatened for scalps, though permission was granted to take them from those who were previously killed in fair opposition. These restrictions were not sufficient, as will appear in the sequel, to restrain their barbarities. The Indians having decidedly taken part with the British army, general Burgoyne issued a proclamation, calculated to spread terror among the inhabitants. The numbers of his Indian associates were magnified, and their eagerness to be let loose to their prey described in high-sounding words. The force of the British armies and fleets prepared to crush every part of the revolted colonies, was also displayed in pompous language. Encouragement and employment were promised to those who should assist in the re-establishment of legal government, and security held out to the peaceable and industrious, who continued in their habitations. All the calamities of war, arrayed in their most terrific forms, were denounced against those who should persevere in a military opposition to the royal forces.

PORT TICONDEROGA EVACUATED.

GENERAL Burgoyne advanced with his army in a few days to Crown Point. At this place he issued orders, of which the following words are a part: "The army embarks to-morrow to approach the enemy. The services required on this expedition are critical and conspicuous. During our progress occasions may occur, in which, not difficulty, nor labour, nor life, are to be regarded. This army must not retreat." From Crown Point the royal army proceeded to invest Ticonderoga. On their approach to it, they advanced with equal caution and order on both sides of the lake, while their naval force kept in its centre. Within a few days they had surrounded three-fourths of the American works at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and had also advanced a work on Sugar Hill which commands both, so far towards completion, that in twenty-four hours it would have been ready to open. In these circumstances general St. Clair, the commanding officer, resolved to evacuate the post at all events; but conceiving it prudent to take the sentiments of the general officers, he called a council of war on the occasion. It was represented to this council, that their whole numbers were not sufficient to man one half of the works, and that as the whole must be on constant duty, it would be impossible for them to sustain the necessary fatigue for any length of time, and that as the place would be completely invested on all sides within a day, nothing but an immediate evacuation of the posts could save their troops.

The assumption of confident appearances in the garrisons had induced their adversaries to proceed with great caution. While from this cause they were awed into respect, the evacuation was completed with so much secrecy and expedition, that a considerable part of the public stores was saved, and the whole would have been embarked, had not a violent gale of wind which sprung up in the night prevented the boats from reaching their station.

The retreating army embarked as much of their baggage and stores as they had any prospect of saving on board batteaux, and despatched them under convoy of five armed galleys to Skene-

borough. The main body took its route towards the same place by way of Castleton. The British were no sooner apprized of the retreat of the Americans than they pursued them. General Fraser, at the head of the light troops, advanced on their main body. Major-general Reddesel was also ordered, with the greater part of the Brainerd troops, to march in the same direction. General Burgoyne in person conducted the pursuit by water. The obstructions to the navigation not having been completed, were soon cut through. The two frigates, the Royal George and the inflexible, together with the gun-boats, having effected their passage, pursued with so much rapidity, that in the course of a day the gun-boats came up with and attacked the American gallees near Skeneborough Falls. On the approach of the frigates all opposition ceased; two of the gallees were taken and three blown up. The Americans set fire to their works, mills, and batteaux. They were now left in the woods destitute of provisions: in this critical situation they made their escape up Wood Creek to Fort Anne. Brigadier Fraser pursued the retreating Americans; came up with, and on the seventh of July attacked their rear-guard at Hubbardton. In the course of the engagement he was joined by the German troops commanded by general Reddesel. The Americans commanded by colonel Warner made a gallant resistance, but after sustaining considerable loss, were obliged to give way. Lieutenant colonel Hall, with the ninth British regiment, was detached from Skeneborough by general Burgoyne, to take post near Fort Anne. An engagement ensued between this regiment and a few Americans; but the latter, after a conflict of two hours, fired the fort, and retreated to Fort Edward. The destruction of the gallees and batteaux of the Americans at Skeneborough, and the defeat of their rear, obliged general St. Clair, in order to avoid being between two fires, to change the route of his main body, and to turn off from Castleton to the left. After a fatiguing and distressing march of seven days, he joined general Schuyler at Fort Edward. Their combined forces, inclusive of the militia, not exceeding in the whole four thousand, four hundred men, were not long after, on the approach of general Burgoyne, compelled to retire farther into the country bordering on Albany. Such was the rapid torrent of success, which in this period of the campaign swept away all opposition from before the royal army, while, after some successes, continued for some days in Skeneborough, waiting for their tents, baggage, and provision.

In the meantime general Burgoyne put forth a proclamation, in which he called on the inhabitants of the adjacent towns to send a deputation of ten or more persons from their respective townships, to meet colonel Skene at Castleton, on the fifteenth of July. The troops were at the same time busily employed in opening a road, and clearing a creek, to favour their advance, and to open a passage for the conveyance of their stores. A party of the royal army which had been left behind at Ticonderoga, was equally industrious in carrying gun-boats, provision, vessels, and batteaux over land, into Lake George. An immensity of labour in every quarter was necessary; but, animated as they were with past successes and future hopes, they disregarded toil and danger.

From Skeneborough general Burgoyne directed his course across the country to Fort Edward, on Hudson's River. Though the distance in a right line from one to the other is but a few miles, yet such is the impracticable nature of the country, and such were the artificial difficulties thrown in his way, that nearly as many days were consumed as the distance passed over in a direct line would have measured in miles. The Americans under the directions of general Schuyler had cut large trees on both sides of the road, so as to fall across with their branches interwoven. The face of the country was likewise so broken with creeks and marshes, that they had no less than forty bridges to construct, one of which was a log-work over a morass, two miles in extent. This difficult march might have been avoided, had general Burgoyne fallen back from Skeneborough to Ticonderoga, and thence proceeded by Lake George; but he declined this route, from an apprehension that a retrograde motion on his part would abate the panic of the enemy. He had also a suspicion that some delay might be occasioned by the

American garrison at Fort George, as, in case of his taking that route, they might safely continue to resist to the last extremity, having open in their rear a place of retreat. On the other hand it was presumed, that as soon as they knew that the royal army was marching in a direction which was likely to cut off their retreat, they would consult their safety by a seasonable evacuation. In addition to these reasons he had the advice and persuasion of colonel Skene. That gentleman had been recommended to him as a person proper to be consulted; his land was so situated, that the opening of a road between Fort Edward and Skenesborough would greatly enhance its value. This circumstance might have made him more urgent in his recommendations of that route, especially as, being the shortest, it bid fair for uniting the royal interest with private convenience. The opinion formed by general Burgoyne of the effect of his direct movement from Skenesborough to Fort Edward on the American garrison, was verified by the event; for being apprehensive of having their retreat cut off, they abandoned their fort and burnt their vessels. The navigation of Lake George being therefore left free, provisions and ammunition were brought forward from Fort George to the first navigable parts of Hudson's River: this is a distance of fifteen miles, and one made of difficult passage. The intricate combination of land and water carriage, together with the insufficient means of transportation, and excessive rains, caused such delays, that at the end of fifteen days there were not more than four days' provisions brought forward, nor above ten batteaux in the river. The difficulties of this conveyance, as well as of the march through the wilderness from Skenesborough to Fort Edward, were encountered and overcome by the royal army with a spirit and alacrity which could not be exceeded. At length, on the thirtieth of July, after incredible fatigue and labour, general Burgoyne and the army under his command reached Fort Edward, on Hudson's River. Their exultation on accomplishing what for a long time had been the object of their hopes, was unusually great.

While the British were retarded in their advance by the combined difficulties of nature and art, events took place, which proved the wisdom and propriety of the retreat from Ticonderoga. The army saved by that means, was between the inhabitants and general Burgoyne, this abated the panic of the people, and became a centre of rendezvous for them to repair to: on the other hand, had they stood their ground at Ticonderoga, they must in the ordinary course of events, in a short time, either have been cut to pieces, or surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

From the adoption of that measure very different events took place. In a few days after the evacuation, general Schuyler issued a proclamation, calling to the mind of the inhabitants the late barbarities and desolations of the royal army in Jersey; warning them that they would be dealt with as traitors if they joined the British, and requiring them with their arms to repair to the American standard. Numerous parties were also employed in bringing off public stores, and in felling trees, and throwing obstructions in the way of the advancing royal army. The terror excited by the Indians, instead of disposing the inhabitants to court British protection, had a contrary effect. The friends of the royal cause, as well as its enemies, suffered from their indiscriminate barbarities. Occasion was thereby given to inflame the populace, and to blacken the royal cause. The cruelties of the Indians, and the cause in which they were engaged, were associated together, and presented in one view to the alarmed inhabitants. All the feeble aid which the royal army received from their Indian auxiliaries, was entirely overbalanced by the odium it brought on their cause, and by that determined spirit of opposition which the dread of their savage cruelties excited. An army was speedily poured forth from the woods and mountains. When they who had begun the retreat were nearly wasted away, the spirit of the country immediately supplied their place with a much greater and more formidable force. In addition to these incitements, it was early conjectured, that the royal army, by pushing forward, would be so entangled and not be able to advance or retreat on equal terms. Men of abilities and of eloquence, influenced with this expectation, harangued the inhabitants in their

several towns, and set forth in high colouring the cruelties of the savage auxiliaries of Great Britain, and the fair prospects of capturing the whole force of their enemies. From the combined influence of these causes, the American army soon amounted to upwards of thirteen thousand men.

While general Burgoyne was forcing his way down towards Albany, lieutenant-colonel St. Leger was co-operating with him in the Mohawk country. He had ascended the river St. Lawrence, crossed Lake Ontario, and commenced the siege of Fort Schuyler. On the approach of this detachment of the royal army, general Harkimer collected about eight thousand of the whig militia of the parts adjacent for the relief of the garrison.

St. Leger, aware of the consequences of being attacked in his trenches, detached Sir John Johnson, with some Tories and Indians to lie in ambush, and intercept the advancing militia. The stratagem took effect: the general and his militia were surprised, but several of the Indians were nevertheless killed by their fire. A scene of confusion followed. Some of Harkimer's men ran off, but others posted themselves behind logs, and continued to fight with bravery and success. The loss on the side of the Americans was one hundred and sixty killed, besides the wounded. Among the former was their gallant leader, general Harkimer. Several of their killed and wounded were principal inhabitants of that part of the country. Colonel St. Leger availed himself of the terror excited on this occasion, and endeavored by strong representations of Indian barbarity to intimidate the garrison into an immediate surrender. He sent verbal and written messages, "demanding the surrender of the fort, and stating the impossibility of their obtaining relief, as their friends under general Harkimer were entirely cut off, and as general Burgoyne had forced his way through the country, and was daily receiving the submission of the inhabitants." He represented "the pains he had taken to soften the Indians, and to obtain engagements from them, that in case of an immediate surrender every man in the garrison should be spared;" and particularly enlarged on the circumstance, "that the Indians were determined, in case of their meeting with farther opposition, to massacre not only the garrison, but every man, woman, or child, in the Mohawk country." Colonel Gansevoort, who commanded in the fort, replied, "that being by the United States entrusted with the charge of the garrison, he was determined to defend it to the last extremity against all enemies whatever, without any concern for the consequences of doing his duty."

BRITISH REPULSED AT FORT SCHUYLER.

THE brave garrison, in its hour of danger, was not forgotten. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, had been previously detached by general Schuyler for their relief, and was then near at hand. Mr. Tost Schuyler, who had been taken up by the Americans, on suspicion of his being a spy, was promised his life and his estate, on condition that he should go and alarm the Indians with such representations of the numbers marching against them, as would occasion their retreat. He immediately proceeded to the camp of the Indians, and being able to converse in their own language, informed them that vast numbers of hostile Americans were near at hand. They were thoroughly frightened, and determined to go off. St. Leger used every art to retain them; but nothing could change their determination. It is the characteristic of these people, on a reverse of fortune to betray irresolution, and a total want of that constancy which is necessary to struggle for a length of time with difficulties. They had found the fort stronger and better defended than was expected; they had lost several head-men in their engagement with general Harkimer, and had gotten no plunder. These circumstances, added to the certainty of the approach of a reinforcement to their adversaries, which they believed to be much greater than it really was, made them quite untractable. Part of them instantly decamped, and the remainder threatened to follow, if the British did not immediately retreat. This measure was adopted, and the siege raised. From the disaster occasioned by the precipitancy of the Indians, the tents, and much of the artillery and stores of the besiegers fell into the hands of the garrison. The disco-

taunted savages, exasperated by their ill fortune, are said, on their retreat, to have robbed their British associates of their baggage and provisions.

While the fate of Fort Schuyler was in suspense, it occurred to general Burgoyne, on hearing of its being besieged, that a sudden and rapid movement forward would be of the utmost consequence. As the principal force of his adversaries was in front between him and Albany, he hoped, by advancing on them, to reduce them to the necessity of fighting, or of retreating out of his way to New-England.

COLONEL BAUM DEFEATED.

WITH such views, general Burgoyne promised himself great advantages from advancing rapidly towards Albany. The principal objection against this plausible project, was the difficulty of furnishing provisions for his troops. To keep up a communication with Fort George, so as to obtain from that garrison regular supplies at a distance daily increasing, was wholly impracticable. The advantages which were expected from the proposed measure, were too dazzling to be easily relinquished. Though the impossibility of drawing provisions from the stores in their rear was known and acknowledged, yet a hope was indulged that they might be elsewhere obtained. A plan was therefore formed to open resources from the plentiful farms of Vermont. Every day's account, and particularly the information of colonel Skene, induced Burgoyne to believe, that one description of the inhabitants in that country were panic-struck, and that another, and by far the most numerous, were friends to the British interest, and only wanted the appearance of a protecting power to show themselves. Relying on this intelligence, he detached only five hundred men, one hundred Indians, and two field-pieces, which he supposed would be fully sufficient for the expedition. The command of this force was given to lieutenant-colonel Baum, and it was supposed that with it he would be enabled to seize upon a magazine of supplies which the Americans had collected at Bennington, and which was only guarded by militia. It was also intended to try the temper of the inhabitants, and to mount the dragoons. On his approaching the place of his destination, he found the American militia stronger than had been supposed; he therefore took post in the vicinity, intrenched his party, and despatched an express to general Burgoyne, with an account of his situation. Colonel Breyman was detached to reinforce him. Though every exertion was made to push forward this reinforcement, yet, from the impracticable face of the country, and defective means of transportation, thirty-two hours elapsed before they had marched twenty-four miles. General Stark, who commanded the American militia at Bennington, engaged with them before the junction of the two royal detachments could be effected. On this occasion about eight hundred undisciplined militia, without bayonets, or single piece of artillery, attacked and routed five hundred regular troops, advantageously posted behind intrenchments, furnished with the best arms, and defended with two pieces of artillery. The field-pieces were taken from the party commanded by colonel Baum, and the greatest part of the detachment was either killed or captured. Colonel Breyman arrived on the same ground and on the same day, but not till the action was over. Instead of meeting his friends, as he expected, he found himself bravely attacked. Breyman's troops, though fatigued with their preceding march, behaved with great resolution, but were at length compelled to abandon their artillery, and retreat. The overthrow of these detachments was the first link in a grand chain of causes, which finally drew down ruin on the whole royal army. The confidence with which the Americans were inspired, on finding themselves able to defeat regular troops, produced surprising effects; it animated their exertions, and filled them with expectation of farther success.

That military pride, which is the soul of an army, was nurtured by the captured artillery, and other trophies of victory. In proportion to the elevation of the Americans was the depression of their adversaries. Accustomed to success, as they had been in the preceding part of the campaign, they felt unusual mortification from this unexpected check; though it did not diminish their courage, it abated their confidence. It is not easy to enumerate all

the disastrous consequences which resulted to the royal army, from the failure of their expedition to Bennington. These were so extensive, that that loss of men was the least considerable; it deranged every plan for pushing the advantages which had been previously obtained. Among other embarrassments it reduced general Burgoyne to the alternative of halting till he brought forward supplies from Fort George, or of advancing without them at the risk of being starved. The former being adopted, the royal army was detained from August sixteenth, to September thirteenth. This unavoidable delay gave time and opportunity for the Americans to collect in great numbers.

The defeat of lieutenant-colonel Baum was the first event which for a long time had taken place in favour of the American northern army. From December 1775, it had experienced one misfortune treading on the heels of another, and defeat succeeding defeat. Every moment had been either retreating or evacuating. The subsequent transactions present a remarkable contrast to this, which, previous to the battle of Bennington, had not for a moment quitted the British standard, seemed, after that event, as if she had totally deserted it, and gone over to the opposite party.

SUCCESSIVE DISASTERS OF THE BRITISH.

AFTER the evacuation of Ticonderoga, the Americans had fallen back from one place to another, till they at last fixed at Vanhook's Island. Soon after the retreating system was adopted, congress recalled their general officers, and put general Gates at the head of their northern army. His arrival (on the nineteenth of August) gave fresh vigour to the exertions of the inhabitants. The militia, flushed with their recent victory at Bennington, collected in great numbers to his standard; they soon began to be animated with a hope of capturing the whole British army. When the necessary stores for thirty days' subsistence were brought forward from Lake George, general Burgoyne gave up all communication with the magazines in the rear, and on the thirteenth and fourteenth of September crossed Hudson's river. The movement was the subject of much discussion; some charged it to the impetuosity of the general, and alleged that it was premature before he was sure of aid from the royal forces posted in New-York; but he pleaded the peremptory orders of his superiors. The rapid advance of Burgoyne, and especially his passage of the North River, added much to the impracticability of his future retreat, and in conjunction with subsequent events made the total ruin of his army in a great degree unavoidable.

BATTLE OF STILLWATER.

GENERAL BURGUYNE, after crossing the Hudson, advanced along its side, and in four days encamped on the heights, about two miles from general Gates's camp, which was three miles above Stillwater. The Americans, elated with their successes at Bennington and Fort Schuyler, thought no more of retreating, but came out to meet the advancing British, and engaged them with firmness and resolution. The attack began a little before mid-day of September nineteenth, between the scouting parties of the two armies. The commanders on both sides supported and reinforced their respective parties. The conflict, though severe, was only partial for an hour and a half; but after a short pause it became general, and continued for three hours without any intermission. A constant blaze of fire was kept up, and both armies seemed to be determined on death or victory. The Americans and British alternately drove and were driven by each other; men, and particularly officers, dropped every moment, and on every side. Several of the Americans placed themselves in high trees, and as often as they could distinguish an officer's uniform, took him off by deliberately aiming at his person. Few actions have been characterized by more obstinacy in attack or defence; the British repeatedly tried their bayonets, but without their usual success in the use of that weapon. At length night put an end to the effusion of blood. This hard-fought battle decided nothing, and little else than honour was gained by either army; but nevertheless it was followed by important consequences: of these, one was the diminution of the zeal and alacrity of the Indians in the British army. The

dangerous service in which they were engaged, was by no means suited to their habits of war: they were disappointed of the plunder they expected, and saw nothing before them but hardships and danger. Fidelity and honour were too feeble motives in the minds of savages, to retain them in such an unproductive service. By deserting in the season when their aid would have been most useful, they furnished a second instance of the impolicy of depending upon them. Very little more perseverance was exhibited by the Canadians and other British provincials: they also abandoned the British standard, when they found that, instead of a flying and dispirited enemy, they had a numerous and resolute force opposed to them. These desertions were not the only disappointment which general Burgoyne experienced. From the commencement of the expedition, he had promised himself a strong reinforcement from that part of the British army which was stationed at New-York; he depended on its being able to force its way to Albany, and to join him there, or in the vicinity. This co-operation, though attempted, failed in the execution, while the expectation of it contributed to involve him in some difficulties to which he would not have otherwise been exposed.

On the twenty-first of September, general Burgoyne received intelligence in a cypher, that Sir Henry Clinton, who then commanded in New-York, intended to make a diversion in his favour, by attacking the fortresses which the Americans had erected on Hudson's River, to obstruct the intercourse between New-York and Albany. In answer to this communication he despatched to Sir Henry Clinton some trusty persons, with a full account of his situation, and with instructions to press the immediate execution of the proposed co-operation, and to assure him, that he was enabled in point of provisions, and fixed in his resolution to hold his present position till the twelfth of October, in the hope of favourable events. The reasonable expectation of a diversion from New-York, founded on this intelligence, made it disgraceful to retreat, and at the same time improper to urge offensive operations. In this posture of affairs, a delay of two or three weeks, in expectation of the promised co-operation from New-York, became necessary. In the mean time, the provisions of the royal army were lessening, and the animation and numbers of the American army increasing. The New-England people were fully sensible, that their all was at stake, and at the same time sanguine, that by vigorous exertions Burgoyne would be so entangled, that his surrender would be unavoidable. Every moment made the situation of the British army more critical. From the uncertainty of receiving farther supplies, general Burgoyne lessened the soldiers' provisions. The twelfth of October came, and still the royal army had agreed to wait for aid from New-York, was fast approaching, and no intelligence of the expected co-operation had arrived. In this alarming situation, it was thought proper to make a movement to the left of the Americans. The body of troops employed for this purpose consisted of fifteen hundred chosen men, and was commanded by generals Burgoyne, Phillips, Reidesel, and Fraser. As they advanced, they were checked by a sudden and impetuous attack; but major Ackland, at the head of the British grenadiers, sustained it with great firmness. The Americans extended their attack along the whole front of the German troops, who were posted on the right of the grenadiers, and they also marched a large body round their flank, in order to cut off their retreat. To oppose this bold enterprise, the British light-infantry, with a part of the 24th regiment, were directed to form a second line, and to cover the retreat of the troops into the camp. In the mean time, the Americans pushed forward a fresh and a strong reinforcement, to renew the action on Burgoyne's left. That part of his army was obliged to give way, but the light-infantry and twenty-fourth regiment, by a quick movement, came to its succour, and saved it from total ruin. The British lines being exposed to great danger, the troops which were nearest to them returned for their defence. General Arnold, with a brigade of continental troops, pushed for the works possessed by Lord Balcarras, at the head of the British light-infantry; but the brigade having an abbatis to cross, and many other obstructions to surmount, was compelled to retire. Arnold left this brigade,

and came to Jackson's regiment which he ordered instantly to advance and attack the lines and redoubt in their front, which were defended by lieutenant-colonel Breyman at the head of the German grenadiers. The assailants pushed on with rapidity, and carried the works; Arnold was one of the first who entered them. Lieutenant-colonel Breyman was killed: the troops commanded by him retired firing; they gained their tents about thirty or forty yards from their works; but on finding that the assault was general, they gave one fire, after which some retreated to the British camp, but others threw down their arms. The night put an end to the action.

This day was fatal to many brave men; the British officers suffered more than their common proportion. Among their slain, general Fraser, on account of his distinguished merit, was the subject of particular regret: Sir James Clark, Burgoyne's aid-de-camp, was mortally wounded: the general himself had a narrow escape; a shot passed through his hat, and another through his waistcoat: majors Williams and Ackland were taken, and the latter wounded. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable; but general Arnold, to whose impetuosity they were much indebted for the success of the day, was among their wounded. They took more than two hundred prisoners, besides nine pieces of brass artillery, and the encampment of a German brigade with all their equipage.

The royal troops were under arms the whole of the next day, in expectation of another action; but nothing more than skirmishes took place. At this time, general Lincoln, when reconnoitring, received a dangerous wound; an event which was greatly regretted, as he possessed much of the esteem and confidence of the American army.

The position of the British army, after the action of the seventh, was so dangerous, that an immediate and total change became necessary. This hazardous measure was executed without loss or disorder: the British camp, with all its appurtenances, was removed in the course of a single night. The American general now saw a fair prospect of overcoming the army opposed to him, without exposing his own to the danger of another battle. His measures were therefore principally directed to cut off their retreat, and prevent them from receiving any farther supplies.

FORT MONTGOMERY TAKEN BY THE BRITISH.

WHILE general Burgoyne was pushing on towards Albany, an unsuccessful attempt to relieve him was made by the British commander in New-York. For this purpose, Sir Henry Clinton, on the fifth of October, conducted an expedition up Hudson's river. This consisted of about three thousand men, and was accompanied by a suitable naval force; after making many feints he landed at Stony Point, and marched over the mountains to Fort Montgomery, and attacked the different redoubts. The garrison, commanded by governor Clinton, a brave and intelligent officer, made a gallant resistance; but as the post had been designed principally to prevent the passing of ships, the works on the land side were incomplete and untenable. When it began to grow dark, the British entered the fort with fixed bayonets. The loss on neither side was great; governor Clinton, general James Clinton, and most of the officers and men, effected their escape under cover of the thick smoke and darkness that suddenly prevailed.

The reduction of this post furnished the British with an opportunity for opening a passage up the North River; but instead of proceeding forward to Burgoyne's encampment, or even to Albany, they spent several days in laying waste the adjacent country. The Americans destroyed Fort Constitution, and also set fire to two new frigates and some other vessels. General Tryon at the same time destroyed a settlement, called Continental Village, which contained barracks for fifteen hundred men, besides many stores. Sir James Wallace with a flying squadron of light frigates, and general Vaughan with a detachment of land-forces, continued on and near the river for several days, desolating the country near its margin. On the thirteenth of October general Vaughan so completely burned Reopas, a fine flourishing village, that a single house was not left standing, though

on his approach the Americans had left the town without making any resistance. Charity would lead us to suppose that these devastations were designed to answer military purposes. Their authors might have hoped to divert the attention of general Gates, and thus indirectly relieve general Burgoyne; but if this was intended, the artifice did not take effect. The preservation of property was with the Americans only a secondary object. The capturing of Burgoyne promised such important consequences, that they would not suffer any other consideration to interfere with it. General Gates did not make a single movement that lessened the probability of effecting his grand purpose. He wrote an expostulatory letter to Vaughan, part of which was in the following terms: "Is it thus your king's generals think to make converts to the royal cause? It is no less surprising than true, that the measures they adopt to serve their master, have a quite contrary effect. Their cruelty establishes the glorious act of independence upon the broad basis of the resentment of the people." Whether policy or revenge led to this devastation of property is uncertain; but it cannot admit of a doubt that it was far from being the most effectual method of relieving Burgoyne.

The passage of the North River was made so practicable by these advantages, that Sir Henry Clinton, with his whole force, amounting to three thousand men, might not only have reached Albany, but general Gates's encampment, before the twelfth, the day till which Burgoyne had agreed to wait for aid from New-York. While the British were doing mischief to individuals without serving the cause of their royal master, they might in all probability, by pushing forward about one hundred and thirty-six miles in six days, have brought Gates's army between two fires, at least twenty-four hours before Burgoyne's necessity compelled his submission to articles of capitulation. Why they neglected this opportunity of relieving their suffering brethren, about thirty-six miles to the northward of Albany, when they were only about one hundred miles below it, has never yet been satisfactorily explained.

SURRENDER OF GENERAL BURGUYNE.

GATES posted fourteen hundred men on the heights opposite the fords of Saratoga, and two thousand more in the rear, to prevent a retreat to Fort Edward, and fifteen hundred at a ford higher up. Burgoyne, receiving intelligence of these movements, concluded from them, especially from the last, that Gates meant to turn his right. This, if effected, would have entirely enclosed him: to avoid being hemmed in, he resolved on an immediate retreat to Saratoga. His hospital, with the sick and wounded, were necessarily left behind; but they were recommended to the humanity of general Gates, and received from him every indulgence their situation required. When general Burgoyne arrived at Saratoga, he found that the Americans had posted a considerable force on the opposite heights to impede his passage at that ford. In order to prepare the way for a retreat to Lake George, general Burgoyne ordered a detachment of artificers, with a strong escort of British and provincials, to repair the bridges and open the road leading thither. Part of the escort was withdrawn on other duty, and the remainder, on a slight attack of an inconsiderable party of Americans, ran away. The workmen, thus left without support, were unable to effect the business on which they had been sent. The only practicable route of retreat which now remained, was by a night march to Fort Edward. Before this attempt could be made, scouts returned with intelligence, that the Americans were entrenched opposite to those fords on the Hudson's River, over which it was proposed to pass, and that they were also in force on the high ground between Fort Edward and Fort George; they had at the same time parties down the whole shore, and posts, so near as to observe every motion of the royal army. Their position extended nearly round the British, and was by the nature of the ground in a great measure secured from attack. The royal army could not stand its ground where it was, from the want of the means necessary for their subsistence; nor could it advance towards Albany without attacking a force greatly superior in number; nor could it retreat without making good its way over a river in the face of a

strong party, advantageously posted on the opposite side. In case of either attempt, the Americans were so near as to discover every movement, and by means of their bridge could bring their whole force to operate.

Truly distressing was the condition of the royal army. Abandoned in the most critical moment by their Indian allies, unsupported by their brethren in New-York, weakened by the timidity and desertion of the Canadians, worn down by a series of incessant efforts, and greatly reduced in their numbers by repeated battles, they were invested by an army nearly three times their number, without a possibility of retreat, or of replenishing their exhausted stock of provisions. A continual cannonade pervaded their camp, and rifle and grape shot fell in many parts of their lines; they nevertheless retained a great share of fortitude.

In the mean time the American army was hourly increasing. Volunteers came in from all quarters, eager to share in the glory of destroying or capturing those whom they considered as their most dangerous enemies. The thirtieth of October at length arrived: the day was spent in anxious expectation of its producing something of consequence. But as no prospect of assistance appeared, and their provisions were nearly expended, the hope of receiving any in due time for their relief could not reasonably be further indulged. General Burgoyne thought proper in the evening to take an account of the provisions left. It was found on inquiry, that they would amount to no more than a scanty subsistence for three days. In this state of distress, a council of war was called, and it was made so general, as to comprehend both the field officers and the captains. Their unanimous opinion was, that their present situation justified a capitulation on honourable terms. A messenger was therefore despatched to begin this business. General Gates in the first instance demanded, that the royal army should surrender prisoners of war. He also proposed, that the British should ground their arms. But general Burgoyne replied, "This article is inadmissible in every extremity; sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampment, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter." After various messages a convention was settled, by which it was substantially stipulated as follows: "The troops under general Burgoyne to march out of their camp with the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments to the verge of the river, where the arms and artillery are to be left. The arms to be piled by word of command from their own officers. A free passage to be granted to the army under lieutenant-general Burgoyne to Great Britain, upon condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest, and the port of Boston to be assigned for the entry of the transports to receive the troops whenever general Howe shall so order. The army under lieutenant-general Burgoyne to march to Massachusetts's Bay, by the easiest route, and to be quartered in, near, as convenient as possible, to Boston. The troops to be provided with provision by general Gates's orders, at the same rate of rations as the troops of his own army. All officers to retain their carriages, bat-horses, and no baggage to be molested or searched. The officers are not, as far as circumstances will admit, to be separated from their men. The officers to be quartered according to their rank. All corps whatever of lieutenant-general Burgoyne's army to be included in the above articles. All Canadians, and persons belonging to the Canadian establishment, and other followers of the army, to be permitted to return to Canada, to be conducted to the first British post on Lake George, and to be supplied with provisions as the other troops, and to be bound by the same condition of not serving during the present contest. Passports to be granted to three officers, to carry despatches to Sir William Howe, Sir Guy Carleton, and to Great Britain. The officers to be admitted on their parole, and to be permitted to wear their side-arms." Such were the embarrassments of the royal army, incapable of subsisting where it was, or of making its way to a better situation, that these terms were rather more favourable than they had a right to expect. On the other hand, it would not have been prudent for the American general at the head of his army, which, though numerous, consisted mostly of militia or new levies, to have provoked the despair of even an inferior number of brave,

disciplined, regular troops. General Gates rightly judged that the best way to secure his advantages was to use them with moderation. Soon after the convention was signed, the Americans marched into their lines, and were kept there till the royal army had deposited their arms at the place appointed. The delicacy with which this business was conducted, reflected the highest honour on the American generally, nor did the politeness of Gates end here: every circumstance was withheld that could constitute a triumph in the American army. The captive general was received by his conqueror with respect and kindness. A number of the principal officers of both armies met at general Gates's quarters, and for a while seemed to forget in social and convivial pleasures that they had been enemies. The conduct of general Burgoyne in this interview with general Gates was truly dignified, and the historian is at a loss whether to admire most, the magnanimity of the victorious, or the fortitude of the vanquished general.

The British troops partook liberally of the plenty that reigned in the American army. It was the more acceptable to them, as they were destitute of bread and flour, and had only as much meat left as was sufficient for a day's subsistence.

By the convention which has been mentioned, five thousand seven hundred and ninety men were surrendered prisoners. The sick and wounded left in camp, when the British retreated to Saratoga, together with the numbers of the British, German, and Canadian troops, who were killed, wounded, or taken, and who had deserted in the preceding part of the expedition, were reckoned to be four thousand six hundred and eighty-nine. The whole royal force, exclusive of Indians, was probably about ten thousand. The stores which the Americans acquired were considerable. The captured artillery consisted of thirty-five brass field-pieces; there were also four thousand six hundred and forty-seven muskets, and a variety of other useful and much wanted articles, which fell into their hands. The Continentals in general Gates's army were nine thousand and ninety-three, the militia four thousand one hundred and twenty-nine, but of the former two thousand one hundred and three were sick or on furlough, and five hundred and sixty-two of the latter were in the same situation. The number of the militia was constantly fluctuating.

In a short time after the convention was signed, general Gates moved forward to stop the devastations of the British on the North River; but on hearing of the escape of Burgoyne, Vaughan and Wallace retired to New-York.

About the same time the British, which had been left in the rear of the royal army, destroyed their cannon, and abandoning Ticonderoga, retreated to Canada. The whole country, after experiencing for several months the confusions of war, was in a moment restored to perfect tranquillity.

CONCLUSION OF THE CAMPAIGN.

GENERAL Washington soon after the defeat of Burgoyne received a considerable reinforcement from the northern army, which had accomplished that great event. With this increased force he took a position at and near Whitmarsh. The royal army having succeeded in removing the obstructions in the river Delaware, were ready for new enterprises. On the fourth of December, Sir William Howe marched out of Philadelphia with almost his whole force, expecting to bring on a general engagement. The next morning he appeared on Chesnut Hill, in front of, and about three miles distant from the right wing of the Americans. On the day following the British changed their ground, and moved to the right. Two days after they moved still farther to the right, and made every appearance of an intention to attack the American encampment. Some skirmishes took place, and a general action was hourly expected; but on the morning of the next day, after various marches and countermarches, the British fled off from their right, by two or three different routes, in full march for Philadelphia.

The position of general Washington, in a military point of view, was admirable: he was so sensible of the advantage of it, that the manoeuvres of Sir William Howe for some days, could not allure him from it. In consequence of the reinforcement lately received, he had not in any preceding period of the campaign been in an equal condition for a gen-

eral engagement. Though he ardently wished to be attacked, yet he would not relinquish a position from which he hoped for reparation for the adversity of the campaign. Thus ended the campaign of 1777. Though Sir William Howe's army had been crowned with the most brilliant success, having gained two considerable victories, and been equally triumphant in many smaller actions, yet the whole amount of this tide of good fortune was no more than a good winter lodging for his troops in Philadelphia, whilst the men under his command possessed no more of the adjacent country than what they immediately commanded with their arms. The congress, it is true, was compelled to leave the first seat of their deliberations, and the greatest city in the United States changed a number of its whig inhabitants for a numerous royal army; but it is as true that the minds of the Americans were, if possible, more hostile to the claims of Great Britain than ever, and their army had gained as much by discipline and experience, as compensated for its diminution by defeats.

The events of this campaign were adverse to the sanguine hopes which had been entertained of a speedy conquest of the revolted colonies. Repeated proofs had been given, that, though general Washington was very forward to engage when he thought it to his advantage, yet it was impossible for the royal commander to bring him to action against his consent. By this mode of conducting the defence of the new-formed states, two campaigns had been wasted away, and the work which was originally allotted for one, was still unfinished.

AMERICAN SUCCESSES AT SEA.

It has already been mentioned, that congress, in the latter end of November 1775, authorised the capture of vessels laden with stores or reinforcements for their enemies. On the twenty-third of March 1776, they extended this permission so far as to authorise their inhabitants to fit out armed vessels to cruise on the enemies of the United Colonies. The Americans henceforth devoted themselves to privateering, and were very successful. In the course of the year they made many valuable captures, particularly of homeward-bound West-India-men. They found no difficulty in selling their prizes; the ports of France were open to them, both in Europe and in the West Indies. In the latter they were sold without any disguise, in the former a greater regard was paid to appearances. Open sales were not permitted in the harbour of France at particular times, but even then they were made at the entrance of the bay.

In the French West India islands the inhabitants not only purchased prizes, brought in by American cruisers, but fitted out privateers under American colours and commissions, and made captures of British vessels. The American privateers also found countenance in some of the ports of Spain, but not so readily nor so universally as in those of France. The British took many of the American vessels, but they were often of inferior value. Such of them as were laden with provisions, proved a seasonable relief to the West India islands, which otherwise would have suffered from the want of those supplies, which before the war had been usually procured from the neighbouring continent.

The American privateers in the year 1777, increased in numbers and boldness. They insulted the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland in a manner that had never before been attempted. The General Mifflin privateer, after making repeated captures, arrived at Brest, and saluted the French admiral. This was returned in form as to the vessel of an independent power. Lord Stormont, the British ambassador at the court of Versailles, irritated at the countenance given to the Americans, threatened to return immediately to London, unless satisfaction was given, and different measures were adopted by France. An order was issued in consequence of his application, requiring all American vessels to leave the ports of his most Christian majesty: but though the order was positive, so many evasions were practised, and the execution of it was so relaxed, that it produced no permanent discouragement of the beneficial intercourse.

Immediately after the surrender of the troops commanded by lieutenant-general Burgoyne, they were marched to the vicinity of Boston. On their arrival they were quartered in the barracks on Winter and Prospect Hills. The general court of

Massachusetts passed proper resolutions for procuring suitable accommodations for the prisoners; but from the general unwillingness of the people to oblige them, and from the feebleness of that authority which the republican rulers had at that time over the property of their fellow-citizens, it was impossible to provide immediately for so large a number of officers and soldiers, in such a manner as their convenience required, or as from the articles of convention they might reasonably expect. The officers remonstrated to general Burgoyne, that six or seven of them were crowded together in one room, without any regard to their respective ranks, in violation of the seventh article of the convention. General Burgoyne, on the fourteenth of November, forwarded this account to general Gates, and added, "The public faith is broken." This letter being laid before congress gave an alarm. It corroborated an apprehension previously entertained, that the captured troops on their embarkation would make a junction with the British garrisons in America. The declaration of the general, that "the public faith was broken," while in the power of congress, was considered by them as destroying the security which they before had in his personal honour; for in every event he might adduce his previous notice to justify his future conduct. They therefore resolved, "That the embarkation of lieutenant-general Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, be postponed, till a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention of Saratoga be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to congress." General Burgoyne explained the intention and construction of the passage alluded to in his letter, and pledged himself, that his officers would join with him in signing any instrument that might be thought

necessary for confirming the convention; but congress would not recede from their resolution. They alleged, that it had been often asserted by their adversaries, that "faith was not to be kept with rebels," and that therefore they would be deficient in attention to the interests of their constituents if they did not require an authentic ratification of the convention by national authority before they parted with the captured troops. They urged farther, that by the law of nations, a compact broken in one article was no longer binding in any other. They made a distinction between the suspension and abrogation of the convention, and alleged that ground to suspect an intention to violate it, was a justifying reason for suspending its execution on their part till it was properly ratified. The desired ratification, if Great Britain was seriously disposed to that measure, might have been obtained in a few months, and congress uniformly declared themselves willing to carry it into full effect, as soon as they were secured of its observance by proper authority on the other side.

About eight months after, certain royal commissioners made a requisition respecting these troops; offered to ratify the convention, and required permission for their embarkation. On inquiry it was found that they had no authority to do any thing in the matter which would be obligatory on Great Britain. Congress therefore resolved, "That no ratification of the convention, which may be tendered in consequence of powers which only reach that case by construction and implication, or which may subject whatever is transacted relative to it, to the future approbation or disapprobation of the parliament of Great Britain, can be accepted by congress."

CHAPTER XIV.

Meeting of the British Parliament—Debates on the Address—News arrives of Burgoyne's defeat—Debates on that subject—Lord North's conciliatory bills—Alliance between France and America—Debates on the French War—Ways and Means—Address for a War with France—Death and character of Lord Chatham—Relief to the trade of Ireland—To the Roman Catholics—Toulon squadron sails for America—Termination of the Session—Transactions of the royal Commissioners in America—Arrival of D'Estaing—Philadelphia evacuated—Ambassador from France to America—Attempt on Rhoda Island—Expedition against East Florida—Savannah taken by the British—Naval preparations—Engagement between Keppel and D'Ouvillers—Trial of Keppel—Trial of Sir H. Palliser.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

THE first successes of general Burgoyne elevated the hopes of the tory party in England to the highest pitch of extravagance; and it has been supposed that the meeting of parliament was delayed to an unusual period in order to afford his majesty an opportunity of congratulating the British senate on the glorious event of the northern expedition. The defeat of the German auxiliaries, which arrived in England previous to the commencement of the session, did not serve entirely to remove the confident hopes of success which this infatuated administration still entertained. In the speech from the throne to both houses on the twentieth of November, his majesty mentioned, "that repeated assurances from foreign powers of their pacific disposition had been received; but that while the armaments in the ports of France and Spain continued, his majesty had thought it advisable to make a considerable augmentation to his naval force, as well to keep the kingdom in a respectable state of security, as to provide an adequate protection to the extensive commerce of his subjects; the commons were informed, that the various services which had been mentioned, would unavoidably require large supplies; and a profession was made, that nothing could relieve his majesty's mind from the concern which it felt for the heavy charge they must bring upon the people, but a conviction of their being necessary for the welfare and essential interests of these kingdoms. The speech concluded, with a resolution of steadily pursuing the measures in which they were engaged for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which his majesty was determined to maintain through the several parts of his dominions, accompanied with a profession of being watchful for an opportunity of putting a stop to the effusion of the blood of his subjects; and a renewal or continuance of the former hope, that the deluded and unhappy multitude would return to their allegiance, upon a recollection of the blessings of their government, and a comparison with the miseries of their present situation."

In answer to this speech, addresses were moved, as usual, full of panegyrics on the speech, and the profound wisdom of the ministry.

The conduct of France, during the whole of this year, had been so unequivocal, that an impartial reader can scarcely help admiring the effrontery with which ministry had hitherto insisted, and still continued to insist, that her intentions were really pacific. She was not indeed yet arrived at that state of preparation, which would have enabled her to commence hostilities immediately. She occasionally relaxed in certain articles, where the British ministry found themselves obliged to press with more than usual vigour. Thus, when Cunningham, a bold American adventurer, had taken,

and carried into Dunkirk, with a privateer fitted out from that port, the English packet from Holland, and sent the mail to the American ministers at Paris, it then became necessary, to save appearances, to imprison Cunningham and his crew. To prevent this from giving any offence to the Americans, however, his imprisonment was represented as occasioned by some informality in his commission, which brought him very near, if not within the verge of piracy. Even this was very soon passed over. The American adventurer and his crew were released from their mock confinement, and he was permitted to purchase a much stronger vessel and a better sailer than before, avowedly to infest the British commerce as usual. At another time, when the French Newfoundland fishery would have been totally intercepted and destroyed in case of an immediate rupture, and the capture of their seamen would have been more ruinous and irreparable than the loss even of the ships and cargoes, lord Stormont obtained an order from the French ministers, that all the American privateers, with their prizes, should immediately depart the kingdom. Expedients, however, were practised on this occasion with such success, that the crew was not obeyed in any one instance, though it effectually answered the end held in view by the French court, viz. that of protracting time, by opening a subject of tedious and indecisive controversy, until their ships were safe in port. With regard to the Americans, they had the fullest assurance from M. de Sartine, the French minister, that the king would protect his subjects in trading with them; and for this purpose, a public instrument was sent to the several chambers of commerce, assuring them of what we have just now related.

DEBATES ON THE ADDRESS.

UNDER these circumstances, the marquis of Granby, after stating and lamenting, in a pathetic manner, the ruinous effects of the war, declared himself filled with the most ardent desire for grasping at the present moment of time, and of having the happiness even to lay the ground-work of an accommodation. He therefore moved an amendment to the address, the substance of which was, "to request of his majesty to adopt some measures for accommodating the differences with America; and recommending a cessation of all hostilities, as necessary for the effectuating so desirable a purpose; with an assurance, that the commons were determined to co-operate with him in every measure that could contribute to the re-establishment of peace, and the drawing such lines as should afford sufficient security to the terms of pacification."

This motion was seconded with additional arguments by lord John Cavendish, and supported by the opposition in general, on nearly the following grounds. After three years' war, the expenditure of fifteen millions of money, and the loss of many

brave troops, we had no more prospect of bettering our affairs than when we began. Notwithstanding the hopes of success yearly held out in the speech, our progress exhibited an uninterrupted series of mortifying disappointments and humiliating losses. The state of interest, of the stocks, and of real estates, as well as the gazettes, too plainly showed the degree in which our trade had been affected; while the defenceless state of our coasts, and trade fleets, demonstrated that if we were at present incompetent for the protection of national commerce, we should be greatly more so when involved in a war with the house of Bourbon, an event which gentlemen in opposition regarded as fast approaching; and this was the time to extricate ourselves from our difficulties by a reversal of that ruinous and absurd system of coercion which irritated the Americans, strengthened the hands of our enemies, and brought no advantage to ourselves.

The debate on the address in the upper house was rendered peculiarly interesting by the presence of lord Chatham, who himself moved an amendment, "To recommend an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries. This, my lords, is yet in our power, and let not the wisdom and justice of your lordships neglect the happy and perhaps the only opportunity."

His lordship was ably supported by the other lords in opposition. The ministry strongly defended not only the policy but the justice of employing the Indians. If the women and children of the Americans were destroyed by these savages, they only were to blame, who, by their rebellion, had brought upon themselves these calamities. In the course of the debate, lord Suffolk had the effrontery to assert, that the measure was also allowable on principle, for that it was perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature had put into our hands.

The whole of these arguments, and particularly the last, excited at once the stern indignation of lord Chatham: he suddenly rose, and gave full vent to his feelings. "To send forth the merciless cannibal thirsting for blood!—against whom?—Your protestant brethren!—to lay waste their country, to desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and name by the aid and instrumentality of these hell-hounds of war! Spain can no longer boast pre-eminence in barbarity. She armed herself with blood-hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of Mexico; but we, more ruthless, loose these dogs of war against our countrymen in America, endeavored to us by every tie that should sanctify humanity. My lords, I solemnly call upon your lordships, and upon every order of men in the state, to stamp upon this infamous procedure the indelible stigma of the public abhorrence. More particularly I call upon the holy prelates of our religion to do away this iniquity; let them perform a fast to purify their country from this deep and deadly sin. My lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to say more; but my feelings and indignation were too strong to have said less. I could not have slept this night in my bed, nor reposed my head upon my pillow, without giving this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such enormous and preposterous principles." After this grand effusion, the reader will be surprised to hear, that on the division, twenty-eight lords only voted in support of the motion, against ninety-seven who opposed it.

INTELLIGENCE OF BURGOYNE'S DEFEAT.

On the succeeding day ministers were completely humbled by the disastrous intelligence from America. Lord North shed tears; and the American secretary shrunk, oppressed with shame and disappointment, under the just invectives of the minority. On the fifth, the earl of Chatham moved in the house of lords, "that an address be presented to his majesty, to cause the proper officers to lay before the house copies of all orders and instructions to general Burgoyne relative to the late expedition from Canada." Holding up a paper in view of the house, his lordship said, "that he had the king's speech in his hand, and a deep sense of the public calamity in his heart. That speech, he said, contained a most unfaithful picture of the state of public affairs; it had a specious outside, was full of hopes, while every thing within was

full of danger. A system destructive of all faith and confidence had been introduced, his lordship affirmed, within the last fifteen years at St. James's, by which pliable men, not capable men, had been raised to the highest posts of government. A few obscure persons had obtained an ascendancy where no man should have a personal ascendancy, and by the most insidious means the nation had been betrayed into a war of which they now reaped the bitter fruits. The spirit of delusion, his lordship said, had gone forth; ministers had imposed on the people; parliament had been induced to sanctify the imposition; a visionary phantom of revenue had been conjured up for the basest of purposes, but it was now for ever vanished. His lordship said, that the abilities of general Burgoyne were confessed, his personal bravery not surpassed, his zeal in the service unquestionable. He had experienced no pestilence, nor suffered any of the accidents which sometimes supersede the wisest and most spirited exertions of human industry. What then is the cause of his misfortune?—Want of wisdom in our councils, want of ability in our ministers. His lordship said, the plan of penetrating into the colonies from Canada was a most wild, uncombined, and mad project; and the mode of carrying on the war was the most bloody, barbarous, and ferocious recorded in the annals of history. The arms of Britain had been sullied and tarnished by blending the scalping-knife and tomahawk with the sword and firelock. Such a mode of warfare was a contamination which all the waters of the Hudson and the Delaware would never wash away. It was impossible for America to forget or forgive so horrid an injury."

In the course of his speech he animadverted in the severest terms on the language recently held by the archbishop of York. "The pernicious doctrines advanced by that prelate were, he said, the doctrines of Atterbury and Sacheverel. As a whig he abjured and detested them; and he hoped he should yet see the day when they would be deemed libellous, and treated as such." The motion being negatived, his lordship next moved an address to the king, that all orders and treaties relative to the employment of the Indian savages be laid before the house."

Lord Gower rose to oppose the motion, and asserted, "that the noble lord had himself employed savages without scruple in the operations of the last war." This charge lord Chatham positively and peremptorily denied, and challenged the ministers, if any such instructions of his were to be found, to produce them. If at all employed, they had crept into the service, from the occasional utility of their assistance in unexplored parts of the country. He said, "the late king George II. had too much regard for the military dignity of his people, and also too much humanity, to agree to such a proposal, had it been made to him, and he called upon lord Amherst to declare the truth." Lord Amherst, not able to evade this appeal, reluctantly owned that Indians had been employed on both sides—the French employed them first, he said, and we followed their example; but that he had been authorized to take them into his majesty's service by instructions from the minister, his lordship would not affirm. The motion was dismissed by the previous question.

LORD NORTH'S CONCILIATORY BILLS.

On the seventeenth of February, having given previous notice of his intention, the minister introduced to the house of commons some new propositions tending to a reconciliation with America. He said, that his wishes for peace had been frustrated by a variety of misfortunes; that American taxation, he had always believed, could never produce a beneficial revenue, but he had found them taxed when he came into office. He never could have conceived, that the agreement with the East India company would have proved so unfortunate; that the coercive acts had produced effects which he could not foresee; that his former conciliatory proposition was so disfigured by obscure discussions as to lose its effect in America; that the issue of the war had been contrary to all expectation, considering the conduct of the commanders and the goodness of the troops. His present motions were two, for "a bill for declaring the intentions of the parliament of Great Britain, concerning the exercise of the right of imposing taxes within the sea

jeasy's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America." and, "a bill to enable his majesty to appoint commissioners, with sufficient powers to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders now subsisting in certain of the colonies, plantations, and provinces of North America." His lordship added, that it was intended to appoint five commissioners, and enable them to treat with the congress, as if it were a legal body, to treat with any of the provincial assemblies upon their present constitution, or with any individuals in military or civil command, general Washington, or any other officer. They were to have a power of suspending hostilities, granting pardons, and restoring all or any of the colonies to the form of their ancient constitution; that should the Americans now claim independence, they should not be required to renounce it, until the treaty had been ratified by the parliament of Great Britain; and if the Americans refused a moderate contribution towards the common defence of the empire when reunited, they should be warned, that, in that case, they were not to look for support from it. The minister declared farther, that all these concessions were consistent with his former opinions, and if the question was asked, why they had not been sooner proposed, he should reply, that the moment of victory, for which he had anxiously waited, seemed to him the only proper season for offering terms of concession. But though the result of the war had proved unfavourable, he would no longer delay the desirable and necessary work of reconciliation.

"Never, perhaps," observes a modern writer (1), "was the inexpressible absurdity of the ministerial system more apparent than at the present moment. The powers now granted were precisely of the nature of those with which it was the object of the motion made by the duke of Grafton, in the spring of 1775, to invest the former commissioners, lord and general Howe. Had that motion been adopted, the contest might unquestionably have been, with the utmost facility, amicably and honourably terminated; but the general aspect of affairs since that period was totally changed. From the declaration of independence which America had once made, she could never be expected to recede. The strength of Great Britain had been tried, and found unequal to the contest. The measures adopted by the English government, particularly in the employment of German mercenaries and Indian savages, had inflamed the resentment of America to the highest pitch. Her recent successes had rendered it to the last degree improbable that she would ever again consent to recognise, in any shape, or under any modification, the authority of Britain. A treaty of peace, commerce, and alliance, was all that a just and sound policy, in the present circumstances, could hope, or would endeavour to accomplish."

The general voice of the country gentlemen was, that as taxation was now given up, peace ought to be procured on any terms, and in the speediest manner.

The members in opposition, properly so called, though they approved of the conciliatory bills, showed no mercy to the conduct of the minister. He was reprobated indeed by both parties in such a manner, as must have made his situation extremely disagreeable. By his own he was asked, as taxation had not been his object, what were the real motives which had induced him to begin the war? Had he sported away 30,000 lives, and thirty millions of money, and, in that amusement, put not only the unity, but the existence of the empire, to the utmost hazard, in order to try the spirit of the Americans, and to discover how they would behave in defence of every thing that was dear to them?

Fox in a fine strain of irony complimented the minister on his conversion, and congratulated his own party on the acquisition of such a potent auxiliary. He was glad to find that his own propositions did not materially differ from those made by Burke three years before. He reminded the house, that though they were then rejected, a war of three years had convinced him that they were really useful. But if the concessions should be found ample enough, and then come too late, what punishment would be sufficient for those ministers who adjourned parliament, in order to make propositions of concession, and then neglected to do it, until France had concluded a treaty with the independent states of America, acknowledging them as such? He did

not speak from surmise: he had it from authority which he could not question, that the treaty he mentioned had been signed in Paris ten days before, counting from that instant. He therefore wished that ministry would give the house satisfaction on that very interesting point; for he feared that it would be found, that their present apparently pacific and equitable disposition, with that proposition which seemed to be the result of it, owed their existence to the previous knowledge of this treaty, which must, from its nature, render that proposition as useless to the peace, as it was humiliating to the dignity of Britain.

The intimation of Fox, though faintly controverted by the minister, and treated as only matter of rumour, was too well founded; and the doubts of the ministry completely removed in a few days by a formal notification of the fact from the French ambassador.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND AMERICA.

CONGRESS having agreed on the plan of the treaty, which they intended to propose to his most christian majesty, proceeded to elect commissioners to solicit its acceptance. Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Thomas Jefferson, were chosen. The latter declining to serve, Arthur Lee, who was then in London, and had been very servicable to his country in a variety of ways, was elected in his room. It was resolved, that no member should be at liberty to divulge any thing more of these transactions than "that congress had taken such steps as they judged necessary for obtaining foreign alliances." The secret committee were directed to make an effectual lodgement in France of ten thousand pounds sterling, subject to the order of these commissioners. Dr. Franklin, who was employed as agent in the business, and afterwards as minister plenipotentiary at the court of France, was in possession of a greater proportion of foreign fame than any other native of America. By the force of superior abilities, and with but few advantages in early life, he had attained the highest eminence among men of learning, and in many instances extended the empire of science. His genius was vast and comprehensive, and with equal ease investigated the mysteries of philosophy and the labyrinth of politics. His fame as a philosopher had reached as far as human knowledge is polished or refined. His philanthropy knew no bounds. The prosperity and happiness of the human race were objects which at all times had attracted his attention. Disgusted with Great Britain, and glowing with the most ardent love for the liberties of his oppressed native country, he left London, where he had resided some years in the character of agent for several of the colonies, and early in 1775 returned to Philadelphia, and immediately afterwards was elected by the legislature of Pennsylvania, to share in the opposition to Great Britain as a member of congress. Shortly after his appointment to solicit the interests of congress in France (October 27), he sailed for that country; he was no sooner landed (December 13) than universally caressed. His fame had smoothed the way for his reception in a public character. Doctor Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, having rendezvoused at Paris, soon after (December 26) opened their business in a private audience with the count de Vergennes.

A private period congress did not so much expect any direct aid from France, as the indirect relief of a war between that country and Great Britain. To subserve this design, they resolved, that "their commissioners at the court of France should be furnished with warrants and commissions, and authorised to arm and fit for war in the French ports any number of vessels (not exceeding six) at the expense of the United States, to war upon British property, provided they were satisfied this measure would not be disagreeable to the court of France." This resolution was carried into effect, and in the year 1777 marine officers, with American commissions, both sailed out of French ports, and carried prizes of British property into them. They could not procure their condemnation in the courts of France, nor sell them publicly, but they nevertheless found ways and means to turn them into money. The commanders of these vessels were sometimes punished by authority to please the English, but they were oftener caressed from another quarter to please the Americans.

While private agents on the part of the United States were endeavouring to embroil the two nations, the American commissioners were urging the ministers of the king of France to accept the treaty proposed by congress. They received assurances of the good wishes of the court of France, but were from time to time informed, that the important transaction required farther consideration, and were enjoined to observe the most profound secrecy. Matters remained in this fluctuating state from December 1776 till December 1777. Private encouragement and public discommutation was alternated, but both varied according to the complexion of news from America. The defeat on Long Island, the reduction of New-York, and the train of disastrous events in 1776, which have already been mentioned, sunk the credit of the Americans very low, and abated much of the national ardour for their support. Their subsequent successes at Trenton and Princeton effaced these impressions, and rekindled active zeal in their behalf. The capture of Burgoyne fixed these wavering politics. The success of the Americans in the campaign of 1777, placed them on high ground; their samity had, proved itself formidable to Britain, and their friendliness became desirable to France. The news of the capitulation of Saratoga reached France very early in December 1777. The American deputies took that opportunity to press for an acceptance of the treaty, which had been under consideration for the preceding twelve months. The capture of Burgoyne's army convinced the French, that the opposition of the Americans to Great Britain was not the work of a few men who had got power in their hands, but of the great body of the people, and was likely to be finally successful. It was therefore determined to take them by the hand, and publicly to espouse their cause. The commissioners of congress, on the sixteenth of December 1777, were informed, by Mr. Gerard, one of the secretaries of the king's council of state, "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to make a treaty with them: that in the treaty no advantage would be taken of their situation to obtain terms, which otherwise it would not be convenient for them to agree to. It was therefore intended that the terms of the treaty should be such as the new-formed states would be willing to agree to, if they had been long since established, and in the fulness of strength and power, and such as they should approve of when that time should come. That his most christian majesty was fixed in his determination not only to acknowledge, but to support their independence: that in doing this he might probably soon be engaged in a war, yet he should not expect any compensation from the United States on that account. The only condition he should require and rely on would be, that the United States, in no peace to be made, should give up their independence, and return to the obedience of the British government." At any time previous to the sixteenth of December 1777, when Mr. Gerard made the foregoing declaration, it was in the power of the British ministry to have ended the American war, and to have established an alliance with the United States, that would have been of great service to both; but from the same haughtiness which for some time had predominated in their councils, and blinded them to their interests, they neglected to improve the favourable opportunity.

Conformably to the preliminaries proposed by Gerard, his most christian majesty Lewis the Sixteenth, on the sixth of February 1778, entered into treaties of amity and commerce, and of alliance, with the United States, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity.

As there was nothing exclusive in the treaty, an opening was left for Great Britain to close the war when she pleased, with all the advantages of future commerce that France had stipulated for herself. This judicious measure made the establishment of American independence the common cause of all the commercial powers of Europe; for the question then was, whether the trade of the United States should be the subversion of their independence be again monopolised by Great Britain, or by the establishment of it laid open on equal terms to all the world.

Previous, however, to announcing the declaration of the French ambassador to the British parliament, the minister's conciliatory bills passed both

houses, and the commissioners were appointed, viz. the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, governor Johnstone, lately become a proselyte to the court, and the commanders in chief by sea and land.

The impression which was made on all parties by the ill success of the war, and the retraction of the ministers, was now become very apparent. So great indeed was the eagerness of all parties to obtain peace and reconciliation with the Americans, that some, even of the gentlemen in office, wished to extend the repeal to all obnoxious acts relative to America: and the minister himself, in opening his propositions, had declared his willingness to give up all these laws from the tenth of February 1763. The only difference of opinion now upon the subject was concerning the time of carrying it into execution; that is, whether it should be preliminary to, or a consequence of the treaty? The latter at length prevailed, and a motion for the repeal of the Massachusetts's charter act was rejected by one hundred and eighty-one to one hundred and eight. It was afterwards agreed, however, to repeal the tea-act; and Burke having, the same day, moved, that the provisions of the bill should be extended to the West Indies, his motion was likewise agreed to.

WAYS AND MEANS.

In the debates on the ways and means, some motions were made which exceedingly alarmed administration, and even threatened the total downfall of their power. In order to raise the interest of six millions, which the minister found it necessary to borrow, he proposed a new tax on houses and wines. This occasioned some debate in the committee of supply on the house-tax, which was considered by the members in opposition as not only a land-tax in effect, but as being also exceedingly disproportionate and oppressive, and falling particularly heavy upon the inhabitants of London and Westminster, who already paid so vast a proportion to the land-tax, and whose burdens, including poor's rate, window-tax, watch, lights, pavement, and other imposts, amounted in several parishes to more than eight shillings in the pound: whilst, to render it still more grievous, it frequently happened that those who were the least able to bear them, had the heaviest burdens imposed upon them.

Such, however, was the present temper of the house, that though the motions were at last agreed to, another was made by a gentleman in office, and closely connected with one branch of the ministry, "That the better to enable his majesty to vindicate the honour and dignity of his crown and dominions in the present exigency of affairs, there be granted one fourth part of the nett annual income upon the salaries, fees, and perquisites of all offices under the crown, excepting only those held by the speaker of the house of commons, the chancellor, or commissioners of the great seal, the judges, ministers to foreign parts, commissioners, officers in the army and navy, and all those which do not produce a clear yearly income of two hundred pounds to their possessors; the tax also extending to all annuities, pensions, stipends, or other yearly sums issuing out of the exchequer, or any branch of the revenue; to commence from the twenty-fifth of March 1778, and to continue for one year, and during the American war."

This motion, to the astonishment and terror of administration, was carried in the committee by one hundred to eighty-two; and though the ministry summoned all their forces against the ensuing day, in order to oppose it on receiving the report from the committee, it was rejected only by a majority of six; nor would even this have been the case, had the members in opposition been at all unanimous in its support.

DECLARATION OF WAR WITH FRANCE.

On the seventeenth of March, the following message was sent from his majesty to both houses of parliament: "His majesty having been informed, by order of the French king, that a treaty of amity and commerce has been signed between the court of France, and certain persons employed by his majesty's revolted subjects in North America, has judged it necessary to direct, that a copy of the declaration, delivered by the French ambassador to lord viscount Weymouth, be laid before the house of commons: and at the same time to acquaint them, that his majesty has thought proper, in con-

sequence of this offensive communication on the part of France, to send orders to his ambassador to withdraw from that court. His majesty is persuaded, that the justice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign powers, and the sincerity of his wishes to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, will be acknowledged by all the world; and his majesty trusts, that he shall not stand responsible for the disturbance of that tranquillity, if he should find himself called upon to resent so unprovoked and so unjust an aggression on the honour of his crown, and the essential interests of his kingdoms, contrary to the most solemn assurances, subversive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every sovereign power in Europe. His majesty, relying with the firmest confidence on the zealous and affectionate support of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it should become necessary, all the forces and resources of his kingdoms; which he trusts will be adequate to repel every insult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of this country." The declaration mentioned in the above message, was dated thirteenth of March, and was as follows: "The under-signed ambassador of his most christian majesty has received express orders to make the following declaration to the court of London: The United States of North America, who were in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the fourth of July 1776, have proposed to the king to consolidate, by a formal convention, the connexion begun to be established between the two nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce, designed to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence. His majesty, being determined to cultivate the good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity, and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make his proceeding known to the court of London, and to declare at the same time, that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of the French Nation; and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality and reciprocity. In making this communication to the court of London, the king is firmly persuaded it will find new proofs of his majesty's constant and sincere disposition for peace; and that his Britannic majesty, animated by the same sentiments, will equally avoid every thing that may alter their good harmony; and that he will particularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between his majesty's subjects and the United States of North America, from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations, to be, in this respect, observed; and all those rules which can be said to subsist between the two crowns of France and Great Britain. In this just confidence, the under-signed ambassador thinks it superfluous to acquaint the British minister, that, the king his master being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, his majesty has, in consequence, taken effectual methods, in concert with the United States of North America. Signed, Le M. de Noailles."

DEATH OF LORD CHATHAM.

On the seventh of April, the duke of Richmond, at the close of the grand committee of inquiry, in which the upper house as well as that of the commons had been during the greater part of the session deeply engaged, moved an address to the king on the death of the nation. In his speech in support of this address, his grace declared in strong terms his conviction of the necessity of an immediate recognition of American independence. "The mischief," he said, "whatever might be the magnitude of it, was already done; America was already lost; her independence was as firmly established as that of other states. We had sufficient cause for regret, but our lamentation on the subject was of no more avail than it would be for the loss of Normandy or France."

On this occasion lord Chatham made his last and most affecting speech in the house of lords. He had long been a prey to those incurable disorders which brought him to his grave, and, at this time, was so exceedingly weak, that it was with the ut-

most difficulty he could be brought into the house. He delivered his speech, however, with extraordinary energy, and was heard with marked attention; but his lordship's speech was cut short by extreme weakness.

Lord Chatham, who had appeared greatly moved during the reply, made an eager effort to rise at the conclusion of it, as if labouring with some great idea, and impatient to give full scope to his feelings; but, before he could utter a word, pressing his hand on his bosom, he fell down suddenly in a convulsive fit. The duke of Cumberland, lord Temple, and other lords near him, caught him in their arms. The house was immediately cleared; and his lordship being carried into an adjoining apartment, the debate was adjourned. Medical assistance being obtained, his lordship in some degree recovered, and was conveyed to his villa of Hayes in Kent, where, after lingering some few weeks, he expired, May eleventh, 1773, in the seventieth year of his age.

CHARACTER OF LORD CHATHAM.

THE decease of this illustrious person demands a pause in our narration, and calls for a few general remarks on his character and abilities. Ambition was his ruling passion, and in seeking to gratify it, we must own, that he sometimes at least employed the means which other courtiers have done, and even sacrificed his private judgment to his advancement. No man, while out of office, ever opposed continental and German connections with more force of argument, with more depth of political sagacity, than he did; no man, when called to a situation under a sovereign, with whom those connections were a darling object, ever more ingeniously defended them.

As a minister, we must perhaps allow that lord Chatham had one failing. Formed by nature for the most active and tempestuous scenes, he was too fond of war; but let it be remembered that he was the only minister of this country that ever had the art of directing even the calamities of war to the advantage of the nation.

As an orator he, perhaps, yet stands unrivalled in this country. In fire and energy he equalled Demosthenes; in a vivid fancy, and a promptness of idea, he greatly exceeded him. The best speakers of the time shrunk before the amazing force of his eloquence. Lord Mansfield trembled at it; and even the vigour of lord Holland was found inadequate to the contest.

In private life the talents of lord Chatham were alloyed by a mixture of pride and reserve; but it was pride united with dignity. He was not selfish, but rather too inattentive to his private affairs. He was the man of the public; and though he had certainly equal means with other ministers of amassing wealth, he chose rather to leave his family dependent on the bounty of that country which he had essentially served, than to enrich them by its plunder.

His political system was that of a staunch whig; and though he sometimes conceded to the wishes of the court, as he evidently did with respect to the German connections, which he described emphatically as "a millstone tied about his neck," yet his enemies cannot charge him with ever having made a sacrifice of any great constitutional principle.

On the same evening which terminated the existence of this great statesman, the melancholy event was announced to the house of commons by colonel Barré, who, after a short eulogium on his character, moved for an address to the king, requesting that he would give directions that "the remains of William Pitt, earl of Chatham, be interred at the public expense." The motion was seconded by Townshend, and seemed to receive a very general approbation.

Notwithstanding the vast effusions of sorrow and gratitude which were poured forth, it was, however, well known, that, for some time past, lord Chatham had been so ungracious at court, that it was not even thought proper frequently to mention his name there. A gentleman (Rigny) at that time high in office, endeavoured, therefore, to evade the motion by a proposal, to erect a monument to his lordship's memory, which, he could not help thinking, would be more eligible as well as a more lasting testimony, of the public gratitude, than merely to defray his funeral expenses. This proposal, however, produced an effect directly contrary to what

RELIEF TO ROMAN CATHOLICS.

was intended. The opposition received it with joy; but, instead of the substitution proposed, they joined it to the original motion, in the following words: "And that a monument be erected in the collegiate church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that great and excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the sentiments of the people on so great and irreparable a loss; and to assure his majesty that this house will make good the expense."

Lord John Cavendish rose, and said, he hoped that virtue should not in this instance, be merely its own reward; but that the gratitude of the public to lord Chatham's family, whom he had left destitute of all suitable provision, should be the means of exciting an emulation in those yet unborn to copy such an example.

The minister concurred in these measures in a manner that did him honour; and the whole house seemed to participate of a general pleasure in the approbation of them. In consequence of a motion, made by Townshend, a bill was brought in and passed, by which an annuity of 4000*l.* a-year payable out of the civil-list revenue, was for ever settled on those heirs of the late earl, on whom the earldom of Chatham may descend; and this was followed by a grant of 20,000*l.* from the commons, for the discharge of the late earl's debts.

Though all this passed in the house of commons without any attention, or without a single dissentient voice upon any one proposition, it was otherwise in the house of lords. A motion made by the earl of Shelburne, that the house should attend his funeral, was directly opposed, and the motion lost by the majority of one. The bill for setting an annuity on his descendants was likewise vigorously opposed by a few lords; however, it was carried, by a majority of 43 to 11.

RELIEF TO THE TRADE OF IRELAND.

THE distresses in which the kingdom of Ireland was involved in consequence of the war, and the general and loud complaints of the majority of its inhabitants, made it absolutely necessary to attempt something farther for its relief; and in a committee of the whole house, it was resolved,

I. That the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the British plantations or settlements, all goods, wares, and merchandise, being the produce of that kingdom, or of Great Britain, wool and woollen manufactures only excepted; as also foreign certificate goods legally imported.

II. That a direct importation be allowed of all goods, wares, and merchandise, being the produce of the British plantations, tobacco only excepted.

III. That the direct exportation of glass, manufactured in Ireland, be permitted to all places except Great Britain.

IV. That the importation of cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, be allowed, duty free, into Great Britain; as also,

V. The importation of sail-cloth and cordage.

These resolutions excited a very great and general alarm amongst the commercial part of the British nation, who seemed to consider the admission of Ireland to any participation in trade, as equally destructive to their property, and subversive of their rights.

After the recess, very many instructions and petitions were presented to the house in opposition to them: and it deserves mention, as a striking instance of commercial folly and prejudice, that, in several of the petitions, the importation of Irish sail-cloth, and of wrought iron, are particularly specified as ruinous to the same manufactures in England; though it was by this time discovered, that, by a positive law of long standing, Ireland was in actual possession of those very privileges, although the Irish were so far from being able to prosecute these manufactures to any purpose of competition with the British, that great quantities of both were annually exported to that country from England. An almost equally great and equally groundless alarm had been taken at the bill passed a few years since, for the free importation of woollen yarn into England; which was by experience found and acknowledged to be not merely innocuous, but beneficial; yet such influence had the apprehensions of the public upon the disposition of the house, that the bills founded on the resolutions actually passed, were ultimately dismissed, and some trivial points only conceded, not meriting a distinct specification.

LATE in the session, Sir George Saville moved for leave to bring in a bill for the repeal of certain penalties imposed by an act passed in the 10th of king William, entitled, "an act for preventing the farther growth of popery;" which penalties the mover stated to be, the punishment of popish priests, or Jesuits, as guilty of felony, who should be found to officiate in the services of their church; the forfeiture of estate to the next protestant heir, in case of the education of the Romish possessor abroad; the power given to the son, or other nearest relation, being a protestant, to take possession of the father's estate during the lifetime of the proprietor; and the depriving papists of the power of acquiring any legal property by purchase. In proposing the repeal of these penalties, Sir George Saville said, that he meant to vindicate the honour and assert the principles of the protestant religion, to which all persecution was foreign and adverse. The penalties in question were disgraceful, not only to religion, but to humanity. They were calculated to loosen all the bands of society, to dissolve all social, moral, and religious obligations and duties; to poison the sources of domestic felicity; and to annihilate every principle of honour." The motion was received with approbation, and the bill founded upon it passed without a single negative.

A message for a vote of credit excited many severe strictures on the conduct of ministers; and although it not only passed in the committee, but the report was received and agreed to in the house without a division, opposition could not help regretting the miserable situation into which the conduct of ministers had reduced the country. Intelligence had been received that D'Esterling, with twelve ships of the line, had sailed from Toulon about the middle of April, and we had no force in America sufficient to oppose him. In answer, ministers endeavoured to convince the house, that, if D'Esterling was really destined for America, lord Howe would be able to use such means of defence as would prevent any immediate consequence of moment; if not, admiral Byrnou with the fleet under his command, at Portsmouth, could certainly arrive in time to regain any losses that might ensue. It was difficult, however, to persuade the public, that this tardiness in sending out a proper force accorded with that flourishing state of the navy of which the ministry had boasted.

The disputes relative to the northern expedition were revived on the arrival of general Burgoyne, who was refused admittance into the royal presence; the sum of court favour no longer shone upon him, and while he remained depressed by ministerial neglect, a court of inquiry was appointed, but the general officers reported, that as he was prisoner on parole to the congress, they could take no cognizance of his conduct. He then demanded a court-martial; this being refused, he determined to submit his actions to parliamentary inquiry. The inquiry was brought on by Vyner, and seconded by Fox. From the manly and spirited behaviour of general Burgoyne on this day, he had no reason to expect favour from the administration, nor much cause to think that they would very deeply interest themselves in an inquiry that bore a more favourable aspect to him than to them.

SESSION CLOSES.

THIS session had now been extended beyond the usual time; it was, however, in both houses moved, that an address should be presented against the prorogation of parliament, until the present alarming crisis might be terminated. This was rejected by the usual majorities, and on June the third, his majesty closed this tedious session. The commons were thanked for the provision made for the more honourable support of the royal family.

The last particular mentioned refers to a bill passed in the course of the session for setting an annuity of 60,000*l.* on the six younger princes, of 30,000*l.* on the five princesses, and of 12,000*l.* on the prince and princess, son and daughter to his royal highness the duke of Gloucester; the annuities to take effect, in the first instance, on the death of his majesty, and in the second, on the death of the duke of Gloucester.

PLANS OF CONCILIATION REJECTED BY AMERICA.

THE conciliatory bills of the minister, even before

they had received the sanction of parliament, were copied, and sent across the Atlantic, to lord and general Howe. On their arrival in America, they were sent by a flag to the congress at York-Town. When they were received, congress was uninformed of the treaty which their commissioners had lately (on the twenty-first of April) concluded at Paris. For upwards of a year, they had not received one line of information from them on any subject whatever. One packet had in that time been received, but all the letters were taken out before it was put on board the vessel which brought it from France, and blank paper put in their stead. A committee of congress was appointed to examine these bills, and report on them. Their report was brought in the day following, and was unanimously adopted. By this they rejected the proposals of Great Britain. The vigorous and firm language in which congress expressed their rejection of these offers, considered in connection with the circumstance of their being wholly ignorant of the late treaty with France, exhibits the glowing serenity of fortitude. While the royal commissioners were industriously circulating these bills in a partial and secret manner, as if they suspected an intention of concealing them from the common people, congress, trusting to the good sense of their constituents, ordered them to be forthwith printed for the public information. Having directed the affairs of their country with an honest reference to its welfare, they had nothing to fear from the people knowing and judging for themselves. They submitted the whole to the public; their act, after some general remarks on the bill, concluded as follows:

"From all which it appears evident to your committee, that the said bills are intended to operate upon the hopes and fears of the good people of these states, so as to create divisions among them, and a defection from the common cause, now, by the blessing of Divine Providence, drawing near to a favourable issue: that they are the sequel of that insidious plan, which, from the days of the stamp-act down to the present time, hath involved this country in contention and bloodshed: and that, as in other cases so in this, although circumstances may force them at times to recede from their unjustifiable claims, there can be no doubt but they will, as heretofore, upon the first favourable occasion, again display that lust of domination which hath rent in twain the mighty empire of Britain.

"Upon the whole matter, the committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that as the Americans united in this arduous contest upon principles of common interest, for the defence of common rights and privileges, which union hath been cemented by common calamities, and by mutual good offices and affection, so the great cause for which they contend, and in which all mankind are interested, must derive its success from the continuance of that union. Wherefore any man or body of men, who should presume to make any separate or partial convention or agreement with commissioners under the crown of Great Britain, or any of them, ought to be considered and treated as open and avowed enemies of these United States.

"And further, your committee beg leave to report it as their opinion, that these United States cannot with propriety hold any conference with any commissioners on the part of Great Britain, unless they shall, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or else, in positive and express terms, acknowledge the independence of the said States.

"And inasmuch as it appears to be the design of the enemies of these States to lull them into a fatal security—to the end that they may act with a becoming weight and importance, it is the opinion of your committee, that the several States be called upon to use the most strenuous exertions to have their respective quotas of continental troops in the field as soon as possible, and that all the militia of the said States be held in readiness to act as occasion may require."

The conciliatory bills were speedily followed by the royal commissioners, deputed to solicit their reception. Governor Johnstone, lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden, appointed on this business, attempted to open a negotiation on the subject. They requested general Washington to furnish a passport for their secretary, Dr. Ferguson, with a letter from them to congress; but this was refused, and the refusal was unanimously approved by congress. They then

forwarded in the usual channel of communication a letter addressed "To his excellency Henry Laurens, the president, and other the members of Congress," in which they communicated a copy of their commission and of the acts of parliament on which it was founded, and offered to concur in every satisfactory and just arrangement towards the following among other purposes:

"To consent to a cessation of hostilities, both by sea and land.

"To restore free intercourse, to revive mutual affection, and renew the common benefits of naturalization, through the several parts of this empire.

"To extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require.

"To agree that no military forces shall be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general congress or particular assemblies.

"To concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation.

"To perpetuate our union by a reciprocal depuration of an agent or agents from the different States, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; or if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different States to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend the several interests of those by whom they are deputed.

"In short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishment, and to exercise a perfect freedom of legislation and internal government, so that the British states throughout North America, acting with us in peace and war under one common sovereign, may have the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that is short of a total separation of interests, or consistent with that union of force, on which the safety of our common religion and liberty depends."

A decided negative having been already given, previous to the arrival of the British commissioners, to the overtures contained in the conciliatory bills, and intelligence of the treaty with France having in the mean time arrived, there was no ground left for farther deliberation. President Laurens therefore, by order of congress, on the seventeenth of June, returned the following answer:

"I have received the letter from your excellencies of the ninth instant, with the enclosures, and laid them before congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the farther effusion of human blood could have induced them to read paper, containing expressions so disrespectful to his most Christian majesty, the good and great ally of these States; or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honour of an independent nation.

"The acts of the British parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these States to be the subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependance, which is utterly inadmissible.

"I am further directed to inform your excellencies, that congress is inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be, an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of these States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

"Though congress could not, consistently with national honour, enter on a discussion of the terms proposed by the British commissioners, yet some individuals of their body ably proved the propriety of rejecting them. Among these governor Morris, and W. H. Drayton, with great force of argument and poignancy of wit, justified the decisive measures adopted by their countrymen.

These offers of conciliation in a great measure originated in an opinion that the congress was supported by a faction, and that the great body of the people was hostile to independence, and well disposed to reunite with Great Britain. The latter of these suppositions was true, till a certain period of the contest; but that period was elapsed. With

their new situation, new opinions and attachments had taken place. The political revolution of the government was less extraordinary than that of the style and manner of thinking in the United States. The independent American citizens saw with other eyes, and heard with other ears, than when they were in the condition of British subjects. That narrowness of sentiment, which prevailed in England towards France, no longer existed among the Americans. The British commissioners, unapprised of this real change in the public mind, expected to keep a hold on the citizens of the United States, by that illiberality which they inherited from their forefathers. Presuming that the love of peace, and the ancient national antipathy to France would counterbalance all other ties, they flattered themselves that by perseverance an impression favourable to Great Britain might yet be made on the mind of America. They therefore renewed their efforts to open a negotiation with congress, in a letter of the eleventh of July. As they had been informed, in answer to their preceding letter of the tenth of June, that an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, or a withdrawing of their fleets and armies, must precede an entrance on the consideration of a treaty of peace, and as neither branch of this alternative had been complied with, it was resolved by congress that no answer should be given to their reiterated application.

In addition to his public exertions as a commissioner, governor Johnstone endeavoured to obtain the objects on which he had been sent by opening a private correspondence with some of the members of congress, and other Americans of influence. He in particular addressed himself by letter to Henry Laurens, Joseph Reed, and Robert Morris. His letter to Henry Laurens was in these words:

"DEAR SIR,
"I beg to transfer to my friend Dr. Ferguson, the private civilities which my friends Mr. Manning and Mr. Oswald request in my behalf. He is a man of the utmost probity, and of the highest esteem in the republic of letters.

"If you should follow the example of Britain in the hour of her insolence, and send us back without a hearing, I shall hope from private friendship, that I may be permitted to see the country, and the worthy characters she has exhibited to the world, upon making the request in any way you may point out."

In a letter to Joseph Reed, of April eleventh, governor Johnstone said, "The man who can be instrumental in bringing us all to act once more in harmony, and to unite together the various powers which this contest has drawn forth, will deserve more from the king and people, from patriotism, humanity, and all the tender ties that are affected by the quarrel and reconciliation, than ever was yet bestowed on human kind." On the sixteenth of June he wrote to Robert Morris, "I believe the men who have conducted the affairs of America incapable of being influenced by improper motives; but in all such transactions there is risk; and I think, that whoever ventures should be secured, at the same time that honour and emolument should naturally follow the fortune of those, who have steered the vessel in the storm, and brought her safely to port. I think Washington and the president have a right to every favour that grateful nations can bestow, if they could once more unite our interest, and spare the miseries and devastations of war."

To Joseph Reed, private information was communicated, that it had been intended by governor Johnstone, to offer him, in case of his exerting his abilities to promote a reunion of the two countries, if consistent with his principles and judgment, ten thousand pounds sterling, and any office in the colonies in his majesty's gift. To which Reed replied, "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." Congress, on the ninth of July, ordered all letters, received by members of congress, from any of the British commissioners, or their agents, or from any subject of the king of Great Britain, of a public nature, to be laid before them. The above letters and information being communicated, congress resolved, "That the same cannot but be considered as direct attempts to corrupt their integrity, and that it is incompatible with the honour of congress to hold any manner of correspondence or intercourse with

the said George Johnstone, esquire, especially to negotiate with him upon affairs in which the cause of liberty is interested." Their determination, with the reasons of it, were expressed in the form of a declaration, a copy of which was signed by the president, and sent by a flag to the commissioners at New-York. This was answered by governor Johnstone by an angry publication, in which he denied or explained away what had been alleged against him. Lord Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, and Mr. Eden, denied their having any knowledge of the matter charged on governor Johnstone.

The commissioners failing in their attempts to negotiate with congress had no resource left, but to persuade the inhabitants to adopt a line of conduct counter to that of their representatives. To this purpose they published a manifesto and proclamation, addressed to congress, the assemblies, and all others the free inhabitants of the colonies, in which they observed, "The policy, as well as the benevolence of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered as our fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become a source of mutual advantage; but when that country professes the unnatural design not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources to our enemies, the whole contest is changed, and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy or render useless a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain; and if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render the accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

Congress, upon being informed of the design of the commissioners to circulate these papers, declared, that the agents employed to distribute the manifestoes and proclamations of the commissioners, were not entitled to protection from a flag. They also recommended to the several states to secure and keep them in close custody; but that they might not appear to hoodwink their constituents, they ordered the manifestoes and proclamation to be printed in the newspapers. The proposals of the commissioners were not more favourably received by the people than they had been by congress. In some places the flags containing them were not received, but ordered instantly to depart; in others they were received, and forwarded to congress, as the only proper tribunal to take cognizance of them. In no one place, not immediately commanded by the British army, was there any attempt to accept, or even to deliberate on the propriety of closing with the offers of Britain.

To deter the British from executing their threats of laying waste the country, congress, on the thirtieth of October, published to the world a resolution and manifesto, in which they concluded with these words:

"We, therefore, the congress of the United States of America, do solemnly declare and proclaim, that if our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God who searcheth the hearts of men, for the rectitude of our intentions; and in his holy presence we declare, that as we are not moved by any light and hasty suggestion of anger and revenge, so through every possible change of fortune we will adhere to this our determination."

This was the last effort of Great Britain, in the way of negotiation, to regain her colonies. It originated in folly, and ignorance of the real state of affairs in America. She had begun with wrong measures, and had now got into wrong time. Her concessions, on this occasion, were an implied justification of the resistance of the colonists. By offering to concede all that they at first asked for, she virtually acknowledged herself to have been the aggressor in an unjust war. Nothing could be more favourable to the cementing of the friendship of the new allies than this unsuccessful negotiation. The states had an opportunity of evincing the sincerity of their engagements, and France abundant reason to believe that, by preventing their being conquered, her favourite scheme of lessening the power of Great Britain would be secured beyond the reach of accident.

After the termination of the campaign of 1777, the British army retired to winter-quarters in Philadelphia, and the American army to Valley Forge. The former enjoyed all the conveniences which an opulent city afforded, while the latter, not half clothed, and more than once on the point of starving, were endaring the severity of a cold winter in a huted camp. It was well for them that the British made no attempt to disturb them, while in this destitute condition.

The winter and spring passed away without any more remarkable events in either army, than a few successful excursions of parties from Philadelphia to the neighbouring country, for the purpose of bringing in supplies, or destroying property. In one of these, a party of the British proceeded to Bordenton, and there burned four store-houses full of useful commodities. Before they returned to Philadelphia, they burned two frigates, nine ships, six privateer sloops, twenty-three brigs, with a number of sloops and schooners.

Soon after an excursion from Newport was made by five hundred British and Hessians, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell. These having landed in the night, marched next morning (May twenty-fifth) in two bodies, the one for Warren, the other for the head of Kickemeet river. They destroyed about seventy flat-bottomed boats, and burned a quantity of pitch, tar, and plank. They also set fire to the meeting-house at Warren, and seven dwelling houses. At Bristol they burned the church and twenty-two houses.

FRENCH SQUADRON ARRIVES IN AMERICA—PHILADELPHIA EVACUATED.

THE French squadron, commanded by count D'Etaing, which had sailed from Toulon for America, arrived, on the ninth of July, after a passage of eighty-seven days, at the entrance of the Delaware. From an apprehension of something of this kind, and from the prospect of greater security, it was resolved in Great Britain forthwith to evacuate Philadelphia, and to concentrate the royal force in the city and harbour of New-York. The commissioners brought out the orders for this movement, but knew nothing of the matter: it had an unfriendly influence on their proposed negotiations, but it was indispensably necessary; for if the French fleet had blocked up the Delaware, and the Americans besieged Philadelphia, the escape of the British from either would have been scarcely possible.

On the eighteenth of June the royal army passed over the Delaware into New-Jersey. General Washington, having penetrated into their design of evacuating Philadelphia, had previously detached general Maxwell's brigade to co-operate with the Jersey militia in obstructing their progress, till time should be given for his army to overtake them. The British were encumbered with an enormous baggage, which, together with the impediments thrown in their way, greatly retarded their march. The American army having, in pursuit of the British, crossed the Delaware, six hundred men were immediately detached under colonel Morgan to reinforce general Maxwell. Washington halted his troops, when they had marched to the vicinity of Princeton. The general officers in the American army, being asked by the commander in chief, "Will it be advisable to hazard a general action?" answered in the negative, but recommended a detachment of fifteen hundred men to be immediately sent to act as occasion might serve on the enemy's left flank and rear. This was immediately forwarded under general Scott.

The British pursued their march without farther interruption than a partial and indecisive action at Monmouth, and on the thirtieth of June reached the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook, without the loss of either their covering party or baggage. The American general declined all farther pursuit of the royal army, and soon after drew off his troops to the borders of the North River.

Soon after the battle of Monmouth, the American army took post at the White Plains, a few miles beyond Kingsbridge; and the British, though only a few miles distant, did not molest them. They remained in this position from an early day in July, till a late one in the autumn, and then the Americans retired to Middlebrook in Jersey, where they built themselves huts in the same manner as they had done at Valley Forge.

FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO CONGRESS—BRITISH FLEET BLOCKADED IN NEW-YORK.

IMMEDIATELY on the departure of the British from Philadelphia, congress, after an absence of nine months, returned to the former seat of their deliberations. Soon after their return, they were called upon to give a public audience to a minister plenipotentiary from the court of France. The person appointed to this office was M. Gerard, the same who had been employed in the negotiations antecedent to the treaty. The British had but barely completed the removal of their fleet and army, from the Delaware and Philadelphia to the harbour and city of New-York, when they received intelligence that the French fleet was on the coast of America. Count D'Etaing had with him twelve ships of the line and three frigates: among the former, one carried ninety guns, another eighty, and six seventy-four guns each. Their first object was the surprise of lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware, but they arrived too late. In naval history there are few more narrow escapes than that of the British fleet on this occasion. It consisted only of six sixty-four gun ships, three of fifty, and two of forty, with some frigates and sloops. Most of these had been long on service, and were in a bad condition. Their force, when compared with that of the French fleet, was so greatly inferior, that, had the latter reached the mouth of the Delaware after a less tedious passage, their capture, in the ordinary course of events, would have been inevitable. This stroke was providentially prevented by the various hindrances which retarded D'Etaing in his voyage to the term of eighty-seven days, in the last eleven of which, lord Howe's fleet not only quitted the Delaware, but reached the harbour of New-York. D'Etaing, disappointed in his first scheme, pursued, and on the eleventh of July appeared off Sandy Hook. American pilots of the first abilities, provided for the purpose, went on board his fleet. Among them were persons, whose circumstances placed them above the ordinary rank of pilots.

The sight of the French fleet raised all the active passions of their adversaries. Transported with indignation against the French, for interfering in what they called a domestic quarrel, the British displayed a spirit of zeal and bravery which could not be exceeded. A thousand volunteers were despatched from their transports to man their fleet. The masters and mates of the merchantment and traders at New-York took their stations at the guns with the common sailors; others put to sea in light vessels to watch the motions of the enemy. The officers and privates of the British army contended with so much eagerness to serve on board the men of war as marines, that it became necessary to decide the point of honour by lot.

The French fleet came to anchor, and continued without the Hook for eleven days. During this time the British had the mortification of seeing the blockade of their fleet, and the capture of about twenty vessels under English colours. On the twenty-second, the French fleet appeared under way. It was an anxious moment to the British. They supposed that count D'Etaing would force his way into the harbour, and that an engagement would be the consequence. Every thing with them was at stake. Nothing less than destruction or victory would have ended the contest. If the first had been their lot, the vast fleet of transports and victuallers, and the army, must have fallen. The pilots on board the French fleet declared it to be impossible to carry the large ships over the bar, on account of their draught of water. D'Etaing on that account, and by the advice of General Washington, left the Hook, and sailed for Newport. By his departure the British had a second escape, for, had he remained at the Hook but a few days longer, the fleet of admiral Byron must have fallen into his hands. That officer had been sent out to relieve lord Howe, who had solicited to be recalled, and the fleet under his command had been sent to reinforce that which had been previously on the coast of America. Admiral Byron's squadron had met with bad weather, and was separated in different storms. It now arrived, scattered, broken, sickly, dimasted, or otherwise damaged. Within eight days after the departure of the French fleet, the Renown, the Raisable, the Centurion, and the Cornwall, arrived singly at Sandy Hook.

ATTEMPT ON RHODE ISLAND.

THE next attempt of count D'Estaing was against Rhode Island, of which the British had been in possession since December 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, and it was agreed that general Sullivan should command the American land forces. Such was the eagerness of the people to co-operate with their new allies, and so confident were they of success, that some thousands of volunteers engaged in the service. The militia of Massachusetts was under the command of general Hancock. The royal troops on the island having been lately reinforced, were about six thousand. Sullivan's force was about ten thousand. Lord Howe followed count D'Estaing, and came within sight of Rhode Island the day after the French fleet entered the harbour of Newport. The British fleet exceeded the French in point of number, but was inferior with respect to effective force and weight of metal. On the appearance of lord Howe, the French admiral put out to sea with his whole fleet to engage him; while the two commanders were exerting their naval skill to gain respectively the advantages of position, a strong gale of wind came on, which afterwards increased to a tempest, and greatly damaged the ships on both sides. In this conflict of the elements, two capital French ships were dismantled. The Languedoc of ninety guns, D'Estaing's own ship, after losing all her masts and her rudder, was attacked by the Renown of fifty guns, commanded by captain Dawson. The same evening the Preston of fifty guns, fell in with the Tonnant of eighty guns, with only her mainmast standing, and attacked her with spirit, but night put an end to the engagement. Six sail of the French squadron came up in the night, which saved the disabled ships from any farther attack. There was no ship or vessel lost on either side. The British suffered less in the storm than their adversaries, yet enough to make it necessary for them to return to New-York for the purpose of refitting. The French fleet came to anchor on the twentieth, near Rhode Island, but sailed on the twenty-second to Boston. Before they sailed, general Greene and the marquis de la Fayette went on board the Languedoc, to consult on measures proper to be pursued. They urged D'Estaing to return with his fleet into the harbour, but his principal officers were opposed to the measure, and protested against it. He had been instructed to go to Boston, if his fleet met with any misfortune. His officers insisted on his ceasing to prosecute the expedition against Rhode Island, that he might conform to the orders of their common superiors. Upon the return of general Greene and the marquis de la Fayette, and their reporting the determination of count D'Estaing, a protest was drawn up and sent to him against the count's taking the fleet to Boston, as derogatory to the honour of France, contrary to the intention of his most christian majesty, and the interest of his nation, and destructive in the highest degree to the welfare of the United States, and highly injurious to the alliance formed between the two nations. Had D'Estaing prosecuted his original plan within the harbour, the reduction of the British post on Rhode Island would have been probable; but his departure in the first instance to engage the British fleet, and in the second from Rhode Island to Boston, frustrated the whole plan. Perhaps count D'Estaing hoped by something brilliant to efface the impressions made by his late failure at New-York; or he might have thought it imprudent to stake his whole fleet within a harbour possessed by his enemies.

After his ships had suffered both from battle and the storm, the letter of his instructions, the imprudence of his officers, and his anxiety to have his ships speedily refitted, might have weighed with him to sail directly for Boston. Whatever were the reasons which induced his adoption of that measure, the Americans were greatly dissatisfied; they complained that they had incurred great expense and danger, under the prospect of the most effective co-operation; that depending thereon, they had risked their lives on an island, where, without naval protection, they were exposed to particular danger; that in this situation they were totally abandoned, at a time, when by persevering in the original plan, they had well-grounded hopes of speedy success. Under these apprehensions, the discontented militia went home in such crowds, that

the regular army which remained was in danger of being cut off from a retreat. In these embarrassing circumstances, general Sullivan extricated himself with judgment and ability; he began to send off his heavy artillery and baggage on the twenty-sixth of August, and retreated from the lines on the night of the twenty-eighth. It had been that day resolved in a council of war, to remove to the north end of the island, fortify their camp, secure a communication with the main, and hold the ground till it could be known whether the French fleet would return to their assistance. The marquis de la Fayette, by desire of his associates, set off for Boston, to request the speedy return of the French fleet. To this count D'Estaing would not consent, but he made a spirited offer to lead the troops under his command, and co-operate with the American land forces against Rhode Island.

Sullivan retreated with great order, but he had not been five hours at the north end of the island, when his troops were fired upon by the British, who had pursued them on discovering their retreat. In the first instance, these light troops were compelled by superior numbers to give way, but they kept up a retreating fire. On being reinforced they gave their pursuers a check, and at length repulsed them. By degrees the action became in some respects general, and near twelve hundred Americans were engaged. The loss on each side was between two and three hundred.

Lord Howe's fleet, with Sir Henry Clinton, and about four thousand troops on board, being seen off the coast, general Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode Island. As the armies of both armies were within four hundred yards of each other, the greatest caution was necessary. To cover the design of retreating, the show of resistance and continuance on the island was kept up. The retreat was made in the night of August the thirtieth.

With the abortive expedition to Rhode Island, there was an end to the plans, which were in this first campaign projected by the allies of congress, for a co-operation. The Americans had been intoxicated with hopes of the most decisive advantages, but in every instance they were disappointed. Lord Howe, with an inferiority of force, not only preserved his own fleet, but counteracted and defeated all the views and attempts of count D'Estaing. The French fleet gained no direct advantages for the Americans, yet their arrival was of great service to their cause. Besides deranging the plans of the British, it carried conviction to their minds, that his most christian majesty was seriously disposed to support them. The goodwill of their new allies was manifested to the Americans, and though it had failed in producing the effects expected from it, the failure was charged to winds, weather, and unavoidable incidents. Some censured count D'Estaing; but while they attempted to console themselves, by throwing blame on him, they felt and acknowledged their obligation to the French nation, and were encouraged to persevere in the war, from the hope that better fortune would attend their future co-operations.

One of the most disastrous events which occurred at this period of the campaign, was the surprise and massacre of an American regiment of light dragoons, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Baylor. While employed in a detached situation, to intercept and watch a British foraging party, they took up their lodging in a barn near Taipan. The officer who commanded the party which surprised them was major-general Grey: he acquired the name of the "No-flint General," from his common practice of ordering the men under his command to take the flints out of their muskets, that they might be confined to the use of their bayonets. A party of militia which had been stationed on the road by which the British advanced, quitted their post, without giving any notice to colonel Baylor. This disorderly conduct was the occasion of the disaster which followed. Grey's men proceeded with such silence and address, that they cut off a sergeant's patrol without noise, and surrounded Old Taipan without being discovered; they then rushed in upon Baylor's regiment while they were in a profound sleep. Incapable of defence or resistance, cut off from every prospect of selling their lives dear, the surprised dragoons sued for quarter. Unmoved by their supplications, their adversaries applied the bayonet, and continued its repeated threats, while objects could be found in which any signs of life

appeared. A few escaped, and others, after having received from five to eleven bayonet wounds in the trunk of the body, were restored, in a course of time, to perfect health. Baylor himself was wounded, but not dangerously: he lost, in killed, wounded, and taken, sixty-seven privates out of a hundred and four; and about forty were made prisoners. These were indebted for their lives to the humanity of one of Grey's captains, who gave quarter to the whole fourth troop, though contrary to the orders of his superior officers. The circumstance of the attack being made in the night, when neither order nor discipline can be observed, may apologise in some degree, with men of a certain description, for this bloody scene. It cannot be maintained, that the laws of war require that quarter should be given in similar assaults, but the laws of humanity are of superior obligation to those of war. The truly brave will spare when resistance ceases, and in every case where it can be done with safety. The perpetrators of such actions may justly be denominated the enemies of refined society. As far as their example avails, it tends to arrest the growing humanity of modern times, and to revive the barbarism of gothic ages. On these principles, the massacre of colonel Baylor's regiment was the subject of much complaint; the particulars of it were ascertained, by the oaths of credible witnesses, taken before governor Livingston of Jersey, and the whole was submitted to the judgment of the public.

EXPEDITION AGAINST EAST FLORIDA.—SAVANNAH TAKEN BY THE BRITISH.

In the summer of this year (1778), an expedition was undertaken by the Americans against East-Florida. This was resolved upon with the double view of protecting the states of Georgia from depredation, and of causing a diversion. General Robert Howe, who conducted it, had under his command about two thousand men, a few hundred of which were continental troops, and the remainder militia of the states of South-Carolina and Georgia; they proceeded as far as St. Mary's river, and without any opposition of consequence. At this place the British had erected a fort, which in compliment to Tonyn, governor of the province, was called by his name. On the approach of general Howe, they destroyed this fort, and after some slight skirmishing, retreated towards St. Augustine. The season was more fatal to the Americans than any opposition they experienced from their enemies. Sickness and death raged to such a degree that an immediate retreat became necessary; but before this was effected, they lost nearly one fourth of their whole number.

The royal commissioners having failed in their attempts to induce the Americans to resume the character of British subjects, and the successive plans of co-operation between the new allies having also failed, a solemn pause ensued. It would seem as if the commissioners indulged a hope that the citizens of the United States, on finding a disappointment of their expectation from the French, would reconsider and accept the offers of Great Britain. Full time was given, both for the circulation of their manifesto, and for observing its effects on the public mind, but no overtures were made to them from any quarter. The year was drawing near to a close before any interesting expedition was undertaken. With this new era, a new system was introduced. Hitherto the conquest of the states had been attempted by proceeding from north to south: but that order was henceforth inverted, and the southern states became the principal theatre on which the British conducted their offensive operations. Georgia being one of the weakest states in the union, and at the same time abounding in provisions, was marked out as the first object of renewed warfare. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, an officer of known courage and ability, on the twenty seventh of November, embarked from New-York for Savannah, with a force of about two thousand men, under the convoy of some ships of war commanded by commodore Hyde Parker. To make more sure of success in the enterprise, major-general Prevost, who commanded the royal forces in East-Florida, was directed to advance with them into the southern extremity of Georgia. The fleet that sailed from New-York in about three weeks effected

a landing near the mouth of the river Savannah. From the landing-place a narrow causeway of six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a swamp. A body of the British light-infantry moved forward along this causeway. On their advance they received a heavy fire from a small party under captain Smith, posted for the purpose of impeding their passage. Captain Cameron was killed, but the British made their way good, and compelled captain Smith to retreat. General Howe, the American officer to whom the defence of Georgia was committed, took his station on the main road, and posted his little army consisting of about six hundred continentals and a few hundred militia, between the landing-place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left and a morass in front. This disposition announced great difficulties to be overcome before the Americans could be dislodged. While colonel Campbell was making the necessary arrangements for this purpose, he received intelligence from a negro of a private path through the swamp on the right of the Americans, which lay in such a situation that the British troops might march through it unobserved. Sir James Baird with the light-infantry was directed to avail himself of this path, in order to turn the right wing of the Americans and attack their rear. As soon as it was supposed that Sir James Baird had cleared his passage, the British in front of the Americans were directed to advance and engage. Howe, finding himself attacked in the rear as well as in the front, ordered an immediate retreat. The British pursued with great execution: their victory was complete. Upwards of one hundred of the Americans were killed. Thirty-eight officers, four hundred and fifteen privates, forty eight pieces of cannon, twenty three mortars, the fort with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all in the space of a few hours, in the possession of the conquerors. The broken remains of the American army retreated up the river Savannah for several miles, and then took shelter by crossing into South-Carolina. Agreeably to instructions, general Prevost had marched from East-Florida about the same time that the embarkation took place from New-York. After encountering many difficulties, the king's troops from St. Augustine reached the inhabited parts of Georgia, and there heard the well come tidings of the arrival and success of colonel Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the fort at Sunbury surrendered. General Prevost marched to Savannah, and took the command of the combined forces from New-York and St. Augustine. Previous to his arrival a proclamation had been issued, to encourage the inhabitants to come in and submit to the conquerors, with promises of protection, on condition that with their arms they would support royal government.

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell acted with great policy, in securing the submission of the inhabitants. He did more in a short time, and with comparatively a few men, towards the re-establishment of the British interest, than all the general officers who had preceded him. He not only extirpated military opposition, but subverted for some time every trace of republican government, and paved the way for the re-establishment of a royal legislature. Georgia, soon after the reduction of its capital, exhibited a singular spectacle. It was the only state of the union, in which after the declaration of independence, a legislative body was convened under the authority of the crown of Great Britain. The moderation and prudence of lieutenant-colonel Campbell were more successful in reconciling the minds of the citizens to their former constitution, than the severe measures which had been generally adopted by other British commanders.

NAVAL PREPARATIONS.

WHILE such were the proceedings on the continent of America, which was the grand scene of action, naval preparations were carried on with some spirit both by France and England.

Admiral Keppel, an officer of tried courage and great experience, was appointed to the command of the grand fleet at Portsmouth. This fleet was found in a very insufficient condition; but so vigilant and active were the admiral's endeavours, that about June he was enabled to take the sea.

The British admiral sailed from Portsmouth with twenty sail of the line before war had been declared

or even reprisals ordered : when he arrived in the bay of Biscay he observed two French frigates (the *Léonore* and *Belle Poule*) taking a survey of the British fleet. Determined to risk the consequences of such conduct as the necessity of the moment suggested, he gave orders for the frigates to be attacked, which were soon forced to yield to the English flag. When, however, he understood the force of the French in Brest water to be thirty two sail of the line, besides ten or twelve frigates, he thought it prudent to return to Portsmouth in order to augment his force, and on the ninth of July he was enabled to put to sea again with twenty four sail of the line, and was joined on the way by six more. The French king made the capture of his frigates a pretence for ordering reprisals; this was retorted on the part of Great Britain, and war was now virtually proclaimed, although the accustomed ceremony was not performed.

The day before the British fleet sailed from Portsmouth, the French fleet sailed from Brest, amounting to thirty two sail of the line, with a great number of frigates, under the command of the count D'Orvilliers, assisted by several other admirals in different divisions. The English fleet was divided into three divisions; the van commanded by admiral Harland, of the red, and the rear by Sir Hugh Palliser, of the blue. The fleets came in sight of each other on the twenty-third of July. When, however, the French commander perceived that Keppel's fleet had been reinforced he avoided an engagement, and as night was fast advancing, the latter formed a line leaving it to the enemy to make an attack. In the morning the French had gained the weather-gage, by which they had it in their power to hazard or avoid an action. Admiral Keppel had many motives for attempting to bring on a general engagement; one was the protection of two East India, and two West India fleets hourly expected. It was probable at the same time that the French commander entertained hopes of a reinforcement. Admiral Keppel discontinued the signal for preserving the line of battle, and put up that for chasing to windward. In this manner he kept up a chase, in order to seize the first opportunity of a change of wind, to bring the enemy to a decisive action.

ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN KEPPEL AND D'ORVILLIERS.

On the morning of the twenty-seventh of July, the vice-admiral of the blue was rather more to leeward than his station required, upon which admiral Keppel threw out a signal for several ships of that division to chase to windward. About eleven o'clock the fleets were so shifted, by changes of wind, that an engagement seemed inevitable, while the French endeavoured to avoid it, by putting about to a contrary tack, instead of lying to, and receiving the British fleet in a line of battle on the same tack, so that the ships could only engage at they passed. In this situation any British ship that could reach the head of the French fleet, would engage with every ship in their line. This mode is obviously disadvantageous for the purposes of a general engagement, but there was now no choice. The French began by firing from a great distance at the headmost of Sir Robert Harland's division, who did not return a single shot till they came very near; the example was followed by the rest of the British fleet, so that in a short time they were all in battle. The action lasted about three hours, and both sides did considerable execution. As soon as the smoke permitted admiral Keppel to make an observation, he perceived that the vice-admiral of the red, with part of his division, had already tacked and was standing towards the enemy, but that none of the other ships which were come out of action had yet tacked. His own ship the *Victory* was not in a condition for immediate tacking; but notwithstanding her damages, she was the first ship that wore of the centre division, and that got round again towards the enemy. Hauling down the signal for battle, he made the signal for forming the line of battle a-head. The *Victory* now was a-head of all the centre and red divisions, and had time to unbend her main-top-sail (which had been rendered totally unserviceable) while the ships astern were getting into their respective situations. The vice-admiral of the blue was a-head of the *Victory*, his proper station, yet disregarded the signal, quitted

his station, passed his admiral to leeward on the contrary tack, and never came into the line during the rest of the day. By this manœuvre, the *Victory*, the nearest ship to the enemy, was supported by no more than three or four of her own division. Sir Robert Harland, with six or seven of his division ready for service, was to the windward; other ships were far astern, and five, disabled in their rigging, were at a great distance to leeward, so that all the force which the admiral could collect for the engagement, at three o'clock, was twelve ships. The French, observing the exposed situation of the British ships which had fallen to leeward to repair damages, formed an intent of cutting them off from the rest of the line. The admiral perceiving their design, stood across the van of the enemy, in a diagonal line, for the protection of his ships, ordering Sir Robert Harland to form his division at a distance astern of the *Victory* in order to cover the rear, until the vice-admiral of the blue should obey the signal, and bring his division into its proper station; and this movement afterwards formed the grand charge against admiral Keppel. Having accomplished, by his motions, the protection of the disabled ships, he repeated his signals for the ships to come into his wake; but by some unfortunate repetition of the signal by the vice-admiral, it was not obeyed as Keppel intended. The vice-admiral of the blue still continuing to windward, a frigate was despatched to him, with express orders that he should bear down into admiral Keppel's wake; this produced no effect, and before another signal for these ships to take their station in the line could be obeyed, night came on, and interrupted all farther operations. On the return of day-light, the British fleet descried the French fleet at an immense distance, bearing for the port of Brest; and in a few hours they were entirely out of sight. The loss of men in the British ships amounted to one hundred and thirty-three slain and three hundred and seventy-three wounded. Private accounts from France estimated the loss at two thousand killed and wounded. Leaving a proper force for the protection of the homeward-bound fleets, admiral Keppel returned to Portsmouth to rest; but his public letter, containing an account of this transaction, occasioned great speculation—his desire to screen the misconduct of the admiral of the blue inducing him to give such a relation of this engagement as seemed to imply great impropriety of behaviour in the commander himself. For no reason whatever was assigned for not renewing the engagement in the afternoon, except the expectation of the admiral, "that the French would fight it out handsomely the next day."

TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF ADMIRAL KEPPEL.—TRIAL AND DISGRACE OF ADMIRAL PALLISER.

It was impossible, however, that the truth should not transpire; and a well written letter appearing some time afterwards in the public prints, severely reflecting on the conduct of Sir Hugh Palliser, that officer thought proper to require from the commander in chief a formal disavowal of the charges it contained, and a public justification of his character. This the commander absolutely and indignantly declined, and the vice-admiral immediately exhibited articles of accusation against admiral Keppel, for misconduct and neglect of duty on the twenty-seventh of July, although he had in the month of October a second time sailed with admiral Keppel, and had never before this so much as whispered a word to his prejudice.

The lords of the admiralty, to the astonishment of the nation, without the least hesitation, and even with apparent alacrity and satisfaction, fixed a day for the trial of the commander in chief; the result of which was in the highest degree honourable to that brave and injured officer, who was not only unanimously acquitted by the court-martial, but received the thanks of both houses of parliament for his services. Sir Hugh Palliser afterwards demanded a court-martial upon himself, which terminated in a slight censure only; but the resentment of the public was so great, that it was deemed expedient by the ministers to accept his successive resignations of his place at the board of admiralty, his lieutenant-generalship of marines, his government of Scarborough castle, and to permit him to vacate his seat in the house of commons. The as-

quittal of admiral Keppel was celebrated with illuminations and rejoicings in all parts of the kingdom; and the houses of lord Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser were insulted by the populace, and the demolition of them with difficulty prevented.

The ready acquiescence of the board of admiralty in the appointment of the court-martial, on a charge so grossly invidious and unjust, gave the highest disgust to the officers of the navy. A strong memorial was presented to his majesty on the subject by the duke of Bolton, signed by twelve admirals, with the venerable Hawke at their head, stating to his majesty, in strong colours, the ruinous consequences which the precedent now introduced would inevitably bring upon all naval service and discipli-

pline. "If," said these gallant defenders of their country, "we had conceived that this board had no legal use of their reason in a point of such delicacy and importance, we should have known on what terms we served; but we never did imagine it possible that we were to receive orders from, and be accountable to, those who by law were reduced to become mere passive instruments to the possible ignorance, malice, or treachery of any individual, who might think fit to disarm his majesty's navy of its best and highest officers. We conceive it to be disrespectful to the laws of our country, to suppose them capable of such manifest injustice and absurdity."

NOTE TO CHAPTER XIV.

I Mr. Belsham: *Memoirs of the Reign of George III.* vol. II.

CHAPTER XV.

Meeting of Parliament—Debates on the Manifesto of the Commissioners—Affairs of Ireland—Votes of Censure moved on Lord Sandwich—Return of the Howes—Debates thereon—Spaniards declare War—Regulation of Militia—War in East Indies—In America—Descent on Virginia—Capture of Stony Point—British attack South Carolina—Regulated at Charlestown—Operations of French Fleet—Siege of Savannah by the French and Americans—Siege raised—Capture of the British Settlements on the Coast of Africa by the French.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

THE accession of a new enemy seemed almost to obliterate from the minds of the people every recollection which their previous disasters had produced on the wretched state to which the gross improvidence and incapacity of ministry had reduced them in the American war; and either from the hopelessness of the contest on the continent of America, or from resentment against the court of France, all thoughts of the reduction of the former seemed to be given up by the Tories themselves. The principal topic of conversation throughout England during the recess of Parliament was the contest between the admirals Keppel and Palliser, and the expected trial of the former. While this was in agitation, the parliament assembled on the twenty-sixth of November. It was remarkable that in the speech from the throne, no mention whatever was made of the war in America. His majesty complained loudly of the unprovoked aggression of the court of France, which had not forbore to disturb the public tranquillity, in violation of the faith of treaties, and the rights of sovereignty, at first by the clandestine supply of arms, &c. to the American rebels, and afterwards by openly entering into engagements with the leaders of the rebellion; by committing hostilities and depredations; and by an invasion of his majesty's dominions in America, and the West Indies. His majesty expressed also his regret that the efforts which had been made for disappointing the malignant designs of the enemy had not been attended with all the success which the justice of the cause, and the vigorous exertions that had been made, seemed to promise.

In the course of the debates on the address from the house of commons, an amendment was proposed, inquiring "by what fatal councils, and unhappy systems of policy, this country had been reduced to her present situation."

DEBATES ON THE MANIFESTO OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

MR. COKE moved for an address to his majesty, expressing that the sense of the house was directly against those exceptionable passages in the mandatory manifesto of the American commissioners, which were inconsistent with that humanity and generous courage, that at all times have distinguished the British nation: subversive of the maxims which have been established among christians, and civilised communities; derogatory to the dignity of the crown of this realm; tending to debase the spirit and subvert the discipline of his majesty's armies; and to expose his innocent subjects, in all parts of his dominions, to cruel and ruinous retaliations. The proposed address was rejected by a majority of two hundred and nine to one hundred and twenty-two.

A similar motion was made in the house of lords by the marquis of Rockingham, "expressing the displeasure of the house at the manifesto issued under the seal of the American commissioners on the

third day of October last; and to acquaint his majesty with the sense of this house, that the said commissioners had no authority whatsoever under the act of parliament, in virtue of which they were appointed, to make such declaration; and humbly beseeching that the said manifesto be publicly disavowed by his majesty." The motion was negatived by a majority of seventy-one to thirty-seven peers, thirty-one of whom joined in a protest of uncommon energy and ability. "The public law of nations," said their lordships, "in affirmation of the dictates of nature and the precepts of religion, forbids us to resort to the extremes of war upon our own opinion of their expediency, or in any case to carry on war for the purpose of desolation. We are shocked to see the first law of nature, 'self-preservation,' perverted and abused into a principle destructive of all other laws. Those objects of war which cannot be compassed by fair and honourable hostility, ought not to be compassed at all. An end that has no means but such as are unlawful, is an unlawful end." Among the names recorded on this occasion, we find that of the venerable Shipley, bishop of St. Asaph, with a long and illustrious train of signatures affixed to this memorable protest; which, if it wanted any other recommendation to notice than its own intrinsic merit, might with pride recount the names of Rockingham, Camden, Effingham, and Harcourt.

In the month of February, Sir Philip Jennings Clerk made another vain attempt to disqualify contractors from sitting in the house. The motion was carried upon a division by a majority of one hundred and fifty-eight to one hundred and forty-three; but on the second reading, the bill was lost upon the motion of referring it to a committee; the question was rejected by a majority of forty-one; and the minister moved that it might be deferred for four months, which was carried, and the bill consequently lost. In a few days after, it was moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee, in order to consider of granting further relief to protestant dissenting ministers and school-masters. Some of the bigotted Tories opposed this toleration, but without effect, as the bill, framed for the purpose, was carried through both houses with facility.

AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.

A SUBJECT of still greater difficulty next presented itself to the legislature, and that was the grievance of Ireland. The complaints from that country became every day louder. Besides the losses sustained from the American war, and the ancient restraints upon their commerce, an embargo had been continued from the year 1776. Their beef and butter were perishing in their warehouses, and their linen trade contracted to almost nothing. The embargo had answered no beneficial purpose. The want of Irish provisions had not retarded the armaments of the French, and their West India islands were supplied on as good terms as our own islands with many articles. In the northern parts of Germany, and other countries adjoining to the Baltic

the traders had begun their trade of curing and packing beef, and had sent considerable quantities of it to French markets; and although they had as yet made but slow progress in the art, it was evident they soon would take it entirely from the Irish, who did not scruple to affirm that the cause of the embargo was merely the avarice of contractors. Added to these complaints, it was found that the rents in Ireland had been very much increased. The people were poor and destitute of employment; and although about twenty thousand of them had received relief from charitable donations and subscriptions in Dublin, yet this was of small avail to the remedying of the general and growing evil. Lord Newhaven, in concert with other members of the house of commons, showed in strong terms that necessity ought now to impel us to the preservation of what remained of our empire; that, however loyal the Irish had proved hitherto, yet there were bounds to which it would be both cruel and unjust to drive them; and if we should remain their masters by a continuance of gripping tyranny, as soon as a peace was established, they would emigrate to America, and transport to that country those manufactures, arts, and industry, from which this country reaped undeniable advantages. The exports from England to Ireland, on an average of ten years, amounted to two millions fifty-seven thousand pounds yearly. The exports from Ireland to England, upon an average of the same time, did not exceed one million three hundred and fifty-three thousand pounds annually, so that the balance of trade in favour of England exceeded seven millions sterling in that time. This was exclusive of the immense sums drawn from that country every year, under the heads of, rents to absentees, pensions, and the emoluments of places to those who never saw the country; appeals in law and equity; business and pleasure. The decrease of the exports from England to Ireland during the last two years, amounted upon an average to no less than seven hundred and sixteen thousand pounds per annum.

On the other side, it was alleged, that even if the distresses of Ireland were so great as were represented, it was not owing so much to the trade laws here, as to maleadministration there; and to faults in the internal constitution of their government; that if Ireland had suffered from the American war, England had suffered much more; and while gentlemen were apprehensive of a rebellion in Ireland, they should reflect on the much more dangerous consequences of one in England, which we had just cause to dread if any addition was made to the distresses of our manufacturers. Influenced by these and similar arguments, and the remonstrances of some trading towns, the motion for opening the trade of Ireland to the West Indies was lost by a majority of four.

MOTION OF CENSURE ON LORD SANDWICH.

In the house of lords, the earl of Bristol moved an address to the king, for the removal of the earl of Sandwich. His lordship supported this motion in a speech, containing a very extensive display of political and professional knowledge. This nobleman affirmed, "that about seven millions more money had been allotted for the support and increase of our navy during the last seven years, than in any former equal period; and that, during this time, the decrease and decline of the navy had been in an inverse ratio to the excess of the expenditure. While such has been the unbounded liberality of parliament; what, exclaimed the noble lord, is become of our navy! or, if there is no navy, what is become of our money?" The motion was rejected by seventy-eight voices to thirty-nine. Notwithstanding these repeated acquittals, however, the reputation of lord Sandwich most deservedly suffered in the estimation of the public.

Twenty-five lords united in a protest against these proceedings, and one was entered on the journals by the earl of Bristol himself, from which the following appear to be the grounds of accusation. Since the year 1771, six million nine hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and seventy-two pounds had been granted for naval purposes, more than was granted in an equal number of years, between 1731 and 1759, for the use of the navy; although we had been four years at war with France within that period. The navy was reduced from

what it was in 1771, when lord Sandwich succeeded to the head of that board, notwithstanding the immense sums granted for its support and increase since that time. No fleet was sent out to watch the motions of the Toulon fleet, nor any reinforcement sent to lord Howe, upon intelligence of the said Toulon fleet. Admiral Keppel, with twenty sail of the line, was sent off Brest, when the commissioners of the admiralty knew, or ought to have known, that the French fleet then actually at Brest, and fitting for sea, consisted of thirty-two ships of the line. For want of reinforcement or instructions sent to admiral Barrington, the valuable island of Dominica was lost; and, no naval force having been sent to Africa, we had lost Senegal; and lastly, the admiralty, without any deliberation whatsoever, precipitately ordered a court-martial upon a commander in chief, of great rank and character, thereby frustrating the salutary intentions of that discretionary power, lodged by the constitution in the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, whereby all malicious and ill-founded charges (by whomsoever exhibited) may be avoided, and the union and discipline of the service not interrupted.

DEBATES IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE RETURN OF THE HOWES.

THE return of lord and general Howe excited about this time considerable attention; and as their characters had been covertly attacked by ministers, who wished to excuse their own misconduct by throwing the blame upon the commanders, they, as well as general Burgoyne, earnestly solicited a parliamentary inquiry. The minister, on the contrary, endeavoured to avoid all inquiry whatever, and insisted that parliament was not the place where it should be instituted. To this it was answered, that the conduct of ministers and that of commanders were too fatally connected in this war, and that the plans and the means must be examined together. To deny the competence of the house to institute this inquiry, was a daring violation of the privileges of parliament. On this occasion Sir William Howe proposed that earl Cornwallis should be examined, "as to the general conduct of the American war; to military points generally and particularly." To this the minister instantly proposed an amendment, "that lord Cornwallis be called in and examined relative to general and particular military points, touching the general conduct of the American war." Nothing could excite greater indignation than this evasion of inquiry and truth; but on a division, the minister carried his amendment by one hundred and eighty-nine to one hundred and fifty-five. The main question was rejected by one hundred and eighty to one hundred and fifty-eight. Thus all inquiry appeared at an end; but opposition were determined not to let it perish in this manner; they renewed the motion for the examination of lord Cornwallis, a few days after, and were so ably supported, that no means employed by the minister were sufficient to prevent the hearing of that noble lord. Besides lord Cornwallis, major-general Grey, Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, with others, were examined, and the following facts resulted from their evidence. The force sent to America was at no time equal to the subjugation of the country, which proceeded partly from the aversion of the people to the government of Great Britain, and partly from the nature of the country, which obstructed many military operations. Several other local points were established, which tended to a refutation of the charges brought against the commander in chief. It was, at the same time, proved that the American minister had been constantly reminded of the difficult and impracticable nature of the war, that he had discredited what was said on the subject, and had not sent out the necessary supplies, and that the reinforcement he at length had sent, came too late for any effectual purpose.

After a variety of facts tending to the defence of the commander in chief, and the censure of the American secretary, had been established, evidence was moved to be heard on the other side. The opposition at first reprobated the design of bringing up American refugees, pensioners and custom-house officers, to impeach and set aside the evidence of military men of high rank and great professional knowledge. This objection being over-ruled, orders

were issued for the attendance of general Robertson, general Jones, John Maxwell, and others. During the time that intervened between the calling and appearance of these gentlemen, evidence was heard on the part of general Burgoyne. The officers examined were Sir Guy Carleton, the earl of Balcarras, captain Money, the earl of Harrington, major Forbes, captain Bloomfield, and lieutenant-colonel Kingston; all of whom, excepting the first, were present during the whole campaign. This evidence tended most clearly to acquit the general of every suspicion of misconduct, and to establish his character as an officer of the first abilities, and peculiarly the favourite of his army. Whether the general's orders for proceeding to Albany were peremptory or conditional, was still a matter of opinion: but two assertions were manifestly disproved, viz. that general Phillips at the time of the convention offered to force his way, with a part of the army, from Saratoga back to Tiiconderoga; and that the late general Fraser had disapproved passing the Hudson river.

This examination being closed, the witnesses, brought in opposition to those examined on the part of Sir William Howe, now attended. Their evidence tended to establish the most absurd of all assertions, that a great majority (two thirds, or four fifths) of the people were attached to the British government, and that the force sent out was entirely competent to have brought the war to a speedy conclusion: that the country of America did not afford any extraordinary obstructions to military operations; that the rebel force was always inferior to the reports spread concerning it. The particular manoeuvres of general Howe were reprobated by some of the witnesses, particularly one of the name of Galloway, who had been a lawyer in America, and a member of congress, and who had come over to general Howe at a time when the American cause was apparently ruined. In consequence of the charges which this person laid against Sir William Howe, that commander requested that a particular day should be appointed on which he might bring witnesses to prove the falsity of the assertions; but this was refused, and the committee was dissolved on the twenty-ninth of June, without coming to a single resolution on all the important matter which had been submitted to them.

While such were the disgraceful proceedings of the commons, the duke of Richmond was engaged in strenuously promoting an inquiry into the abuses of Greenwich hospital in the house of lords. The rejection of the inquiry through the influence of the execrable Sandwich and the other ministry, is perhaps the best proof that could be adduced that the complaint was well founded.

WAR DECLARED BY SPAIN.

THE Spanish manifesto declaring war against Britain, was introduced by a royal message, June seventeenth, 1779. As this event had been repeatedly foretold by the minority, and all along treated with contempt by the ministry, it is not to be supposed but the verification of these predictions must now produce the most severe reproaches on those who had despised them. They were indeed reminded with great severity of their obstinacy, blindness, and absurdity; of the contempt with which they had treated every warning of danger, the triumph which they had constantly expressed at the folly and ignorance of opposition for entertaining such ideas. Spain, said the ministry, could have no interest in joining our enemies: they had colonies of their own, and would never set such an ill example to them, as to assist our rebellious colonists. Nay, those ministers, whose daily conduct proved them to be incapable of managing their own affairs with any degree of propriety, had the matchless effrontery of setting themselves up as statesmen and politicians for the house of Bourbon, and of knowing the interests of France and Spain better than they did themselves.

MILITIA REGULATIONS.

ALL these heavy charges, however, were disregarded. A resolution was taken to oppose this new enemy as well as the others, and at the same time never to submit to the idea of American independence. As the national danger was now undeniably very great, it was proposed by the minister to increase the militia to double its numbers. To this the opposition consented; though they considered it as

probably impracticable, or even dangerous, from the apprehensions they had of its being violently opposed by the people at large; and that along with several other causes of objection, it would in its effect go to the annihilation of the regular or standing army, in cutting off its usual and only means of supply from the recruiting service. The raising of new regiments appeared to them to be vastly preferable; and they severely reprobated ministers for the continuance of that wretched system of policy which had hitherto led them to reject with indifference, and even contempt, the liberal and patriotic offers made by several of the peers in opposition for raising regiments at their private expense for the defence of their country. But that narrow predilection in favour of men of a certain description, and particularly of the northern part of the island, was still predominant, and would continue while there was any thing either to bestow or to lose; and thus the duke of Rutland, the earl of Derby, and others of the oldest English nobility, the hereditary supporters of the throne and constitution, met with indifference or insult in their generous offers for the service and preservation of their country, in this season of peril and distress. It was observed, with great acrimony, on this occasion, that all these generous and disinterested offers came from such as ministry had stigmatised with the title of leaders or partisans of faction, and who were constantly represented as enemies to government; whilst not one of those who had grown rich in her spoils, or great in her ruin, whether ministers, contractors, court favourites, or King's friends, had offered to raise a single man, or to expend a shilling in its defence. As the minister did not profess any attachment to this particular mode of defence, a great variety of amendments were proposed. The only one of any consequence, however, which was carried through, was for the raising of volunteer companies, to be attached to the militia regiments of the county or district to which they belonged; and for this purpose the lord-lieutenants of counties were empowered to grant commissions to officers, as high as the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in proportion to the number of men they were able to procure. But when the committee had sat on this subject till midnight, the house was no sooner resumed, than they were surprised by the introduction of a new bill of another nature. This was to take away, for a limited time, the legal exemptions from being pressed on board the navy, which several descriptions of men and apprentices belonging to the sea, or in some degree to maritime affairs, had hitherto enjoyed; and also for suspending, for a time, the right of suing out a writ of habeas corpus, for such breaches of these exemptions as had already taken place from the seventeenth of that month, or as might still take place before the final ratification of the bill.

Such an extraordinary proposal, militating so strongly against the liberty and security of the subject, was severely censured. The manner of bringing it forward indeed, at so late an hour, and in a very thin house, became a subject of complaint even more than the proposal itself, which was likewise condemned upon many accounts, but particularly for being a breach of faith between the legislature and the people, which should ever be held most sacred. All this, however, was justified on the plea of necessity; and the time of bringing it in was said to be chosen on purpose for the greater secrecy and despatch, and to prevent the effect of the bill from being defeated by the knowledge of its design, which the public prints would have spread through the whole nation. The measure itself was justified upon the ground already mentioned, and the proposer remarked, that he could not avoid being astonished at the horror which was now expressed with respect to compulsion, when they were but newly risen from a committee wherein they had been for ten hours engaged in framing a compulsive law whereby arms would be forced into the hands of thirty thousand men contrary to their inclination.

The militia bill, like all others proposed by ministry, was easily carried through the house of commons; but in that of the lords, it not only met with a vigorous opposition from the adverse party, but was even much more coolly received by the friends of government themselves than might have been expected. Neither were the lords-lieutenants of counties in general at all satisfied with the bill. In

this state of things, the question being at length put, Whether the clause empowering his majesty to order the militia to be augmented to double its present number, should stand as part of the bill? It was carried in the negative by thirty-nine to twenty-two. In this debate it was remarkable, that the lord president of the council, and both secretaries of state, voted against the compulsory principle of the bill.

Lord North could not conceal his chagrin, nor his dissatisfaction with the conduct of his colleagues. A new question, however, now arose, which produced a considerable debate: For the militia being considered by several members as a money-bill, they insisted, that no amendment of the lords could be admitted, without a surrender of their own most valuable and peculiar privilege; for which reason the bill ought now to be totally rejected. But the minister, considering that it was absolutely incumbent on him to do something which might at least have the appearance of regarding the public defence and security, determined in the present instance to overlook the point of privilege. After many ingenious arguments on both sides, therefore, the bill was carried by a majority of sixty-three to forty-five.

The parliament was not prorogued till the third of July.

WAR IN INDIA.

ABOUT the latter end of the preceding year hostilities had commenced in the East Indies. The East India company having formed a design of extirpating the French power in India, transmitted instructions for an attack upon Pondicherry. Major-general Munro, commander of the company's troops on the coast of Coromandel, about the twenty-first of August found his troops in sufficient strength for the siege, and immediately took possession of the bound-ledge, within cannon shot of the fortifications, by which all communication with the country was cut off. Some unavoidable delays prevented the farther operations of the besiegers until the sixth and seventh of September, when they broke ground both on the north and south sides of the town. By this time their operations were greatly assisted by the English fleet under Sir Edward Vernon, who had sailed from Madras, at the end of July to block up Pondicherry. As soon as he arrived on his station he perceived a French fleet, under M. de Tronjoly, consisting of one ship of sixty-four, one of thirty-six, one of thirty-two guns, and two French East India ships armed. Sir Edward Vernon's fleet consisted of one sixty, one twenty-eight, one twenty gun-ship, a sloop, and an East Indianman. An engagement ensued, and with so much loss to the French, that they dared not to hazard another, but abandoned Pondicherry, which now was blocked up both by sea and land. The garrison, under M. de Bellecombe, governor and general commandant of all the French settlements in India, made a brave defence. Before the middle of October, however, the artillery of the besiegers had gained so much superiority, that preparations were made for a general assault. On the day preceding, the governor, in order to save useful lives, and prevent bloodshed without advantage or honour, offered to capitulate. The conditions were generous and agreeable to the conquered. About thirty pieces of artillery, serviceable and unserviceable, fell into the hands of the victors, together with all public property; the private was secured to the owners. The company's troops, which amounted to ten thousand five hundred men, lost about two hundred and twenty-four slain, and six hundred and ninety-three wounded; the garrison, amounting to three thousand, had two hundred men killed, and four hundred and eighty wounded.

CAMPAIGN IN AMERICA.

1779.—The British army in America seem to have aimed at little more, during the campaign of 1779, in the states to the northward of Carolina, than distress and depredation. Having publicly announced their resolution of making "the colonies as little avail as possible to their new connections," they planned several expeditions on this principle.

One of these, consisting of both naval and land force, was committed to Sir George Collyer and general Matthews, who made a descent on Virgi-

nia. On the tenth of May they sailed for Portsmouth, and on their arrival took possession of that defenceless town. The remains of Norfolk on the opposite side of the river, fell of course into their hands. The Americans burned some of their own vessels, but others were made prizes by the invaders. The British guards marched eighteen miles in the night, and arriving at Suffolk by morning, proceeded to the destruction of vessels, naval stores, and of a large magazine of provisions, which had been deposited in that place. A similar destruction was carried on at Kemp's Landing, Shepherds Cove, Tanner's Creek, and other places in the vicinity. The frigates and armed vessels were employed on the same business along the margin of the rivers. Three thousand hogsheads of tobacco were taken at Portsmouth. Every house in Suffolk was burnt except the church and one dwelling-house. The houses of several private gentlemen in the country shared the same fate. Above a hundred and thirty vessels were either destroyed or taken. All that were upon the stocks were burned, and every thing relative to the building or fitting of ships, was either carried off or destroyed. The fleet and army, after demolishing Fort Nelson, and setting fire to the store-houses, and other public buildings in the dockyard at Oyster-point, embarked from Virginia, and returned with their prizes and booty safe to New-York, in the same month in which they had left it. This expedition into Virginia distressed a number of its inhabitants, and enriched the British forces, but was of no real service to the royal cause. It was presumed, that by involving the citizens in losses and distresses, they would be brought to reflect on the advantages of submitting to a power, against which they had not the means of defending themselves: But the temper of the times was unfavourable to these views. Such was the high-toned state of the American mind, that property had comparatively lost its value. It was fashionable to suffer in the cause of independence; some hearty whigs gloried in their losses, with as much pride as others gloried in their possessions. The British, supposing the Americans to be influenced by the considerations which bias men in the languid scenes of tranquil life, and not reflecting on the sacrifices which enthusiastic patriotism is willing to make, proceeded in their schemes of distress: but the more extensively they carried on this mode of warfare, the more obstacles they created to the reunion of the empire. In about five weeks after the termination of the expedition to Virginia, a similar one was projected against the exposed margin of Connecticut. Governor Tryon was appointed to the command of about two thousand six hundred land forces, employed on this business, and he was supported by general Garth. The transports which conveyed these troops, were covered by a suitable number of armed vessels, commanded by Sir George Collyer. On the fifth of July they proceeded from New-York by the way of Hell-Gate, and landed at East-Haven. The royal commanders issued an address to the inhabitants, in which they invited them to return to their duty and allegiance, and promised protection to all who should remain peaceably in their usual place of residence, except the civil and military officers of the government. It also stated "that their property lay still within the grasp of that power, whose leniency had persisted in its mild and noble efforts, though branded with the most unworthy imputation: that the existence of a single house on their defenceless coast, ought to be a constant reproof of their ingratitude: that they who lay so much in the British power, afforded a striking monument of their mercy, and therefore ought to set the first example of returning to their allegiance."

One of the many addresses, from which the above extract is taken, was sent by a flag to colonel Whiting of the militia near Fairfield. The colonel was allowed an hour for his answer, but he had scarcely time to read it before the town was in flames. He nevertheless returned the following answer: "Connecticut having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Great Britain, and the flames having preceded the answer to your flag, they will persist to oppose to the utmost, the power exerted against injured innocence." The British marched from their landing to New-Haven. The town, on their entering it, was delivered up to promiscuous plunder, a few in-

stances of protection excepted. After perpetrating every species of enormity, but that of burning houses, the invaders suddenly re-embarked, and proceeded by water to Fairfield. The militia of that place and the vicinity posted themselves at the court-house green, and gave considerable annoyance to them, as they were advancing, but soon retreated to the height at the back of the town. On the approach of the British the town was evacuated by most of its inhabitants. A few women remained, with the view of saving their property. Towards evening they began to burn the houses, which they had previously plundered. The women begged general Tryon to spare the town. Sayre, the episcopal minister, who had suffered for his attachment to the royal cause, joined the women in their requests, but their joint supplications were disregarded. They then begged that a few houses might be spared for a general shelter. This was at first denied; but at length Tryon consented to save the buildings of Burr and of Elliot, and also said, that the houses for public worship should be spared. After his departure on the next morning with the main body, the rear-guard, consisting of German yagers, set fire to every thing which Tryon had spared; but on their departure the inhabitants extinguished the flames, and saved some of the houses. The militia were joined by numbers from the country, which successively came to their aid, but they were too few to make effectual opposition.

The British, in this excursion, also burned East-Haven, and the greatest part of Green's farms, and the flourishing town of Norwalk. A considerable number of ships, either finished or on the stocks, with whale-boats, and a large amount of stores and merchandise, were destroyed. Particular accounts of these devastations were, in a short time, transmitted by authority to congress. By these it appeared that there were burned at Norwalk two houses of public worship, eighty dwelling-houses, eighty seven barns, twenty two stores, seventeen shops, four mills, and five vessels; and at Fairfield two houses of public worship, fifteen dwelling-houses, eleven barns, and several stores. Congress, on receiving satisfactory attestation of the ravages of the British in this and other similar expeditions, on the nineteenth of July resolved, "To direct their marine committee to take the most effectual measures to carry into execution their manifesto of October the thirtieth, 1778, by burning or destroying the towns belonging to the enemy in Great Britain or the West Indies;" but their resolve was never carried into effect.

While the British were proceeding in these desolating operations, general Washington was called upon for continental troops, but he could spare very few. He durst not detach largely, as he apprehended that one design of the British in these movements was to draw off a proportion of his army from West Point, to favour an intended attack on that important post. General Parsons, though closely connected with Connecticut, and though from his small force he was unable to make successful opposition to the invaders, yet instead of pressing general Washington for a large detachment of continental troops, wrote to him as follows: "The British may probably distress the country exceedingly by the ravages they will commit; but I would rather see all the towns on the coast of my country in flames, than that the enemy should possess West Point."

While the British were successfully making these desolatory operations, the American army was incapable of covering the country. The former, having by means of their superior marine force the command of the numerous rivers, bays, and harbours of the United States, had it in their power to make descents where they pleased, with an expedition that could not be equalled by the American land forces. Had general Washington divided his army, conformably to the wishes of the invaded citizens, he would have subjected his whole force to be cut up in detail. It was therefore his uniform practice, to risk no more by way of covering the country than was consistent with the general safety.

His army was posted at some distance from British head-quarters in New-York, and on both sides of the North River. The advance consisting of three hundred infantry and a hundred and fifty cavalry, under the command of colonel Anthony Walton White, patrolled constantly, for several

months, in front of the British lines, and kept a constant watch on the Sound and on the North River. This corps had several skirmishes with parties of the British, and was particularly useful in checking their excursions, and in procuring and communicating intelligence of their movements.

About this time, general Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable command at Reading in Connecticut, when on a visit to his out-post at Horse Neck, was attacked by governor Tryon with about fifteen hundred men. General Putnam had only a picket of a hundred and fifty men, and two iron field-pieces without horses or drag ropes. He, however, planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and by several fires retarded the advancing enemy, and continued to make opposition till he perceived the enemy's horse, supported by the infantry, were about to charge. General Putnam, after ordering the picket to provide for their safety, by retiring to a swamp inaccessible to horse, galloped down the precipice at the church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly one hundred stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. The dragoons stopped short, without venturing down the abrupt declivity, and before they got round the brow of the hill, Putnam was far enough beyond their reach; of the many balls that were fired at him, all missed except one, which went through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and having strengthened his picket with some militia, faced about and pursued governor Tryon on his return.

CAPTURE OF STONEY POINT.

THE campaign of 1779, though barren of important events, was distinguished by one of the most gallant enterprises on the part of the Americans which took place in the course of the war. This was the capture of Stoney Point on the North River. General Wayne, who had the honour of conducting this enterprise, set out on the fifteenth of July at the head of a strong detachment of the most active infantry in the American army at noon, and completed a march of about fourteen miles, over bad roads, by eight o'clock in the evening. The detachment being then within a mile and a half of its object, was halted and formed into columns. The general with a few of his officers, advanced and reconnoitred the works. At half past eleven the whole moved forward to the attack. The van of the right, consisting of a hundred and fifty volunteers under the command of lieutenant-colonel Fly, advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. These were preceded by twenty picked men, who were particularly instructed to remove the abatis and other obstructions. The van of the left was led by major Stewart, and advanced with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. It was also preceded by a similar forlorn hope. The general placed himself at the head of the right column, and gave the most pointed orders not to fire, but to depend solely on the bayonet. The two columns directed their attacks to opposite points of the works, while a detachment engaged the attention of the garrison by a feint in their front. The approaches were more difficult than had been apprehended: the works were defended by a deep morass, which was also, at that time, overflowed by the tide. Neither the morass, the double row of abatis, nor the strength of the works, dampened the ardour of the assailants. In the face of a most tremendous fire of musketry, and of cannon loaded with grape-shot, they forced their way at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, until both columns met in the centre of the works at nearly the same instant. General Wayne, as he passed the last abatis, was wounded in the head by a musket ball, but nevertheless insisted on being carried forward, adding as a reason for it, "That if he died he wished it might be in the fort." Two flags, two standards, fifteen pieces of ordnance, and a considerable quantity of military stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The vigour and spirit with which this enterprise was conducted, was matter of triumph to the Americans. Upon the capture of Stoney Point, the victors turned its artillery against Verplank's Point, and fired upon it with such effect, that the shipping in its vicinity cut their cables and fell down the river. As soon as the news of these events reached New-York, preparations were instantly made to relieve the latter post and to recover the former. It by no means accorded with

the cautious prudence of general Washington, to risk an engagement for either or for both of them. He therefore removed the cannon and stores, destroyed the works, and evacuated the captured post. Sir Henry Clinton regained possession of Stony Point, on the third day after its capture, and placed in it a strong garrison.

The successful enterprises of the Americans at Stony Point was speedily followed by another, which equalled it in boldness of design. This was the surprise of the British garrison at Powles Hook, opposite to New-York, which was effected on July the nineteenth, by Major Lee, with about three hundred and fifty men. Major Sutherland the commandant, with a number of Hessians, got off safe to a small block-house on the left of the fort, but about thirty of his men were killed, and one hundred and sixty taken prisoners. The loss of the Americans was inconsiderable. Major Lee, in conformity to the orders he had received, made an immediate retreat, without waiting to destroy either the barracks or the artillery.

UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON PENOBSCOT.

THESE advantages were more than counter-balanced, by an unsuccessful attempt made by the state of Massachusetts on a British post at Penobscot. Colonel Maclean, by the direction of Sir Henry Clinton, on the sixteenth of June landed with a detachment of six hundred and fifty men from Halifax, on the banks of Penobscot River, in the eastern confines of New-England, and proceeded soon after to construct a fort in a well chosen situation. This occasioned an alarm at Boston: and to counteract the establishment of the post, vigorous measures were resolved upon. That armed vessels, transports, and sailors, might be secured for an expedition, which was immediately projected for this purpose, an embargo for forty days was laid by the state of Massachusetts on all their shipping. A considerable armament, consisting of eighteen armed vessels besides transports, was fitted out with extraordinary expedition, and put under the command of commodore Saltonstall. The largest vessel in this fleet was the Warren of thirty-two guns, eighteen and twelve pounders. The others varied from twenty-four to twelve guns. A body of land forces, commanded by general Lovel, embarked on this expedition. On the twenty-fifth of July, the American fleet, consisting of thirty-seven sail, appeared off Penobscot. Colonel Maclean had four days before gained information of what was intended against him. This induced him to redouble his exertions in strengthening his fort, which was in an unfinished state. Two of the bastions were untouched: the remaining two were in no part above four or five feet high; the ditch was only about three feet deep; there was no platform laid, nor any artillery mounted. The American general, on his landing, summoned the colonel to surrender; which being refused, he proceeded, on the twenty-eighth of July, to erect a battery at the distance of seven hundred and fifty yards. A cannonading commenced, and was kept up for about a fortnight, but without any considerable effect. While the besiegers were making preparations for an assault, which they had in immediate contemplation, Sir George Collyer appeared full in view, with a squadron for the relief of the garrison. He had sailed from Sandy Hook on hearing of the intended attack on colonel Maclean's party, and in about eleven days arrived in the river Penobscot. His marine force consisted of the *Raisable* of sixty-four guns and five frigates. The Americans at first made a show of resistance, but they intended no more than to give the transports time to move up the river, that the troops might have an opportunity of landing and making their escape. The superior force and weight of metal of the *Raisable* was irresistible, and the escape of the Americans was impracticable. A general flight on the one side, and a general chase on the other, took place. Sir George destroyed and took seventeen or eighteen armed vessels. The American soldiers and sailors had to return a great part of their way by land, and to explore their route through thick woods.

BRITISH SUCCESSSES TO THE SOUTHWARD.

THOUGH the war was carried on for little more than distress or depredation in the northern states, the re-establishment of British government was

seriously attempted in Carolina and Georgia. After the reduction of Savannah, a great part of the state of Georgia was restored to the king's peace. The royal army in that quarter was strengthened by a numerous reinforcement from East-Florida, and the whole was put under the command of major general Prevost. The force then in Georgia gave a serious alarm to the adjacent states. There were at that time but few continental troops in Georgia or South-Carolina, and scarcely any in North-Carolina, as during the late tranquillity in the southern states, they had been detached to serve in the main army commanded by general Washington. A body of militia was raised and sent forward by North-Carolina to aid her neighbours. These joined the continental troops, but not till they had retreated out of Georgia, and taken post in South-Carolina. Towards the close of the year 1778, general Lincoln, at the request of the delegates of South-Carolina, was appointed by congress to take the command of their southern army.

This consisted only of a few hundred continentals. To supply the deficiency of regular soldiers, a considerable body of militia was ordered to join him, but they added much more to his numbers than to his effective force.

They had not yet learned the implicit obedience necessary for military operations. Accustomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languor of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence, they reluctantly submitted to martial discipline. The royal army at Savannah being reinforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine, was in condition to extend their posts. The first object was to take possession of Port Royal, in South-Carolina. Major Gardiner, with two hundred men, being detached with this view, landed on the island; but general Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of Americans, in which there were only nine regular soldiers, attacked and drove him off it. This advantage was principally gained by two field-pieces, which were well served by a party of Charlestown militia artillery. This repulse restrained the British from attempting any immediate enterprise to the northward of Savannah; but they fixed posts at Ebenezer and Augusta, and extended themselves over a great part of Georgia; they also endeavoured to strengthen themselves by reinforcements from the Tories in the western settlements of Georgia and Carolina.

Emissaries were sent among the inhabitants of that description, to encourage them to a general insurrection. They were assured that if they embodied and added their force to that of the king's army in Georgia, they would have such a decided superiority as would make a speedy return to their homes practicable, on their own terms. Several hundreds of them accordingly rendezvoused, and set off to join the royal forces at Augusta. Among those who called themselves loyalists, there were many of the most infamous characters. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more sollicitous for booty than for the honour and interest of their royal master. At every period before the war, the western wilderness of those states, which extended to the Mississippi, afforded an asylum for the idle or disorderly, who disrelieved the restraints of civil society. While the war raged, the demands of militia duty and of taxes, contributed much to the peopling of those remote settlements, by holding out prospects of exemption from the control of government. Among these people the royal emissaries had successfully planted the standard of royalty, and of that class was a great proportion of those, who, in the upper country of the Carolinas and Georgia, called themselves the king's friends. They had no sooner embodied and begun their march to join the royal army at Augusta, than they commenced such a scene of plundering the defenceless settlements through which they passed, as induced the orderly inhabitants to turn out to oppose them. Colonel Pickens, with about three hundred men of the latter character, immediately pursued and came up with them near Kettle Creek. An action took place, which lasted three quarters of an hour; the Tories were totally routed, about forty of them were killed, and in that number was their leader, colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head them. By this action the British were disconcerted; the Tories were dispersed, some

ran quite off, others went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of their country. These were tried by the laws of South-Carolina, for offending against an act called the sedition act which had been passed since the revolution for the security of the new government. Seventy of them were condemned to die, but the sentence was only executed on five of their ringleaders.

As the British extended their posts on the Georgia side of Savannah river, general Lincoln fixed encampments at Black Swamp, and nearly opposite to Augusta on the Carolina side. From these posts he formed a plan of crossing into Georgia, with the view of limiting the British to the low country, near the ocean. In the execution of this design, general Ash, with fifteen hundred North-Carolina militia, and a few regular troops, after crossing the river Savannah, took a position on Briar Creek; but in a few days he was surprised by Lieutenant-colonel Prevost, who having made a circuitous march of about fifty miles, came unexpectedly on his rear with about nine hundred men. The militia were thrown into confusion, and fled at the first fire. One hundred and fifty of the Americans were killed, and one hundred and sixty-two were taken. Few had any chance of escaping, but by crossing the Savannah, in attempting which many were drowned. Of those who got off safe, a great part returned home. The number that rejoined the American camp did not exceed four hundred and fifty men. The few continentals under colonel Elbert made a brave resistance; but the survivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled to surrender. This event deprived general Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British, the Indians, and the Tories of North and South Carolina.

The series of disasters which had followed the American arms since the landing of the British near Savannah, occasioned a well-founded apprehension for the safety of the adjacent states. The militia of South-Carolina was therefore put on a better footing, and a regiment of cavalry was raised. John Rutledge, a Carolinian of the most distinguished abilities, was called to the chair of government by an almost unanimous vote, and, in imitation of the ancient republic of Rome, invested, in conjunction with his council, with dictatorial powers. By virtue of his authority, he convened a large body of the militia near the centre of the state, that they might be in constant readiness to march whithersoever public service required. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed; part of the American force was stationed on the north side of the Savannah at Purrysburgh and Black Swamp, while general Lincoln and the main army crossed into Georgia near Augusta. General Prevost availed himself of the critical moment, when the American army had ascended one hundred and fifty miles towards the source of the Savannah, and crossed into Carolina over the same river near to its mouth, with about two thousand four hundred men. A considerable body of Indians, whose friendship the British had previously secured, were associated with the British on this expedition. The superior British force which crossed Savannah River soon compelled general Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of South-Carolina, to retire. Lincoln, on receiving information of these movements, detached three hundred of his light troops to reinforce Moultrie, but proceeded with the main army towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to pursue his original intention, from an idea that general Prevost meant nothing more than to divert him by a feint on Carolina, and because his marching down on the south side of the river Savannah would occasion very little additional delay in repairing to its defence. When Lincoln found that Prevost was seriously pushing for Charlestown, he re-crossed the Savannah and pursued him. The British proceeded in their march by the main road near the sea-coast, with but little opposition, and in the mean time the Americans retreated before them towards Charlestown. General Moultrie, who ably conducted this retreat, had no cavalry to check the advancing foe. Instead of his receiving reinforcements from the inhabitants, as he marched through the country, he was abandoned by many of the militia, who went to their homes; their families and property lay directly in the route of the invad-

ing army. The absence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plunderings and devastations of the invaders, and above all, the dread of the Indian savages which accompanied the royal army, diffused a general panic among the inhabitants. The terror of each individual became a source of terror to another. From the influence of these causes, many were induced to apply for British protection. New converts to the royal standard endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with their protectors, by encouraging them to attempt the reduction of Charlestown. Being in their power, they were more anxious to frame intelligence on the idea of what was agreeable, than of what was true. They represented the inhabitants as being generally tired of the war, and wishing for peace at all events. They also stated that Charlestown was incapable of much resistance. These circumstances, combined with the facility with which the British marched through the country, induced general Prevost to extend his plan and push for Charlestown. Had he designed it at first, and continued his march with the same rapidity with which it was begun, the town would probably have been carried by a *coup-de-main*; but he halted two or three days when advanced near half the distance. In that interval, every preparation was made by the South-Carolinians for the defence of their capital; all the houses in its suburbs were burnt; lines and abatis were, in a few days, carried across the peninsula between Ashley and Cooper rivers, and cannon were mounted at proper intervals on its whole extent. Though this visit of the British, and especially an attack on the land side, was unexpected, yet in a few days great preparations were made, and a force of three thousand three hundred men assembled in Charlestown for its defence.

BRITISH FAIL AT CHARLESTOWN.

THE main body and baggage of the British army, being left on the south side of Ashley river, an advanced detachment of nine hundred men, on the eleventh of May, crossed the ferry, and appeared before the town. In the mean time Lincoln was marching on as fast as possible, for the relief of Charlestown; but as his arrival was doubtful, and the crisis hazardous, to gain time was a matter of consequence. A whole day was therefore spent in the exchange of flags. Commissioners from the garrison were instructed "to propose a neutrality during the war between Great Britain and America, and that the question whether the State shall belong to Great Britain, or remain one of the United States, be determined by a treaty of peace between these powers. The British commanders refused this advantageous offer, alleging that they did not come in a legislative capacity, and insisted that, as the inhabitants and others were in arms, they should surrender prisoners of war. This being refused, the garrison prepared for an immediate assault; but this was not attempted. Prevost, knowing by an intercepted letter that Lincoln was coming on in his rear, retreated from Charlestown, and fled off with his whole force from the main to the islands near the sea, that he might avoid being between two fires. Both armies encamped in the vicinity of Charlestown, watching each other's motions till the twentieth of June, when an attack was made with about one thousand two hundred Americans, on six or seven hundred of the British, advantageously posted at Stono Ferry. The latter had redoubts, with a line of communication, and field-pieces in the intervals, and the whole was secured with an abatis. By a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James Island, with a body of Charlestown militia, at the moment when general Lincoln began the attack from the main; but from mismanagement, they did not reach their place of destination till the action was over. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had the advantage; but the appearance of a reinforcement, to prevent which the feint from James Island was intended, made their retreat necessary.

Soon after the affair at Stono, the continental forces under the command of general Lincoln retired to Sheldon, a healthy situation in the vicinity of Beaufort. Both armies remained in their respective encampments, till the arrival of a French fleet on the coast roused the whole country to immediate activity.

OPERATIONS OF THE FRENCH FLEET.

COUNT D'ESTAING having repaired and victualled his fleet at Boston, on the third of November 1778 sailed for the West Indies; and on the same day commodore Hotham, with five men of war, a bomb vessel and some frigates, set out from New-York to convey a number of transports with general Grant, and five thousand men, to the same theatre of naval operations.

On the thirtieth of December the British took St. Lucia, and count D'Estaing took St. Vincent's and Grenada. Soon after the reduction of the latter, the count retired to Cape Francois. Having, in July 1779, received instructions from the king his master, to act in concert with the forces of the United States, and being strongly solicited by general Lincoln, president Lownds, governor Rutledge, and Mr. Plombard, consul of France in Charlestown, he sailed for the American continent with expectation of rendering essential service in operating against the common enemy. On the first of September he arrived on the coast of Georgia, with a fleet consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. His appearance was so unexpected, that the Experiment man of war, of fifty guns, commanded by Sir James Wallace, and three frigates, fell into his hands.

SIEGE OF SAVANNAH RAISED.

As soon as his arrival on the coast was known, general Lincoln, with the army under his command, marched for the vicinity of Savannah, and orders were given for the militia of Georgia and South-Carolina to rendezvous near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence; great numbers were employed both by day and night, in strengthening and extending their lines. The American militia, flushed with the hope of speedily expelling the British from their southern possessions, turned out with an alacrity which far surpassed their exertions in the preceding campaign. D'Estaing, before the arrival of Lincoln, demanded the surrender of the town to the arms of France. Prevost in his answer declined surrendering on a general summons, and requested that specific terms should be proposed, to which he would give an answer. The count replied, that it was the part of the besieged to propose terms. Prevost then asked for a suspension of hostilities, for twenty-four hours, for preparing proper terms. This was inconsiderately granted. Before the twenty-four hours elapsed, lieutenant-colonel Maitland, with several hundred men who had been stationed at Beaufort, made their way good through many obstacles, and joined the royal army in Savannah. The garrison, encouraged by the arrival of so respectable a force, determined on resistance. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the necessity of storming or besieging the garrison. The resolution of proceeding by siege being adopted, several days were consumed in preparing for it, and in the mean time the works of the garrison were hourly strengthened by the labour of several hundred negroes. The besiegers on the fourth of October opened with nine mortars, thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land side, and fifteen from the water. Soon after the commencement of the cannonade, Prevost solicited for leave to send the women and children out of the town; but this was refused. The combined army suspected that a desire of secreting the plunder, lately taken from the South-Carolinians, was covered under the veil of humanity. It was also presumed that a refusal would expedite a surrender. On a report from the engineers that a considerable time would be necessary to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on count D'Estaing by his marine officers, who had remonstrated against his continuing to risk so valuable a fleet on a dangerous coast, in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance

from the shore, that it might be surprised by a British fleet, completely repaired and fully manned. In a few days the lints of the besiegers might have been carried into the works of the besieged; but under these critical circumstances, no farther delay could be admitted. To assault or raise the siege was the alternative; prudence would have dictated the latter, but a sense of honour determined the besiegers to adopt the former. Two feints were made with the country militia, and a real attack on Spring-Hill battery early in the morning of the ninth of October, with three thousand five hundred French troops, six hundred continentals, and three hundred of the inhabitants of Charlestown. These boldly marched up to the lines, under the command of D'Estaing and Lincoln; but a heavy and well-directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the gallees, threw the front of their columns into confusion. Two standards were nevertheless planted on the British redoubts. A retreat of the assailants was ordered, after they had stood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes. Count D'Estaing and count Paliski were both wounded; the former slightly, but the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty-seven of the French, and upwards of two hundred of the continentals and militia, were killed or wounded. General Prevost, lieutenant-colonel Maitland, and major Moncrief, deservedly acquired great reputation by this successful defence. The force of the garrison was between two and three thousand, of which about one hundred and fifty were militia. The damage sustained by the besieged was trifling, as they fired from behind works, and few of the assailants fired at all. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia, almost universally, went to their homes. Count D'Estaing re-embarked his troops and artillery, and left the continent.

WHITE'S REMARKABLE EXPLOIT.

WHILE the siege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprise was effected by colonel John White of the Georgia line. Captain French had taken post with about one hundred men near the river Ogeechee, some time before the siege began. There were also at the same place forty sailors on board of five British vessels, four of which were armed. All these men, together with the vessels and one hundred and thirty stand of arms, were surrendered to colonel White, captain Elholm, and four others, one of which was the colonel's servant. On the preceding night this small party kindled a number of fires in different places, and adopted the parade of a large encampment. By these and a variety of deceptive stratagems, captain French was fully impressed with an opinion that nothing but an instant surrender, in conformity to a peremptory summons, could save his men from being cut to pieces by a superior force. He therefore gave up without making any resistance.

This visit of the French fleet to the coast of America, though unsuccessful as to its main object, was not without utility to the United States. It discovered the measures already digested by the British commanders, and caused a considerable waste of time before they could determine on a new plan of operations. It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode Island. But this was of no advantage to the United States; for the greatest blunder committed by the British in the course of the American war, was their stationing near six thousand men, for two years and eight months, on that island, where they were lost to every purpose of co-operation, and where they could render very little more service to the royal cause, than could have been obtained by two frigates cruising in the vicinity.

BRITISH SETTLEMENTS IN AFRICA CAPTURED.

DURING these transactions in America, the British settlements on the coast of Africa, Senegal, and the forts on the river Gambia, were taken by a French squadron, under M. de Lamoignon.

CHAPTER XVI.

Alarm from the appearance of the combined fleet off the coast—Irish Volunteers—Proceedings of the Irish Parliament—Depredations of Paul Jones—Takes the Scrapis—Engagement between the Quebec and Surveillante—Secret enmity between the States-General and the English Cabinet—Meeting of Parliament—Debates on the Address—Debates on Irish Affairs—On expenses of the War—Associations and Petitions from York, &c.—Mr. Burke's plan of Economical Regulation—Progress of Mr. Burke's Bill—Celebrated vote on the Influence of the Crown—Riots in London—Siege of Gibraltar—Admiral Langara defeated by Rodney—Charlestown taken—Impolitic Proceedings of the English in Carolina—Americans rally—Gates defeated—Distresses of Americans—Arrival of Rochambeau—Defection of General Arnold—André executed as a Spy.

FRENCH FLEET ON THE ENGLISH COAST. —IRISH AFFAIRS.

THE summer of 1779 did not pass without considerable alarm even in England. A junction was formed between the French and Spanish fleets immediately after the delivery of the Spanish memorial. They entered the channel in the month of August, with sixty five ships of the line, accompanied by a number of frigates and fireships. Sir Charles Hardy, who commanded the channel fleet, found himself in no condition to contend with an enemy which was greatly his superior in force, and was under the necessity of retiring, while the enemy's flag rode triumphant on the British coasts. As the port and harbour of Plymouth had been unaccountably neglected by the ministry, who unhappily presided over the affairs of this country at that period, the greatest apprehensions were entertained for its safety. The count D'Orville, the commander, was, however, ignorant either of the weakness of the place, or of the little force which England was able to bring against them. In their cruise they captured the Ardent man of war, of sixty four guns, but attempted no further enterprise; and by their return to Brest relieved the English nation from that cloud of apprehension by which their political atmosphere had been obscured.

While all was consternation and dismay in England, the Irish nation, happily for themselves and their posterity, were acting a more spirited, and, as it afterwards proved, a more politic part, though the danger was certainly more imminent to them than to the inhabitants of this island. To the absurd and frantic crusade against American liberty, the incompetent ministers of George III. had sacrificed every other consideration; and while the clouded faculties of lord Stormont had been completely diverted by the *Assesse* of the French court from their real designs; he had wrapped himself up in his own importance; and satisfied with being permitted to treat the agents of America with arrogance and rudeness, even upon occasions where humanity was interested, he continued to transmit to his masters the most unqualifying assurances of the pacific designs of France. lulled into this dream of security, therefore, the ministry had withdrawn almost the whole of the troops from Ireland, and the country was left defenceless to any invader. Thus apparently abandoned by England, the Irish at this formidable crisis, acted with an energy which reflects upon them the highest honour. Military associations were formed in every part of the kingdom, and an army of fifty thousand volunteers started up at once, as by a miracle, like the armed men of Cadmus, well appointed and completely disciplined. It undoubtedly occurred to the leaders of the Irish nation in favouring this arrangement, that the same men who might be useful to defend the country from foreign attacks, might also serve to reclaim their own liberties; but this was a considera-

tion too refined for the indiscriminating faculties of the English ministry; and instead of counteracting this rising spirit, they virtually encouraged it, and even furnished several of the corps with arms from the royal magazines. On the return of the combined fleet to Brest the apprehensions of the Irish subsided, but the volunteers did not disband; and the effect of this extraordinary combination was soon apparent in the proceedings of their parliament, which met on the twelfth of October.—An amendment was then carried on the address proposed by ministry, insisting on a free trade; the thanks of both houses were voted to the volunteers, and a six months money bill passed to prevent a premature prorogation.

PAUL JONES.—NAVAL ACTIONS.

THE empty triumph of the combined fleet was not the only instance in this campaign, in which the naval pride of Britain was mortified. Among a number of adventurers, which the desire of plunder called into action on the side of the Americans in this unfortunate war, one of the most remarkable both for courage and conduct was Paul Jones. He is said to have been by birth an Englishman, and being bred to the sea, continued the greater part of his life, in an inferior station upon that element. Having arrived, by what means we are not informed, to the command of a small privateer in the service of the American states, in the preceding summer he had swept the whole Irish channel, and had even effected a landing at lord Selkirk's house in Scotland, not far from Dumfries. On his return to France he was furnished by some American and French adventurers with a larger vessel, which, in company with two others, appeared off the coast of Scotland in the month of September 1779. They steered directly up the Frith of Forth, and on the seventeenth were nearly opposite to Leith. His intention was supposed to have been to burn or destroy the shipping in that harbour, but he was prevented from attempting any thing by a strong west wind, which drove him down the Frith. Proper precautions were also taken to prevent his repeating the attempt with any probability of success. In one day three batteries were erected; two at the citadel in North Leith, and one near Newhaven, on which were mounted thirty cannon, besides carronades, howitzers, &c. Several prizes, however, were taken, some of which after being plundered, were set adrift. From this coast, our adventurer sailed directly to that of Holland, where he fell in with the *Scrapis* and Countess of Scarborough. A dreadful engagement ensued, the particulars of which are thus related by captain Pearson of the *Scrapis*: the enemy's squadron consisted of two frigates and a two-decked ship. About twenty minutes after seven, the largest ship brought to within musket shot, and an engagement immediately commenced, which was carried on with the utmost fury. The enemy at first endeavoured to

board the *Serapis*; but being repulsed, after various manoeuvres, the two ships became entangled with each other in such a manner that the muzzles of the guns touched each other's sides. In this situation the engagement continued for two hours, during which time, from the great quantity of burning matter thrown into the *Serapis*, she was on fire in different places no less than ten or twelve times, nor could it be extinguished without the utmost difficulty; at the same time that she was raked in the most dreadful manner by the frigate, fore and aft, so that almost every man on the quarter and main decks was killed or wounded. About half past nine, either from a hand grenade thrown in at one of the lower deck ports, or from some other accident, a cartridge of powder was set on fire, the flames of which, running from cartridge to cartridge, at last blew up the whole of the people and officers on the main deck, rendering also the guns unserviceable on that part of the ship. At ten o'clock, the enemy called out for quarter, and said they had struck: but on captain Pearson inquiring into the truth of this circumstance, and no answer being made, he determined to board the enemy. On looking into her, however, they discovered a superior number, with pikes, ready to receive them, on which they instantly retreated into their own ship. The firing was then continued on both sides till half an hour after ten, when the frigate coming across the stern of the *Serapis*, poured a broadside into her; after which the captain finding it impracticable to continue the engagement any longer, struck his colours; the main-mast coming by the board at the same instant. The conquering vessel was in such distress that she sunk the next night.

In the month following another very desperate action took place. Captain Farmer of his majesty's ship *Quebec*, being on a cruise off Ushant, in company with the *Rambler* cutter, came up with, and closely engaged, a large French frigate called the *Surveillante*, mounting forty guns; while the *Rambler* was engaged with a French cutter as superior in force as the French frigate was to the *Quebec*. The action on both sides was warm and bloody, from ten in the morning till two in the afternoon, when the French cutter set all the sail she could crowd, and bore away; but the *Rambler* being so disabled in her mast and rigging could not follow her with any hopes of coming up with her. The commander, therefore, seeing both the frigates dismantled, and the *Quebec* taking fire, endeavoured to get as near the *Quebec* as possible, in hopes of saving some of her men; but there being but little wind and a large swell, no other assistance could be afforded than by hoisting out the boat which picked up one master's mate, two young midshipmen, and fourteen more of the *Quebec*'s people, the enemy's frigate at the same time firing at the boat. The *Quebec* continued burning very fiercely, with her colours flying, till six o'clock, when she blew up.

As Paul Jones had brought his prizes into the Texel, Sir Joseph Yorke, with the same wisdom that characterized the rest of the administration, presented a memorial to the States of Holland, demanding the surrender of him as a pirate. The States, with their usual prudence, declined all interference in the disputed question of American independence. But their refusal on this occasion is generally supposed to have implanted the seeds of enmity deeply in the minds of the British cabinet, and to have determined a ministry, which appears to have been uniformly actuated by no principle but that of a puerile revenge, to embrace the first opportunity of a rupture with the States-general.

Previous to the meeting of parliament, a partial change took place in administration. Lord Stormont, who had evinced such profound diplomatic abilities during his embassy to Paris, and who had been so correct and early in his information to ministers of the proceedings of the court of Versailles, was promoted to the office of secretary of state in the room of the earl of Suffolk, deceased. Lord Weymouth resigned, as was supposed in disgust, and was succeeded in his department by the earl of Hillsborough. Earl Bathurst was made president of the council in the room of earl Cowper, who also was supposed to resign in disgust; and the great seal was transferred to the hands of Mr. Thurlow, late attorney general, but who on the occasion

was, as usual, created a peer, by the title of baron Thurlow; he was certainly a man of ability, but his talents by all parties have been greatly overrated.

Some offence was taken by the people of Scotland at the act which had been passed in favour of the Roman Catholics, and some alarming riots ensued in Edinburgh and Glasgow, in which the mass-houses were pulled down, as well as several dwelling houses. These, however, were only the preludes to the melancholy scene, which we shall have presently to describe.

PARLIAMENT MEETS.—VIOLENT DEBATES.

THE British parliament assembled on the twenty-fifth of November.—His majesty, in his speech to the two houses, began with the usual complaints concerning the unjust and unprovoked war, in which the nation was engaged, and the dangerous confederacy formed against the crown and people of Great Britain. By the blessing of Providence, he said, the attempts of the enemy to invade the kingdom had been frustrated; and though they still continued to menace us with great armaments and preparations,—"I know," added his majesty, "the character of my brave people; the menaces of their enemies, and the approach of danger, have no effect on their minds, but to animate their courage, and to call forth that national spirit, which has so often checked and defeated the projects of ambition and injustice, and enabled the British fleets and armies to protect their own country, to vindicate their own rights, and at the same time to uphold and preserve the liberties of Europe from the restless and encroaching power of the house of Bourbon." After observing that the state of Ireland had been attended to, it was recommended to consider what further benefits and advantages might be extended to that kingdom. The usual regret was expressed for the unavoidable increase of the supplies; but no notice whatever was taken of the affairs of America, or the West Indies, or any part of the campaign.

The motions for addresses, in both houses, produced great debates, in which opposition delivered their sentiments with unusual confidence, and pointed their censures with great skill. They reprobated that ruinous system of government which had debilitated and disgraced this country, and which was particularly aggravated by its support from a secret combination. The influence of this combination was visible in every department of our executive services, and had altered the character both of our armies and navies; and the facility of our councils seemed to vie with the contempt bestowed by all the world on our arms.

The general terror which the parade of the combined fleets of France and Spain in the channel had this year occasioned throughout the southern coasts of England, added fresh force to the objections of opposition. It was reserved, said they, for the present inauspicious and disgraceful era, for the administration of those men who had severed the one part of the empire from the other, and who had plunged the nation in all the guilt and calamity of a cruel and unextinguishable civil war, to brand this country with the indelible disgrace of the preceding summer, to exhibit the unthought-of and unheard-of spectacle, of a British fleet flying, in sight of their own coast, before that of the house of Bourbon.

In this grand article of accusation, the neglect of the island of Jersey afforded another, very little inferior. Through the want, they said, of two or three frigates, of that small marine force which would have been then sufficient to repel the desultory attempts to be expected from St. Maloes, admiral Arbuthnot was obliged to abandon his conveyance and to defer his voyage to New-York. By that means a fleet of three hundred merchantmen and transports were exposed to the danger of the sea and the enemy in the open road of Torbay; the trade was detained a full month at home, and suffered at least an equal delay on the voyage, to the immense loss and expense of the merchant; and the reinforcements for Sir Henry Clinton, which, to answer any effectual purpose, should have been landed at New-York before the time of their departure from England, did not reach the continent of America until the end of August, when the season for action was nearly over, and the troops had suffered so much from the unusual length of their

confines on ship-board, that they were incapable of any immediate service. Thus were all the views and hopes of the campaign frustrated in the outset, and thus, year after year, was the blood and treasure of the nation consumed, and its strength exhausted in that fatal contest, while the unequalled misconduct prevailing at home, rendered all the exertions of valour and ability fruitless, and ensured the ill success which followed.

The same conduct which had prevailed in Europe, was to be traced in every part of the world. The enemy had, at one sweep, carried away every thing that was English, through the whole extent of the African coasts. The dominion of the sea was no less effectually, though less disgracefully, lost in the West Indies, than in the narrow seas and the channel. Our West India islands had been more properly delivered up to the enemy, than subdued by them. It made no difference in the nature of things, whether our possessions were surrendered or sold by a public or private treaty with France, or whether they were left so naked and defenceless, that the enemy should have nothing more to do than to send garrisons to take possession of them. This, they insisted, was the case with respect to the islands we had lost; and those that remained, were not in a much better situation. Jamaica, now the most valuable of our colonies, and the principal source of our remaining trade and wealth, was most shamefully abandoned, and was at that time in the most imminent danger of being totally lost, if not already so.

This extraordinary torrent of accusation and invective, was finished by a declaration, that the omissions and defects which produced all these calamities, went so much beyond any thing which could be allowed for impotence and imperfection of mind, that they seemed under a necessity of deriving their origin from direct treachery. Final ruin, or a total change of system and of men, was now the alternative to which we were reduced. All the means of national preservation which now remained, and the sentiments of every intelligent and independent man in England, were now expressed in the short sentence, "New counsels and new counsellors!" This was the universal language without doors, and of those within when they went out.

The speech itself was, as usual, criticised in the severest manner. It held forth, that though the designs and attempts of our enemies to invade this island had been hitherto frustrated, they still menaced us with great armaments and preparations; but it was trusted we were well prepared to meet every attack, and to repel every insult.

In return to this speech, addresses from both houses had been proposed, as usual, approving of every part of it.

Amendments were proposed in the house of commons by lord John Cavendish, and in the house of lords by the marquis of Rockingham. Both were to the following purpose, viz. "To beseech his majesty to reflect upon the extent of territory, the power, opulence, reputation abroad, and concord at home, which distinguished the opening of his majesty's reign, and marked it as the most splendid and happy period in the history of this nation.—That he would now consider the endangered, impoverished, enfeebled, distracted, and even dismembered state of the whole, after all the grants of successive parliaments, liberal to profusion, and trusting to the very utmost of rational confidence.—That his majesty would naturally expect to receive the honest opinion of a faithful and affectionate parliament, who would betray his majesty, and those whom they represented, if they did not distinctly state to his majesty, that, if any thing could prevent the consummation of public ruin, it only could be new counsels and counsellors, without farther loss of time, and a real change, from a sincere conviction of past errors; not a mere palliation, which must prove fruitless."

With regard to this amendment, the minister observed, that the language was strictly parliamentary. It was the duty, as well as the right of parliament, to censure evil ministers to be removed; but justice first required a proof of their delinquency. To remove the servants of the crown, without assigning any cause for it, or attributing to them, without any evidence or trial, those errors or crimes which on trial would not be found imputable to them, would be equally unjust and unprece-

dented. Though he admitted, therefore, to the fullest extent, the right of that house to address the throne for a removal of ministers, yet as nothing was specifically charged against them in the amendment, he must certainly oppose it on principle; and it certainly could not be imagined, that he would agree to the indirect censure implied against himself in the requisition of new counsels and counsellors. The charge of treachery was denied, as were all the others, either directly or indirectly.

Charles Fox, greatly distinguished himself in this debate. He said, "that the plan of government which had been in this reign invariably rumoured, had been very early adopted. It was not the mere rumour of the streets that the king was his own minister—the fatal truth was evident; and though denied by the members of the administration, it was propagated by their followers. It was a doctrine in the highest degree dangerous, as tending to relieve ministers from their responsibility, and to transfer it to a personage who could not by the principles of our constitution be called to an account. But he said it should be a warning to sovereigns, that though in general the evils of a reign were, according to the principles of our government, ascribed to the wicked counsels of ministers, yet when these evils reach to a certain height, ministers are forgotten, and the prince alone is punished. Thus it was with the royal house of Stuart. Charles and James had no doubt wicked ministers, to whom the errors of their reign were justly in a great degree to be attributed; yet the one lost his life, and the other his crown. The patience of the people was not unlimited, and, however passive for a time, they would at last do themselves justice." The amendment was in the result negatived by two hundred and thirty-three voices to one hundred and thirty-four.

Notwithstanding this apparent triumph, it was easy to see, that the debates on this occasion carried a quite different aspect from what they had ever done before; and that though the ministry carried their point at this time, it would not be long before they would be entirely defeated. In fact, they were now universally complained of, and the nation at large had in a great measure withdrawn their confidence.

DEBATES ON IRISH AFFAIRS.

WHILE lord North was preparing his plans of relief for Ireland, a motion, similar to the above, was made on the sixth of December in the house of commons by the earl of Upper Ossory. In answer to this attack, the friends of ministry endeavoured to justify them, by throwing considerable blame on a gradual impolicy which had crept into the system of our trade laws, the prejudices in favour of which were so strong as to produce petitions, and every mark of displeasure in England at whatever time gentlemen had attempted to introduce modifications of them; of course parliament, in obeying the will of their constituents, were doing their duty, and ministers were totally incompetent to act otherwise; and that hitherto ministers had not been able exactly to ascertain the wishes of the Irish, but as these were now rendered more plain, the matter could be brought to a regular discussion.

In the course of a few days lord North laid his propositions relative to Ireland, before the house of commons; they were three: the repeal of those laws which prohibited the exportation of Irish manufactures, made of or mixed with wool, and wool stocks, from Ireland to any part of Europe: the repeal of so much of the act of 19 Geo. II. as prohibited the importation of glass into Ireland, except of British manufacture, or to export glass from that kingdom: and third, that Ireland be suffered to trade with the British colonies in America and the West Indies, and Africa, subject to such regulations, duties, &c. as the parliament of Ireland should impose. These resolutions were unanimously agreed to, the latter only admitting of some small delay.

On the seventh of December, while the affairs of Ireland were still in agitation, the duke of Richmond attempted to call the attention of the house to the enormous expenses of the war. He showed, that if the war only continued to the end of the ensuing year, and was to consume the provision which parliament was making for its support, it would by that time complete an addition from its

beginning of sixty-three millions to the former national debt; the whole being then little short of two hundred millions; and that as the minister had given, on an average, about six per cent. for the new debt, the standing interest of the whole would not amount to less than eight millions annually: a tribute to the payment of which all the lauded interest of England was to be for ever mortgaged. Such, he said, would be the state of the British finances at the close of the following year; and it would only be better by twelve millions were peace to be concluded at that instant. Under such vast burdens, the necessity of the most exact and rigid economy was self-evident.

ASSOCIATIONS AND PETITIONS AGAINST THE WAR.

1780. THE aversion of the people to the present system of administration, and their sensibility to the horrors of a war obviously ruinous to the country in all its parts, became now very conspicuous. Associations were formed in different places, particularly at York, where a petition to the house of commons was unanimously agreed upon, and accompanied with a resolution, that a committee of sixty-one gentlemen be appointed to carry on the necessary correspondence for effectually promoting the object of the petition, and likewise to prepare the plan of an association, on legal and constitutional grounds, to support a laudable reform, and such other measures as might conduce to the freedom of parliament, to be presented by the chairman of the committee at their next meeting, to be held by adjournment in Easter-week.

In this petition they began by stating, as matters of fact, that the nation had been engaged for several years in a most expensive and unfortunate war; many of our valuable colonies had declared themselves independent, had formed a strict confederacy with our most inveterate and dangerous enemies; and that the consequence of those combined misfortunes had been a large addition to the national debt, a heavy accumulation of taxes, with a rapid decline of the trade, manufactures, and land-rents of the kingdom. They then declared, that "alarmed at the diminished resources, as well as the growing burdens of the country, and convinced, that rigid frugality was now indispensably necessary in every department of the state, they observed with grief, that notwithstanding the calamities and impoverished condition of the nation, much public money had been improvidently squandered; that many individuals enjoyed sinecure places, with exorbitant emoluments and pensions, unmerited by public service, to a large and still increasing amount; whence the crown had acquired a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked in time, might soon prove fatal to the liberties of the country." They further declared, that, "conceiving the true end of every legitimate government to be, not the emolument of any individual, but the welfare of the community; and considering that, by the constitution, the custody of the national purse is entrusted in a peculiar manner to that house, they begged leave to represent, that until effectual measures were taken to redress those oppressive grievances, the grant of any additional sum of money beyond the produce of the present taxes, would be injurious to the rights, and derogatory to the honour and dignity of parliament. They therefore, appealing to the justice of the commons, most earnestly requested, that before any new burdens were laid upon this country, effectual measures might be taken to inquire into, and correct the gross abuses in the expenditure of public money; to reduce all exorbitant emoluments; to rescind and abolish all sinecure places and unmerited pensions; and to appropriate the produce to the necessities of the state."

The example of York was quickly followed by other counties and corporations. Similar petitions were agreed to by the counties of Middlesex, Chester, Hertford, Sussex, Huntingdon, Surrey, Cumberland, Bedford, Essex, Somerset, Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Norfolk, Berks, Bucks, Nottingham, Kent, Northumberland, Suffolk, Hereford, Cambridge, and Derby; Denbigh, Flint, and Brecknock; as well as by the cities of London, Westminster, York, Bristol, Gloucester, and Hereford; with the towns of Nottingham, Reading, Cambridge, Bridgewater, and Newcastle upon

Tyne. The county of Northampton declined petitioning, but voted resolutions and instructions to their representatives, to the same purpose with the petitions.

These proceedings greatly alarmed ministry, and even many of those who wished well to the cause of reformation, shuddered at the thoughts of what might be the consequence. Associations and committees had produced such recent efforts in America, and even in Ireland, that the very terms had become suspicious. These fears were dexterously cherished by the ministerial party. It was contended, that the true sense of the counties could not be collected, nor the matter proposed duly examined, in such meetings, so new in their form and so void of regularity; that the petitions conveyed insinuations injurious and disrespectful to parliament, to whose province only belonged the granting of supplies; and that the petitions and resolutions were calculated to produce diffidence and suspicions in the minds of his majesty's subjects, at a time when unanimity and confidence in government were essentially necessary to support and invigorate the exertions of the state. In this manner several counties were prevented from petitioning or forming committees; but, in general, the endeavours of ministry to prevent country-meetings were totally frustrated. So impetuous was the spirit which now prevailed, that Lord Sandwich in person, and at the head of a great body of his numerous friends, could not prevent a petition and committee from being carried in his own native and favourite county. All endeavours to prevent petitions being thus found abortive, means were used to obtain protests; but though the business was undertaken by one or two persons of great property and consequence, it was attended with very indifferent success. Even in those places where protests were obtained, the dissenting parties durst not oppose the prayer of the petitions, but declared themselves of opinion, that every thing ought to be left to the discretion of parliament, in whose integrity and public spirit they thought it improper to express, particularly at that time, any kind of distrust.

The petition from the county of York was presented on the eighth of February, by Sir George Saville, member for the county, who stated, "that it was signed by above eight thousand freeholders. This petition, he said, had been procured by no underhand arts of public canvass; it was first moved in a meeting of six hundred gentlemen; and there was, he believed, more property in the hall where it was agreed to, than was contained within the walls of the house of commons. It was a petition, he said, to which the administration would not dare to refuse a hearing, however the arts of ministerial artifice and finesse might be employed to defeat the purpose of it."

Sir George Saville was peevishly answered by the minister, and powerfully supported by Fox. The petition was allowed to be laid on the table, as well as a petition from Jamaica, complaining of the defenceless state of that island.

MR. BURKE'S PLAN OF ECONOMICAL REGULATION.

THE way being thus prepared by the petitions, Burke proceeded to open his promised plan of economy, which included the following bills, viz. First, "A bill for the better regulation of his majesty's civil establishments, and of certain public offices; for the limitation of pensions, and the suppression of sundry useless, expensive, and inconvenient places; and for applying the monies saved thereby to the public service." The second, "A bill for the sale of the forest and other crown lands, rents, and hereditaments, with certain exceptions; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service; and for securing, ascertaining, and satisfying, tenant-rights, and common, and other rights." Third, "A bill for the more perfectly uniting to the crown the principality of Wales, and the county palatine of Chester, and for the more commodious administration of justice within the same; as also, for abolishing certain offices now appertaining thereto; for quieting dormant claims, ascertaining and securing tenant-rights, and for the sale of forest lands, and other lands, tenements, and hereditaments, held by his majesty in right of the said principality, or county palatine of Chester, and for

applying the produce thereof to the public service." Fourth, "A bill for uniting to the crown the dutchy and county palatine of Lancaster; for the suppression of unnecessary offices, now belonging thereto, for the ascertainment and security of tenant and other rights; and for the sale of all rents, lands, tenements, hereditaments, and forests, within the said dutchy and county palatine, or either of them; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service." And fifthly, "A bill for uniting the dutchy of Cornwall to the crown; for the suppression of unnecessary offices now belonging thereto; for the ascertainment and security of tenant and other rights; and for the sale of certain rents, lands, and tenements, within or belonging to the said dutchy; and for applying the produce thereof to the public service."

The scheme of reform was commenced with the royal household. It comprehended the treasurer, comptroller, cashier of the household; the treasurer of the chamber; the master of the household; the whole board of green cloth; and a vast number of subordinate offices in the department of the steward of the household. It included also the whole establishment of the great wardrobe, the removing wardrobe, the jewel office, the robes, and almost the whole charge of the civil branch of the board of ordnance. All these arrangements taken together, he said, would be found to relieve the nation from a vast weight of influence; and that, so far from distressing, it would rather forward every public service.

His plan likewise extended to the destruction of subordinate treasuries, of consequence to the two treasuries or pay-offices of the army and navy. He proposed that these offices should be no longer banks or treasuries, but mere offices of administration; and that all money which was formerly impressed to them, should for the future be impressed to the bank of England. He was likewise of opinion, that the business of the mint, excepting what related to it as a manufactory, should be transferred to that corporation. He proposed likewise the total removal of the subordinate treasury, and office of the pay-master of the pensions; the payments, in future, to be made by the exchequer; the great patent offices of the exchequer to be reduced to fixed salaries; and, as the present lives and reversions should fall, the several places of keepers of the stag-hounds, buck-hounds, fox-hounds, and harriers, to be totally abolished. He also proposed to reform the new office of third secretary of state, commonly called secretary of state for the colonies; the fabrication of which, like that of all other late arrangements, he considered merely as a job, the two ancient secretaries being supposed now, as heretofore, fully competent to the whole of the public business. He concluded his plan of reduction, by proposing, the total annihilation of the board of trade, as an office totally useless, answering none of its avowed or supposed purposes, and serving merely to provide eight members of parliament, and thereby to retain their services. He likewise proposed a limitation of the total amount of pensions to sixty thousand pounds per annum; but he did not wish to take away any man's pension, and thought it more prudent, in that respect, not to adhere to the letter of the petitions.

This plan of reduction had annexed to it a plan of arrangement, which he confessed to be the favorite part of his scheme, as he imagined it would prevent all prodigality in the civil list for the future. He proposed to establish a fixed and invariable order in all payments, from which the first lord of the treasury should not be permitted in any case to deviate. For this purpose, the civil-list payments were to be divided into nine classes, putting each class forward according to the importance or justice of the demand, or to the inability of the persons entitled to enforce their pretensions. In the first of these classes were placed the judges; in the second, the ministers to foreign courts; in the third, the tradesmen who supplied the crown; in the fourth, the domestic servants of the king, and all persons in efficient offices, whose salaries did not exceed two hundred pounds annually; and the fifth class comprehended the pensions and allowances of the royal family, comprehending of course the queen, together with the stated allowance of the privy-purse. The sixth took in those efficient officers of duty, whose salaries might exceed two

hundred pounds a-year. The whole pension list was included in the seventh; the offices of honour about the king, in the eighth; and the ninth included the salaries and pensions of the first lord of the treasury himself, the chancellor of the exchequer, and other commissioners of that department. To these arrangements were added some regulations, which would for ever have prevented any civil-list debt from coming on the public.

Burke's speech on this occasion, upwards of three hours in length, was not only heard with the greatest attention, but received the highest encomiums from both sides of the house, who could not refrain from expressing their admiration at the vast fund of political knowledge displayed by that gentleman with regard to every department of state. The minister, therefore, perceiving this, thought proper not to object to the plan on the first motion. He assured the house, that no man was more zealous for the establishment of a permanent system of economy than himself. But that, besides the subjects of the present being so numerous and various as to require some time for comprehension, some of them affected the king's patrimonial income; on which account he thought it necessary to obtain the consent of the crown before they proceeded upon them. For this reason he proposed to postpone the three bills which related to the crown lands, the principality of Wales, &c. which was yielded to as a point of decorum.—In three days, however, they were brought in without any objection. The surveyor general of the dutchy of Cornwall made objections to that relating to the union of this county with the crown, on account of the minority of the prince of Wales; on which Burke, though with reluctance, withdrew his motion.

The house of peers in the mean time were far from being indolent or inattentive spectators of the interesting scenes now passing. On the very day that the petition of the county of York was presented to the house of commons, the earl of Shelburne moved, in the house of peers, "for the appointment of a committee of members of both houses of parliament, possessing neither employments nor pensions, to examine into the public expenditure, and the mode of accounting for the same." This motion was supported by his lordship in a very able speech, in which he declared "that the great point to which his wishes tended, and to effect which his motion was chiefly framed, was to annihilate that undue influence operating upon both houses of parliament, which, if not eradicated, would prove the destruction of this country. To restore to parliament its constitutional independence, and to place government upon its true foundations, wisdom, justice, and public virtue, was, the noble earl said, his most earnest desire, and this could not be effected without striking at the root of parliamentary corruption. Exclusive of this great and primary object, his lordship showed, that the most shameful waste of the public money had taken place in every branch of the national expenditure. To support a most ruinous and disgraceful war, a wicked, bloody, and unjust war! the minister had borrowed year after year upon fictitious and unproductive taxes, and anticipated the produce of the sinking fund to answer his own views. Solely intent upon borrowing, he appeared to have lost sight of every idea of decreasing the debt. It was the uncontrolled possession of the public purse which created that corrupt and dangerous influence in parliament, of which such fatal use had been made; which put into the minister's hands the means of delusion, which served to fortify him in his mad career, and which left no hope or prospect of punishing him for the enormity of his crimes. Influence so employed, his lordship declared to be a curse far greater, and more to be deprecated, than pestilence or famine. The present motion, the noble earl observed, was not of a nature novel to parliament; in former times, particularly in the years 1763, 1765, and 1717, there had been commissioners of accounts appointed by act of parliament. The object of the proposition now before the house was of a nature exactly similar, and it went to the abolition of all offices, whatever their salaries or appointments, that answered no other end but that of increasing the undue and unconstitutional influence of the crown." In support of the motion, the duke of Grafton declared, "that from his own knowledge and immediate observation, he could assert with confidence that the spirit of discontent

and dissatisfaction was almost universally gone forth, and that the petitions recently presented expressed the genuine sense of the people." The lords Stormont, Mansfield, and the lord chancellor, maintained, "that the present motion was a violation of the inherent exclusive privilege of the other house to control the public expenditure, which no composition, compromise, or compact, would induce them to part with. They insisted that the motion was brought forward to embarrass government, and to throw an odium upon his majesty's confidential advisers; and that the petitions with which the motion was connected were filled with absurd and impracticable notions of public reform, and specious theories calculated to mislead the nation, and to introduce universal confusion." The marquis of Rockingham distinguished himself in the debate by an animated speech in defence of the motion. His lordship said, "that a system had been formed at the accession of his present majesty to govern this country under the forms of law, but in reality through the immediate influence of the crown. This was the origin of all our national misfortunes; the measures of the present reign were every internal and external evidence of that dangerous and alarming origin; and, when combined, they presented such a system of corruption, venality, and despotism, as had never perhaps been known under any form of free and limited government. This system he had for seventeen years uniformly and vigorously opposed, and particularly during the short time he had presided at the head of the treasury, but to very little purpose. As he had come into office at his majesty's desire, so he had quitted it in obedience to his authority. His lordship implored the ministry not to persist in that blind and hitherto invincible spirit of obstinacy, which had brought the nation into its present calamitous situation, but to pay some attention to the voice of the people and the interests of their country." On the division the numbers were, non-contents one hundred and one, contents fifty-five, five-and-thirty of whom entered their protest on the journals. This was the largest minority that had for many years been known in the house of peers in opposition to the court; and, exclusive of placemen, pensioners, and bishops, this expiring faction constituted a clear and decisive majority of the lords present at this interesting discussion.

Burke's economical bill, having been read a first time, was proposed for a second reading. But the minister, instead of using any arguments against it, charged the minority with precipitating a measure not sufficiently considered; until at last being called upon to declare, whether he would oppose it on the second reading, or let it go to a committee, he declared, after much apparent irresolution, that he did not mean to oppose it. The bill being then read a second time without opposition, another debate ensued on its commitment. Burke insisted on its being committed the ensuing day, and the minister that it should be delayed for some time. After some altercation, however, the question was carried in favour of the minister by two hundred and thirty to one hundred and ninety-five.

One clause of the bill was for the abolition of the board of trade. On this subject the opponents of ministry endeavoured to prove, that the board in question was totally inefficient and useless; or, if at any time it was active, it became either mischievous or ridiculous; but of late it had dwindled into a mere sinecure office, which answered no other purpose, than that of providing eight members for parliament, and securing their votes to the minister by a pension of a thousand a year each. On this occasion it was shown, that when the business of trade and plantations had been managed by a committee of council without salaries, it had been attended by persons of greater rank, weight, and ability, and that much more difficult and delicate business was transacted with more expedition and satisfaction than after the appointment of the board of trade. The question was called after two in the morning, when the abolition of the board was carried against ministry by a majority of eight; the numbers being two hundred and seven against one hundred and ninety-nine. Some members in opposition had endeavoured to persuade the lords of trade to withdraw before the division, on the footing of decency; but the question was too interesting for them to make any sacrifice to delicacy and punctilio on such an occasion.

During the debates on this subject it was first discovered, that the minister and Sir Fletcher Norton, the speaker of the house of commons, were on bad terms. Fox having called up the latter to give his private opinion as a member, and his professional one as a lawyer, on the competency of parliament to control the civil-list revenue, the speaker, after stating several other reasons against complying with Fox's request, declared also, that he had formerly given an opinion with regard to a law question in that house (supposed to allude to a question in the royal marriage bill), which not only subjected him to a misinterpretation of his conduct; but he had also the misfortune to find, that he had thereby given offence in a quarter where he certainly did not intend or wish to give any. He then took notice, that the minister had long withdrawn from him all friendship and confidence; that from the time of his reporting the sense of that house at the bar of the other, on delivering the money bills for the discharge of the civil-list debts, and the increase of its revenue, all appearances of friendship and confidence had ceased on the part of the ministry; though he was still at a loss to guess what just cause of offence he had given. After apologizing for his conduct on that occasion, and giving some hints of a recent injury he had received, he declared, that he was not a friend to the minister, and he had repeated and convincing proofs that the minister was no friend to him. The time, however, was not yet arrived when it would be proper to make the circumstances of the transaction public; but, if the noble lord did not do him justice, he would state the particulars to the house; and he would submit to them, how far he was bound to remain in a situation, where a performance of the duties annexed to it subjected him to gross and flagrant injury.

The minister expressed the greatest surprise at this charge, as well as ignorance concerning any thing that could possibly have given occasion to it; which at length induced Sir Fletcher to depart from his proposed intention of keeping secret the injury he had received, and to lay it before the house. It was stated by Sir Fletcher, that upon the death of the late speaker, he had been strongly solicited by the minister at that time (the duke of Grafton) to accept of the honourable station of speaker of the house of commons. As he had then several very strong objections to his acceptance of the place in question; particularly, that his business as a lawyer would thereby be interrupted; the minister endeavoured to remove that objection, by promising, that in consequence of the advantages he had given up, he should be entitled to hold the sinecure place of chief justice in eyre, which he now possessed. But notwithstanding this, he had lately discovered, to his great surprise, that a negotiation was then on foot between the present minister, and the chief judge of one of the courts, by which the latter was to retire on a pension, for the purpose of enabling another to supply his place, and to the utter subversion of his own claim. He assured the committee, that he never meant to challenge their attention upon any subject merely personal to himself; but thinking at all times, that nothing ought to be kept more pure and unspotted than the fountains of public justice, he could not but feel when any measure was adopted, under whatever pretext, that might afford even a colour of their being corrupted, or that any improper means were used for transferring the courts of justice subservient to party and to factious views; on which account, he thought it incumbent upon him to relate the whole transaction. Money, he said, had been proposed to be given and received to a very large amount, to bring about the arrangement he had mentioned; and he pledged himself to the house, that at a proper time he would bring a satisfactory proof of what he had asserted.

To all this the minister replied, that he did not look upon himself to be responsible for any promise which might have been made by his predecessors in office. He did not question the account given by the right honourable gentleman of the considerations on which he had accepted the chair; but he could fairly answer, that he neither knew of the transactions at the time, nor looked upon himself as bound, when he did come into office, by any such promise. With respect to the speaker's assertion, that a negotiation, such as he had described, was on foot, and that money had been proposed to be given and received, he totally denied it; assuring the

speaker, that he had been grossly misinformed; and, as he himself was accused of being one of the acting parties, he was entitled to say, that no such negotiation was on foot.

This produced such a scene of altercation between these two illustrious antagonists as had never before been exhibited in the British parliament; but though the affair made a noise at the time, it produced no farther effect, than that of furnishing opposition with a new argument, namely, that the alarming influence of the crown had not only pervaded, but deranged every part of the national economy.

The twentieth of March, Burke's clause, for the abolition of the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer, and a number of subordinate places belonging to them, was introduced to the committee. This was regarded by many of the friends of administration with the greatest horror, as a kind of sacrilege with regard to the person and dignity of the sovereign. This, they said, was not a regulation of office; it was an intrusion into the king's own household. The state had nothing to do with the domestic servants of the king. The bill they considered from the beginning as a systematic attack on the constitution, and the pernicious tendency of it appeared every day more and more. The question with them was not the utility of the employments, but the power of taking them away. If this could be done by parliament, the king had nothing that he could call his own.

Burke himself insisted very much upon the present clause of the bill; and said, that if this was carried against him, he would consider the whole as lost. The office of treasurer of the chamber was the first office he had fixed upon; it led the way, and involved all the rest. He concluded, by declaring, that he would not continue to torture his weak and disordered constitution by fighting his bill through inch by inch, but would leave it to the people at large to go on with it as they thought proper; and they would judge by the event, how far their petitions were likely to procure redress for the grievances they complained of.

In this manner the debates were carried on till very late, when the question was lost by two hundred and ten to a hundred and fifty eight. Burke then declared his total indifference as to what became of the rest of the bill; but Fox encouraged him to go on. The mere abolition of the board of trade, even if nothing more was done, he said, was worth the struggle; for as he was determined, and hoped his honourable friend would join him, in renewing his bill from session to session, they would have seven fewer of the enemy to encounter the next time. The succeeding parts were accordingly gone through, and each of them negatived without a division.

CELEBRATED VOTE ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE CROWN.

On the sixth of April administration met with a severe defeat; a more remarkable resolution having been adopted than any that had been passed in the British parliament since the revolution. The day had been previously appointed for taking into consideration the petitions of the people of England, amounting to forty in number, and filled with such immense numbers of subscriptions as occupied a most astonishing bulk. The business was introduced by Dunning; who with his usual eloquence and ability, observed, that though the petitions conveyed many different ideas, they all agreed in one fundamental principle, which was, the setting limits to the dangerous, increased, and unconstitutional influence of the crown; and a request of an economical method of spending the public money. Though these appeared to be two different subjects, they were, he said, very strictly connected. If the public money was faithfully applied, and frugally expended, it would in its effect reduce the undue influence of the crown; and if, on the other hand, that influence should be reduced within its due bounds, it would immediately restore the energy of parliament, and once more give efficacy to the exercise of that great power of seeing to the disposal, and controlling the expenditure of the public money, with which the constitution had invested the house. Having stated at great length the little regard which had been paid to the petitions of so many counties,

he concluded, that as every means had failed of producing the desired effect, he thought it his duty, and it was the duty of the house, to take some determinate measure, by which the people might certainly know what they had to trust to, and whether their petitions were adopted or rejected; and, in order to bring matters fairly to a decision, he said, that he should now frame two propositions, abstracted from the petitions on the table, and take the sense of the committee upon them.

The first of these propositions was, that "the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." The fact, he said, was notorious. But as a collateral evidence, he observed, that nothing less than the most alarming and corrupt influence could induce a number of gentlemen in that house to support the minister by their votes in those measures which they reprobated without doors as absurd and ruinous. This he declared upon his honour to be the case, and within his own immediate knowledge; and he added, that he himself had never bestowed upon the measures of administration such severe epithets as had fallen in his presence from the mouths of members abroad, who had nevertheless supported them within the walls of the house. Nor was the number small who behaved in this manner, as he had it in his power, were not the task too invidious, to point out more than fifty members who held such strange language and conduct.

On this trying occasion the ministry defended themselves by calling Dunning's resolution an abstract proposition, which ought not to come before the house. In other respects it was entirely useless, being neither calculated to avert any evil, nor to point out any remedy; it was unsupported by facts; and as for the allegations of Dunning, they could answer for themselves, that they were totally without foundation. The very unfortunate circumstances of the times, when the people were universally discontented by the consequences of a ruinous war, and their own heavy burdens, showed that the influence of the crown could not be increasing. It was besides very unfair to represent matters in such a light as if the influence of the crown had only taken place during the present administration. This was a censure of such a severe nature, that the most substantial and solid proofs were evidently required before it could be adopted; whereas there was not a single word of evidence tending in any manner of way to show, that the present administration was in the least different from those which had gone before it.

The speaker (Sir Fletcher Norton) now joined his influence to that of opposition. He said, that however disagreeable it might be to him to take any part in the debates of the house, there were some cases, and he considered the present as one of them, in which it would be criminal to remain silent. He affirmed, from his own knowledge, that the influence of the crown was increasing; but, at the same time, he asserted, that the allegation could admit of no proofs; it could only be known by the members of the house who were to decide upon it as jurors, from the internal conviction arising in their minds. After appealing to the feelings of the gentlemen who heard him, and pointing out how idle it was to prescribe limits to the prerogatives of the crown, while they permitted a more dangerous, because concealed influence to remain, he observed, that the government of Britain, under its true and proper definition of "a monarchy limited by law," required no other assistance for the exercise of its functions, than what it derived from the constitution and the laws. The powers vested in the executive part of government, and, in his opinion, wisely placed there, were abundantly sufficient for every useful purpose of government, and without any further assistance were too ample for the purposes of bad government; and he thought himself bound, as an honest man, to declare, that the influence of the crown had increased far beyond the bounds of a monarchy strictly limited in its nature and extent. He likewise observed, that it was no doubt very galling to the house to be informed of their duty by the petitioners; but they ought to recollect, that it was entirely their own fault. What the petitioners now demanded ought to have originated within the walls of the house; and then, what would now bear the appearance of too much compulsion, would have been received with gratitude. But, at all events, they ought to consider that they were then

sitting as the representatives of the people, and solely for their advantage and benefit, and that they in duty stood pledged to that people, as their creators, for the faithful discharge of their trust.

The authority of the speaker had such an effect, that the ministerial party soon found the question going against them. The lord advocate of Scotland, in order to prevent it from being lost, proposed such an amendment as he supposed would be rejected by opposition, and consequently that the whole would fall to the ground. The amendment consisted in inserting the words, "That it is now necessary to declare," but in this he was mistaken; the amendment was readily and unexpectedly agreed to by the opposite party; and on a division the numbers were in favour of the motion two hundred and thirty three, against it two hundred and fifteen; so that the court was left in a minority of eighteen. Dunning then moved, "that it was competent to that house to examine into and to correct abuses in the expenditure of the civil-list, as well as in every other branch of the public revenue, whenever it shall seem expedient to the house to do so." This was opposed by lord North, who, in the strongest terms, expressed his wishes that the committee would not proceed. The motion was nevertheless agreed to by the house. Mr. Thomas Pitt then moved, "that it was the duty of that house to provide, as far as might be, an immediate and effectual redress of the abuses complained of in the petitions presented to the house from the different counties, cities, and towns in this kingdom." The minister once more earnestly implored the committee to desist, but with no effect; the motion was agreed to. It was lastly moved by Fox, "that the resolutions should be immediately reported to the house;" which was deprecated and protested against by lord North, as violent, arbitrary, and contrary to the established usage of parliament. The motion, however, was carried, and the chairman reporting the resolutions accordingly, they were severally agreed to by the house.

On the tenth of April, the committee being resumed, Dunning "congratulated the house upon the late decisions, which he however said, could avail little unless the house proceeded effectually to remedy the grievances complained of by the people. The alarming and increasing influence of the crown being now admitted by a solemn decision of that house, it was incumbent upon them to go from generals to particulars. With a view therefore of extirpating that corrupt influence, he should move, "that there be laid before the house every session, within seven days after the meeting of parliament, an account of all monies paid out of the civil revenue to, or for the use of, or in trust for, any member of parliament since the last recess." This was objected to by lord North, the lord advocate of Scotland, the attorney-general Wedderburne, &c. but was carried without a division. Dunning then moved, "that the persons holding the offices of treasurer of the chamber, treasurer of the household, cofferer of the household, comptroller of the household, master of the household, clerks of the green cloth, and their deputies, should be rendered incapable of a seat in that house." This was again opposed, and by the same persons as before; but on a division was carried by a majority of two hundred and fifteen to two hundred and thirteen voices. So far the patriotic party in parliament had triumphantly proceeded, to the infinite joy of the disinterested and independent part of the public, when the sudden illness of the speaker obliged the house to adjourn to the twenty-fourth of April; on which day, the committee being resumed, Dunning moved for an address, "that his majesty would be pleased not to dissolve the parliament or prorogue the present session until the objects of the petitions were answered." When the house, after a vehement debate, came to a division on this important question, it was at once discovered that the unfortunate illness of the speaker had infected "the very life-blood of their enterprise;" the motion being rejected by a majority of two hundred and fifty-four to two hundred and three.

On the question being carried, Fox rose to speak, but the ministerial party, dreading his eloquence, especially after such provocation, resolved that he should not be heard. A most extraordinary scene of confusion and disorder ensued; and the chair being repeatedly called upon to exercise its au-

thority, the speaker at length, with the utmost vehemence of voice, called upon every side of the house to order; and having caused the bar to be cleared by the proper officers, required and insisted that every member should take his place. The way being thus cleared for Fox, the deserters were condemned to hear their conduct represented in such a manner as perhaps was never done on any occasion in that house before, the severity of which was aggravated by the consciousness that the treatment they received was not unmerited.

Fox was seconded in his censure by Dunning, and a direct charge of treachery against the nation was brought by both. The counties, they said, depending on the faith of parliament for the redress held out by those resolutions, had relaxed greatly in the measures they had formerly pursued for obtaining it by other means; and the county of Cambridge in particular had, upon that dependence, rescinded its own resolution of appointing a committee of association. They both likewise declared, that the division of this night was totally decisive with regard to the petitions; that it amounted to a full and general rejection of their prayer; and that all hope of obtaining any redress for the people in that house was at an end. The minister replied in his usual strain of address; and the house being now disposed to assent to whatever he said, the affair of reformation was totally abandoned, and the remainder of Burke's establishment bill was rejected as fast as it was proposed.

The triumph of the ministry was soon completed, and every attempt at reformation was rendered for ever fruitless in this country by the proceedings of an intolerant and lawless mob. The offence which the repeal of the penal laws against papists gave to the people of Scotland, and the violent proceedings of the intemperate radicals in that part of the kingdom, have been already noticed. The prejudice was gradually extended to England, and much pains were taken by inflammatory harangues and pamphlets to prejudice the minds of the people against the late wise and salutary relaxation of the penal code. It was at length determined to prepare a petition for a repeal of the law in question, which is affirmed to have obtained one hundred and twenty thousand signatures, or marks, of men of the lowest orders of society, whose excess of zeal could be equalled only by the grossness of their ignorance; a combination of qualities at once ridiculous and terrible. Lord George Gordon, the president of the protestant associations both in England and Scotland, who was also a member of the house of commons, declined to present this petition, unless he were accompanied to the house by at least twenty thousand men.

RIOTS IN LONDON.

A PUBLIC meeting of the association was, in consequence, convened in St. George's Fields, June second, 1790, whence it was supposed that not less than fifty thousand persons proceeded in regular divisions, with lord George Gordon at their head, to the house of commons, where their petition was presented by their president. Towards evening this multitude began to grow very tumultuous, and grossly insulted various members of both houses, compelling them in passing to and from the house to cry, "No Popery!" and to wear blue cockades. During the debates on the petition, lord George Gordon frequently addressed the mob without, in terms calculated to inflame their passions, and expressly stating to them, "that the people of Scotland had no redress till they pulled down the popish chapels." After the adjournment of the house, the mob, on this suggestion, immediately proceeded to the demolition of the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian ambassadors. The military being ordered out could not prevent the mischief, but apprehended various of the ringleaders.

The next day, Saturday, passed quietly; but on Sunday the rioters reassembled in vast numbers, and destroyed the chapels and private dwellings belonging to the principal catholics in the vicinity of Moorfields.

On monday they extended their devastations to other parts of the town; and Sir George Saville's house, in Leicester Fields, was totally demolished by these blind and barbarous bigots—that distinguished senator and patriot having had the honour to be the first mover of the bill.

On Tuesday, the day appointed for taking the petition into consideration, the mob again surrounded the parliament-house, and renewed their outrages and insults. The house, after passing some resolutions adapted to the occasion, and expressive of their just indignation, immediately adjourned. In the evening the populace, now grown more daring than ever, attacked the prison of Newgate, where their comrades were confined, with astonishing resolution; and, setting the building in flames, liberated more than three hundred felons and debtors resident within its walls. Encouraged by the impunity with which they had hitherto acted, they then proceeded to lord Mansfield's house in Bloomsbury Square, which they totally demolished, his lordship escaping not without difficulty. The prisons of Clerkenwell were also forced, many private houses plundered or destroyed, and scarcely did the night afford any cessation of the riots.

On Wednesday, the King's Bench prison, the Fleet, and the house of Langdale, a distiller in Holborn, were marked for destruction; and as the evening approached, a scene presented itself, the outlines of which may be described, but the human imagination is incapable of conveying those sensations of horror which filled the breasts of those who saw it. At the same instant the King's Bench and Fleet prisons, New Bridewell, the toll-gates on Blackfriars bridge, the large houses at the bottom of Holborn and various houses in other parts of the town, to the number of thirty-six, were seen in flames.—Some wretches were burned at the houses of distillers; the spirits were brought out in pails, and not only common but non-rectified spirits were drunk with avidity. At one time a pile of ruins fell on the heads of these devoted miscreants; at another they were discovered nodding over the fire, and so desperately insensible of their situation, and incapable to move, through intoxication, that many of them were seen to drop into eternity, in a manner too shocking for description. The same day attempts were made on the Bank, and the Pay-Office; but these places being strongly guarded, they failed, and many of the rioters embraced an untimely and unprepared death at the hand of the military, rather than abandon their destructive pursuits. This night was the most dreadful of any; the numbers of the killed cannot be ascertained; but as far as report enables us to estimate them they stand thus; one hundred and nine killed by association troops and guards, one hundred and one by light-horse, and seventy-five died in the hospitals. Those who were present speak of these scenes as exceeding any thing recorded in our annals. Before noon, on Thursday, the regulars and militia from the country had put a stop to any further devastations.

In the mean time, about two hundred members of the house of commons had the courage to assemble in that place, under the protection of the military. Some resolutions were passed; one was, an assertion of their own privileges; the second was for a committee of inquiry into the late and present outrages, and for the discovery of their promoters and abettors; a third for a prosecution by the attorney-general; and the fourth for an address to his majesty for the reimbursement of the foreign ministers to the amount of the damages they had sustained by the rioters. But the news of the conflagration began in the city arriving, occasioned their hasty adjournment. On Thursday the eighth of June, lord George Gordon was taken into custody and conveyed to the horse guards, where he underwent an examination before the lord president, lord North, lord Amherst, the secretaries of state, and several lords of the privy council, and in the evening was committed a close prisoner to the Tower. He was attended thither by a greater force than ever was known on any similar occasion. Lord George Gordon was in the following year brought to trial for high treason, and acquitted of all the charges; nor among all those who were apprehended, brought to trial, and hanged, were there any proved to belong to that company who assembled in St. George's Fields.

Thus ended this disgraceful affair. Though the ministry, however, artfully endeavoured to throw the whole of the riots on the intolerant spirit of the protestant association, yet it is certain that their own unpopularity greatly served to increase that spirit of discontent in the people, which, on the

slightest occasion, was ready to break out into violence. The American wars and the misery it occasioned, was what gave spirit and vigour to the proceedings of the protestant association, and popularity to the mobs which assembled. The actual mischief, however, was done by the felons who were rescued from the prisons, joined by a set of miscreants, who are ever ready to take the opportunity of any popular commotion to plunder and rob their fellow-citizens.

It was determined in a committee of the whole house of commons, that no repeal should take place of the act in favour of the Roman catholics; as the grievances said to arise from it were imaginary; they came to resolutions in order to set the conduct of parliament in a fair light, and to undeceive the ill-informed but well-meaning part of the petitioners. On Saturday, July the eighth, his majesty closed this tedious session with a speech, in which he expressed his satisfaction at the magnanimity and perseverance of his faithful commons.

In the course of the summer a special commission was issued for the trial of the rioters, of whom a very great number, consisting of men very opposite in description and character, were apprehended. Lord chief justice De Grey, whose mild and benignant disposition, as well as his infirm health, was ill suited to this painful task, willingly resigning his office; the attorney-general Wedderburne was advanced to the chief justiceship, under the title of lord Loughborough. The multiplicity combined with the precipitancy and indiscriminate severity of the sentences passed in his judicial capacity by this magistrate upon the rioters, far exceeded any thing known in this country since the days of Judge Jeffries: such indeed as left the memory of these transactions impressed upon the public mind in indelible characters of blood.

On the first of September, a proclamation was issued for the dissolution of the parliament, and for calling a new one.

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.

WHILE intestine violence and riot shook the capital, our fleets abroad met with success, which served to console the unthinking populace for past misfortunes.

The close investment of Gibraltar immediately succeeded the Spanish declaration of war. It was about the middle of August 1779, when the enemy's troops first began to break ground before that fortress. Though the Spanish batteries were not sufficiently in forwardness to annoy the garrison to any extent, they suffered much from a dreadful scarcity. Thistles, dandelion, &c. were the daily food of multitudes. The squadron, therefore, which had been fixed out, in the latter end of 1779, for the defence of the West Indies, under the command of admiral Sir George Rodney, was ordered, in its way to touch at Gibraltar, to relieve it from the blockade, and to convey thither a considerable fleet of transports with necessaries for the garrison. He had been but a few days at sea, when a fortunate chance threw in his way a convoy bound from St. Sebastian to Cadix, consisting of fifteen sail of merchantmen, under the protection of a fine new sixty-four gun ship, and four frigates. The whole fleet was captured by the English admiral, who had scarcely adjusted the distribution of his prizes, when, on the sixteenth of January, off Cape St. Vincent, he came in sight of a Spanish squadron of eleven ships of the line, commanded by Don Juan Langara. After a most gallant defence by the Spaniards, their admiral's ship of eighty guns, and three others of seventy, fell into the hands of the English, and were carried to Gibraltar. After having relieved that fortress, the English admiral sailed about the middle of February with a part of the fleet to the West Indies, leaving the Spanish prizes, with a squadron, under the care of rear-admiral Digby, who in his way home captured a French man of war of sixty-four guns.

AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

THE successful defence of Savannah, together with the subsequent departure of count D'Estaing from the coast of the United States, soon dissipated all apprehensions previously entertained for the safety of New-York. These circumstances pointed out to Sir Henry Clinton the propriety of renewing offensive operations. Having collected nothing of importance for the two preceding campaigns, he

turned his attention southward, and regaled himself with flattering prospects of easy conquest among the weaker states. The suitability of the climate for winter operations, the richness of the country, and its distance from support, designated South-Carolina as a proper object of enterprise. No sooner, therefore, was the departure of the French fleet known and confirmed, than Sir Henry Clinton committed the command of the royal army in New-York to lieutenant-general Kniphausen, and embarked for the southward, with four flank battalions, twelve regiments, and a corps of British, Hessian, and provincials, a powerful detachment of artillery, two hundred and fifty cavalry, together with an ample supply of military stores and provisions. Vice-admiral Arbuthnot, with a suitable naval force, undertook to convoy the troops to the place of their destination. On the twenty-sixth of December 1779, the whole sailed from New-York. After a tedious and dangerous passage, in which part of their ordnance, most of their artillery, and all their cavalry horses were lost, the fleet, on the twenty-first of January 1780, arrived at Tybee in Georgia. In a few days the transports with the army on board, sailed from Savannah for North Edisto, and after a short passage, the troops made good their landing about thirty miles from Charleston, and on the eleventh of February took possession of John's Island and Stono Ferry, and soon after of James Island and Wappoo Cut.—A bridge was thrown over the canal, and part of the royal army took post on the banks of Ashley River, opposite to Charleston.

The assembly of the state was sitting when the British landed, but broke up after "delegating to governor Rutledge, and such of his council as he could conveniently consult, a power to do every thing necessary for the public good, except the taking away the life of a citizen without a legal trial." The governor immediately ordered the militia to rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was issued by the governor, under his extraordinary powers, requiring such of the militia as were regularly draughted, and all the inhabitants and owners of property in the town, to repair to the American standard and join the garrison immediately, under pain of confiscation. This severe though necessary measure produced very little effect; so much was the country dispirited by the late repulse at Savannah.

CHARLESTOWN TAKEN.

This tedious passage from New-York to Tybee gave the Americans time to fortify Charleston. This, together with the losses which the royal army had sustained in the late tempestuous weather, induced Sir Henry Clinton to despatch an order to New-York for reinforcements of men and stores. He also directed major-general Prevost to send on to him twelve hundred men from the garrison of Savannah. Brigadier-general Patterson, at the head of this detachment, made his way good over the river Savannah, and through the intermediate country, and soon after joined Sir Henry Clinton near the banks of Ashley River. The royal forces without delay proceeded to the siege. At Wappoo on James Island, they formed a depot, and erected fortifications both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of Charleston. An advanced party crossed Ashley River, and soon after broke ground at the distance of eleven hundred yards from the American works. At successive periods, they erected five batteries on Charlestown Neck. The garrison was equally assiduous in preparing for its defence. The works which had been previously thrown up were strengthened and extended. Lines and redoubts were continued across from Cooper to Ashley River. In front of the whole was a strong abbatie, and a wet ditch made by passing a canal from the heads of swamps which run in opposite directions. Between the abbatis and the lines, deep holes were dug at short intervals. The lines were made particularly strong on the right and left, and so constructed as to rake the wet ditch in almost its whole extent. To secure the centre, a hornwork had been erected, which being closed during the siege formed a kind of citadel. Works were also thrown up on all sides of the town, where a landing was practicable. Though the lines were no more than field works, yet Sir Henry Clinton treated them with the respectful homage of three

parallels. From the third to the tenth of April, the first parallel was completed, and immediately after the town was summoned to surrender. On the twelfth, the batteries were opened, and from that day an almost incessant fire was kept up. About the time the batteries were opened a work was thrown up near Wando River, nine miles from town, and another at Lempiere's Point, to preserve the communication with the country by water. A post was also ordered over the Santee, to favour the coming in of reinforcements, or the retreat of the garrison when necessary. On the twenty-first of March, the British marine force, consisting of one ship of fifty guns, two of forty-four guns, four of thirty-two, and the Sandwich armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion Island, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The American force opposed to this was the *Bricole*, which, though pierced for forty-four guns, did not mount half of that number, two of thirty-two guns, one of twenty-eight, two of twenty-six, two of twenty, and the brig *Notre Dame* of sixteen guns. The first object of its commander, commodore Whipple, was to prevent admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the bar, but on farther examination this was found to be impracticable. He therefore fell back to Fort Moultrie, and afterwards to Charlestown. The crew and guns of all his vessels, except one, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries.

On the ninth of April, admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five Fathom Hole, and with the advantage of a strong southerly wind, and flowing tide, passed Fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it, and anchored near the remains of Port Johnson. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's Island, kept up a brisk and well-directed fire on the ships in their passage, which did as great execution as could be expected. To prevent the royal armed vessels from running into Cooper River, eleven vessels were sunk in the channel opposite to the Exchange. The batteries of the besiegers soon obtained a superiority over those of the town. All expectation of succour was at an end: the only hope left was that nine thousand men, the flower of the British army, seconded by a naval force, might fall in storming extensive lines defended by less than three thousand men. Under these circumstances, the siege was protracted till the eleventh. On that day a great number of the citizens addressed general Lincoln in a petition, expressing their acquiescence in the terms which Sir Henry Clinton had offered, and requesting his acceptance of them. On the reception of this petition, general Lincoln wrote to Sir Henry, and offered to accept the terms before proposed. The royal commanders, wishing to avoid the extremity of a storm, and unwilling to press to unconditional submission an enemy, whose friendship they wished to conciliate, returned a favourable answer. A capitulation was signed, and major-general Leslie took possession of the town on the next day.

The number which surrendered prisoners of war, inclusive of the militia and every adult male inhabitant was above five thousand; but the proper garrison at the time of the surrender did not exceed two thousand five hundred.

This was the first instance in which the Americans had attempted to defend a town. The unsuccessful event, with its consequences, demonstrated the policy of sacrificing the towns of the union, in preference to endangering the whole, by risking too much for their defence.

Shortly after the surrender, the commander in chief adopted measures to induce the inhabitants to return to their allegiance. It was stated to them in a hand-bill, which, though without a name, seemed to flow from authority, "That the helping hand of every man was wanting to re-establish peace and good government: that the commander in chief wished not to draw them into danger, while any doubt could remain of his success; but as that was now certain, he trusted that one and all would heartily join, and give effect to necessary measures for that purpose." Those who had families were informed, "that they would be permitted to remain at home, and form a militia for the maintenance of peace and good order; but from those who had no families it was expected that they would cheerfully assist in driving their oppressors, and all the miseries of war, from their borders." To such it was promised, "that when on service, they would be allowed pay, ammunition, and provisions, in the

same manner as the king's troops." About the same time [May 22,] Sir Henry Clinton, in a proclamation, declared, "That if any person should thenceforward appear in arms in order to prevent the establishment of his majesty's government in that country, or should, under any pretence or authority whatever, attempt to compel any other person or persons so to do, or who should hinder the king's faithful subjects from joining his forces, or from performing those duties their allegiance required, such persons should be treated with the utmost severity, and their estates be immediately seized for confiscation." In a few days after [June 1,] Sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace, offered to the inhabitants, with some exceptions, "pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they heretofore had enjoyed under a free British government, exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures."

The capital having surrendered, the next object with the British was to secure the general submission of the whole body of the people.

IMPOLITIC PROCEEDINGS IN NORTH-CAROLINA.

To this end, they posted garrisons in different parts of the country to awe the inhabitants. They also marched with upwards of two thousand men towards North-Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans, who had advanced into the northern extremity of South-Carolina, with the expectation of relieving Charlestown. One of these, consisting of about three hundred continentals commanded by colonel Buford, was overtaken at Wachaws by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, and completely defeated. Five out of six of the whole were either killed, or so badly wounded, as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle; and this took place though they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill twelve and wound five of the British. This great disproportion of the killed, on the two sides, arose from the circumstance that Tarleton's party refused quarter to the Americans after they had ceased to resist and laid down their arms.

Sir Henry Clinton having left about four thousand men for the southern service, embarked early in June with the main army for New-York. On his departure the command devolved on lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis. The season of the year, the condition of the army, and the unsettled state of South-Carolina, impeded the immediate invasion of North-Carolina. Earl Cornwallis despatched instructions to the principal loyalists in that state to attend to the harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet till the latter end of August or beginning of September. His lordship committed the care of the frontier to lord Rawdon, and repairing to Charlestown, devoted his principal attention to the commercial and civil regulations of South-Carolina. In the mean time, the impossibility of fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the states might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of farther resistance. At Beaufort, Camden, and Ninety-six, they generally laid down their arms, and submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. Excepting the extremes of the state bordering on North-Carolina, the inhabitants who did not flee out of the country preferred submission to resistance. This was followed by an unusual calm, and the British believed that the state was thoroughly conquered. An opportunity was now given to make an experiment from which much was expected, and for the omission of which, Sir Henry Clinton's predecessor, Sir William Howe, had been severely censured. It had been confidently asserted, that a majority of the Americans were well affected to the British government, and that, under proper regulations, substantial service might be expected from them, in restoring the country to peace. At this crisis every bias in favour of congress was removed. Their armies in the southern states were either captured or defeated. There was no regular force to the southward of Pennsylvania, which was sufficient to awe the friends of royal government. Every encouragement was held forth to those of the inhabitants who would with arms support the old constitution. Confiscation and death

were threatened as the consequence of opposing its re-establishment. While there was no regular army within four hundred miles to aid the friends of independence, the British were in force posted over all the country. The people were thus left to themselves, or rather strongly impelled to abandon an apparently sinking cause, and arrange themselves on the side of the conquerors. Under these favourable circumstances, the experiment was made, for supporting the British interest by the exertion of loyal inhabitants, unawed by American armies or republican demagogues. It soon appeared that the disguise which fear had imposed, subsisted no longer than the present danger, and that the minds of the people, though overawed, were actuated by an hostile spirit. In prosecuting the scheme for obtaining a military aid from the inhabitants, that tranquillity which previous successes had procured was disturbed, and that ascendancy which arms had gained was interrupted. The inducement to submission with many, was a hope of obtaining a respite from the calamities of war, under the shelter of British protection. Such were not less astonished than confounded, on finding themselves virtually called upon to take arms in support of royal government. This was done in the following manner:—After the inhabitants, by the specious promises of protection and security, had generally submitted as subjects, or taken their parole as prisoners of war, a proclamation was issued by Sir Henry Clinton, which set forth, "That it was proper for all persons to take an active part in settling and securing his majesty's government"—And in which it was declared, "That all the inhabitants of the province who were then prisoners on parole (those who were taken in Fort Mifflin and Charlestown, and such as were in actual confinement excepted) should from and after the twentieth of June, be freed from their paroles, and restored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants." And it was in the same proclamation farther declared, that all persons under the description above mentioned, who should afterwards neglect to return to their allegiance, and to his majesty's government, should be considered as enemies and rebels to the same and treated accordingly." It was designed by this arbitrary change of the political condition of the inhabitants, from prisoners to citizens, to bring them into a dilemma which would force them to take an active part in settling and securing the royal government. It involved a majority in the necessity of either fleeing out of the country, or of becoming a British militia. With this proclamation the declaration of British authority commenced; for though the inhabitants, from motives of fear or convenience had generally submitted, the greatest part of them retained an affection for their American brethren, and shuddered at the thought of taking arms against them. Among such it was said, "If we must fight let it be on the side of America, our friends and countrymen." A great number considering this proclamation as a discharge from their paroles, armed themselves in self-defence, being induced to this step by the royal moances, that they who did not return to their allegiance as British subjects, must expect to be treated as rebels.

A party always attached to royal government, though they had conformed to the laws of the state, rejoiced in the ascendancy of the royal arms; but their number was inconsiderable, in comparison with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection.

THE AMERICANS RALLY.

WHILE the conquerors were endeavouring to strengthen the party for royal government, the Americans were not inattentive to their interests. Governor Rutledge, who, during the siege of Charlestown, had been requested by general Lincoln to go out of town, was industriously and successfully negotiating with North-Carolina, Virginia, and congress, to obtain a force for checking the progress of the British arms. Representations to the same effect had also been made in due time by general Lincoln. Congress ordered a considerable detachment from their main army to be marched to the southward. North-Carolina also ordered a large body of militia to take the field. As the British advanced to the Upper country of South-Carolina, a considerable number of determined whigs retreat-

ed before them, and took refuge in North-Carolina. In this class was colonel Sumter, a distinguished partisan, who was well qualified for conducting military operations. A party of exiles from South-Carolina made choice of him for their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen, he returned to his own state, and took the field against the victorious British, after the inhabitants had generally abandoned all ideas of farther resistance. This unexpected impediment to the extension of British conquests, roused all the passions which disappointed ambition can inspire. Previous successes had flattered the royal commanders with hopes of distinguished rank among the conquerors of America, but the renewal of hostilities obscured the pleasing prospect. Flushed with the victories they had gained in the first of the campaign, and believing every thing told them favourable to their wishes to be true, they conceived that they had little to fear on the south side of Virginia. When experience refuted these hopes, they were transported with indignation against the inhabitants, and confined several of them on suspicion of their being accessory to the recommencement of hostilities.

The first effort of renewed warfare was on the twelfth of July, two months after the fall of Charleston, when one hundred and thirty-three of colonel Sumter's corps attacked and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia, which were posted in a lane at Williamson's plantation. This was the first advantage gained over the British, since their landing in the beginning of the year. The steady persevering friends of America, who were very numerous in the north-western frontier of South-Carolina, turned out with great alacrity to join colonel Sumter, though opposition to the British government had entirely ceased in every other part of the state. His corps in a few days amounted to six hundred men. With this increase of strength he made a spirited attack on a party of the British at Rocky Mount; but as he had no artillery, and they were secured under cover of earth filled in between logs, he could make no impression upon them, and was obliged to retreat. Sensible that the minds of men are influenced by enterprise, and that to keep militia together it is necessary to employ them, this active partisan attacked another of the royal detachments, consisting of the Prince of Wales's regiment, and a large body of Tories, posted at the Hanging Rock. The Prince of Wales's regiment was almost totally destroyed. From two hundred and seventy eight it was reduced to nine. The loyalists, who were of that party which had advanced from North-Carolina under colonel Bryan, were dispersed. The panic occasioned by the fall of Charleston daily abated. The whig militia on the extremities of the state formed themselves into parties, under leaders of their own choice, and sometimes attacked detachments of the British army, but more frequently those of their own countrymen, who, as a royal militia, were co-operating with the king's forces. While Sumter kept up the spirits of the people by a succession of gallant enterprises, a respectable continental force was advancing through the middle states, for the relief of their southern brethren. With the hopes of relieving Charleston, on the twenty sixth of March orders were given for the Maryland and Delaware troops to march from general Washington's head quarters to South Carolina; but the quarter-master-general was unable to put this detachment in motion as soon as was intended.

The manufacturers employed in providing for the army would neither go on with their business, nor deliver the articles they had completed, declaring they had suffered so much from the depreciation of the money, that they would not part with their property without immediate payment. Under these embarrassing circumstances, the southern states required an aid from the northern army, to be marched through the intermediate space of eight hundred miles. The Maryland and Delaware troops were with great exertions at length enabled to move. After marching through Jersey and Pennsylvania, they embarked at the head of Elk, and on the sixteenth of April landed at Petersburg, and hence proceeded through the country towards South-Carolina. This force was at first put under the command of major-general baron de Kalb, and afterwards of general Gates. The success of the latter in the northern campaigns of 1776 and 1777, induced many to believe that his presence as commander of the

southern army, would reanimate the friends of independence. While baron de Kalb commanded, a council of war had advised him to file off from the direct road to Camden, towards the well-cultivated settlements in the vicinity of the Waxhaws; but general Gates, on taking the command, did not conceive this movement to be necessary, supposing it to be most for the interest of the States that he should proceed immediately with his army on the shortest road to the vicinity of the British encampments. This led through a barren country, in passing over which, the Americans severely felt the scarcity of provisions. Their murmurs became audible, and there were strong appearances of mutiny; but the officers, who shared every calamity in common with the private, interposed and conciliated them to a patient sufferance of their hard lot. They principally subsisted on lean cattle, picked up in the woods. The whole army was under the necessity of using green corn, and peaches, in the place of bread; they subsisted indeed for several days on the latter alone. Dysenteries became common in consequence of this diet. The heat of the season, the unhealthiness of the climate, together with insufficient and unwholesome food, threatened destruction to the army. The common soldiers, instead of desponding, began after some time to be merry with their misfortunes. They used "starvation" as a cant word, and vied with each other in burlesquing their situation; and the wit and humour displayed on the occasion contributed not a little to reconcile them to their sufferings. The American army having made its way through a country of pine-barrens, sand-hills, and swamps, on the thirteenth of August reached Clermont, thirteen miles from Camden. The next day general Stephens arrived with a large body of Virginia militia.

As the American army approached South-Carolina, lord Rawdon concentrated his force at Camden. The retreat of the British from their out-posts, the advances of the American army, and the impolitic conduct of the conquerors towards their new subjects, concurred at this juncture to produce a general revolt in favour of congress. The people were daily more dissatisfied with their situation. Tired of war, they had submitted to British government with the expectation of bettering their condition; but they soon found their mistake. The greatest address should have been practised towards the inhabitants, in order to second the views of the parent state in reuniting the revolted colonies to her government. That the people might be induced to return to the condition of subjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This delicate task was rarely attempted. The officers, private, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amassing fortunes by plunder and rapine, than on promoting a reunion of the disaffected members of the empire. Instead of increasing the number of real friends to royal government, they disgusted those that they found. The high-spirited citizens of Carolina, impatient of their rapine and insolence, rejoiced in the prospect of freeing their country from its oppressors. Motives of this kind, together with a prevailing attachment to the cause of independence, induced many to break through all ties to join general Gates, and more to wish him the completest success.

The similarity of language and appearance between the British and American armies, gave opportunities for imposing on the inhabitants. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton with a party, by assuming the name and dress of Americans, passed themselves near Black River for the advance of general Gates's army. Some of the neighbouring militia were eagerly collected by Mr. Bradley to co-operate with their supposed friends; but after some time the veil being thrown aside, Bradley and his volunteers were carried to Camden, and confined there as prisoners.

GATES DEFEATED.—DISTRESSES OF THE AMERICANS.

GENERAL GATES, on reaching the frontier of South Carolina, issued a proclamation, inviting the patriotic citizens "to join heartily in rescuing themselves and their country, from the oppression of a government imposed on them by the ruffian hand of conquest." He also gave "assurances of forgive-

ness and perfect security to such of the unfortunate citizens as had been induced by the terror of sanguinary punishment, the menace of confiscation, and the arbitrary measures of military domination, apparently to acquiesce under the British government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance and support to a tyranny which the indignant souls of citizens resolved on freedom, lawfully revolted at with horror and detestation," excepting only from this amnesty, "those who in the hour of devastation had exercised acts of barbarity and depredation on the persons and property of their fellow-citizens." The army with which Gates advanced, was, by the arrival of Stephens's militia, increased nearly to four thousand men; but of this large number, the whole regular force was only nine hundred infantry, and seventy cavalry. On the approach of Gates, lord Cornwallis hastened from Charlestown to Camden, and arrived there on the fourteenth. The force which his lordship found collected on his arrival, was seventeen hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. This inferior number would have justified a retreat, but he chose rather to stake his fortune on the decision of a battle. On the night of the fifteenth, he marched from Camden with his whole force, intending to attack the Americans in their camp at Clermont. In the same night Gates, after ordering his baggage to the Waxhaws, put his army in motion, with an intention of advancing to an eligible position, about eight miles from Camden. The American army was ordered to march at ten o'clock P. M. in the following order: colonel Armand's advance cavalry; colonel Porterfield's light infantry on the right flank of colonel Armand's in Indian file, two hundred yards from the road. Major Armstrong's light-infantry in the same order as colonel Porterfield's on the left flank of the legion advanced guard of foot, composed of the advanced pickets, first brigade of Maryland, second brigade of Maryland, a division of North-Carolina, Virginia rear-guard, volunteer cavalry, upon flanks of the baggage equally divided. The light-infantry upon each flank were ordered to march up and support the cavalry, if it should be attacked by the British cavalry, and colonel Armand was directed in that case to stand the attack at all events.

The advance of both armies met in the night and engaged. Some of the cavalry of Armand's legion being wounded in the first fire, fell back on others, who recoiled so suddenly, that the first Maryland regiment was broken, and the whole line of the army was thrown into confusion. This first impression struck deep, and dispirited the militia. The American army soon recovered its order, and both they and their adversaries kept their ground, and occasionally skirmished through the night. Colonel Porterfield, a most excellent officer, on whose abilities general Gates particularly depended, was wounded in the early part of this night attack. In the morning a severe and general engagement took place. At the first onset, the great body of the Virginia militia, who formed the left wing of the American army, on being charged with fixed bayonets by the British infantry, threw down their arms, and with the utmost precipitation fled from the field. A considerable part of the North-Carolina militia followed the unworthy example; but the conditionals who formed the right wing of the army, inferior as they were in numbers to the British, stood their ground and maintained the conflict with great resolution. Never did men acquit themselves better: for some time they had clearly the advantage of their opponents, and were in possession of a considerable body of prisoners: overpowered at last by numbers, and nearly surrounded by the enemy, they were compelled reluctantly to leave the ground. In justice to the North-Carolina militia, it should be remarked that part of the brigade commanded by general Gregory acquitted themselves well. The Americans lost the whole of their artillery, eight field-pieces, upwards of two hundred waggon, and the greatest part of their baggage; almost all their officers were separated from their respective commands. Every corps was broken in action and dispersed.

To add to the distresses of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was immediately followed by the surprise and dispersion of Sumter's corps, by Tarleton's legion, and a detachment of infantry, at Fishing Creek.

Though there was no army to oppose lord Corn-

wallis, yet the season and bad health of his army, restrained him from pursuing his conquests. By the complete dispersion of the continental forces, the country was in his power. The present moment of triumph seemed therefore the most favourable conjuncture for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the armies of congress, a severe policy was henceforward adopted.

Unfortunately for the inhabitants, this was taken up on grounds which involved thousands in distress, and not a few in the loss of life. The British conceived themselves in possession of the rights of sovereignty over a conquered country, and that therefore the efforts of the citizens to assert their independence, exposed them to the penal consequences of treason and rebellion. Influenced by these opinions, and transported with indignation against the inhabitants, they violated the rights which are held sacred between independent hostile nations. Orders were given by lord Cornwallis, "that all the inhabitants of the province who had submitted, and who had taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the greatest rigour—that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed." He also ordered in the most positive manner, "that every militia-man, who had borne arms with the British, and afterwards joined the Americans, should be put to death." At Augusta, at Camden, and elsewhere, several of the inhabitants were hanged in consequence of these orders. The men who suffered had been compelled by the necessities of their families, and the prospect of saving their property, to make an involuntary submission to the royal conquerors. Experience soon taught them the inefficacy of these submissions. This in their opinion absolved them from the obligations of their engagements to support the royal cause, and left them at liberty to follow their inclinations. To treat men thus circumstanced, with the severity of punishment usually inflicted on deserters and traitors, might have a political tendency to discourage farther revolts; but the impartial world must regret that the unavoidable horrors of war should be aggravated by such deliberate effusions of human blood.

To compel the re-establishment of British government, lord Cornwallis, on the sixteenth of September, about four weeks after his victory, issued a proclamation for the sequestration of all estates belonging to the active friends of independence. By this he constituted "John Cruden, commissioner, with full power and authority, on the receipt of an order or warrant, to take into his possession the estates both real and personal (not included in the capitulation of Charlestown) of those in the service, or acting under the authority of the rebel congress; and also the estates, both real and personal, of those persons, who by an open avowal of rebellious principles, or by other notorious acts, manifested a wicked and desperate perseverance in opposing the re-establishment of his majesty's just and lawful authority;" and it was further declared, "That any person or persons obstructing or impeding the said commissioner in the execution of his duty, by the concealment or removal of property or otherwise, should, on conviction, be punished as aiding and abetting rebellion."

An adherent to independence was now considered as one who courted exile, poverty, and ruin. Many yielded to the temptation, and became British subjects. The mischievous effects of slavery, in facilitating the conquest of the country now became apparent. As the slaves had no interest at stake, the subjugation of the state was a matter of no consequence to them. Instead of aiding in its defence, they by a variety of means threw the weight of their little influence into the opposite scale.

The British ministry, by this flattering posture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with the hope of subjugating America. New plans were formed, and great expectations indulged, of speedily routing the disaffected members of the empire. It was now asserted with a confidence bordering on presumption, that such troops as fought at Camden put under such a commander as lord Cornwallis would soon extirpate rebellion, so effectually as to leave no vestige of it in America. The British ministry and army, by confidence in their own wisdom and prowess, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfall, a useful lesson to the world.

AMERICAN PROSPECTS BRIGHTEN.

THE disaster of the army under general Gates overspread at first the face of American affairs with a dismal gloom; but the day of prosperity to the United States began from that moment to dawn. Their prospects brightened up, while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victories, the conquerors grew more insolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence became resolute and determined.

We have seen Sumter penetrating into South-Carolina, and recommencing a military opposition to British government. Soon after that event, he was promoted by governor Rutledge, to the rank of Brigadier-general. About the same time Marion was promoted to the same rank, and in the northeastern extremities of the state, successfully prosecuted a similar plan.

Opposition to British government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by Sumter and Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of the state. The disposition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of general Gates, was not overcome by his defeat. The spirit of the people was overawed, but not subdued. The severity with which revolters who fell into the hands of the British were treated, induced those who escaped to persevere and seek safety in swamps.

The total rout of a party which had joined major Ferguson, operated as a check on the future exertions of the loyalists. The same timid caution which made them averse to joining their countrymen in opposing the claims of Great Britain, restrained them from risking any more in support of the royal cause. Henceforward they waited to see how the scales were likely to incline, and reserved themselves till the British army, by its own unassisted efforts, should gain a decided superiority.

In a few weeks after the general action near Camden, lord Cornwallis left a small force, in that village, and marched with the main army towards Salisbury, intending to push forwards in that direction. While on his way thither, the North-Carolina militia was very industrious and successful in annoying his detachments. Riflemen frequently penetrated near his camp, and from behind trees made sure of their objects. The late conquerors found their situation very uneasy, being exposed to unseen dangers if they attempted to make an excursion of only a few hundred yards from their main body. Lord Cornwallis soon after retreated to Winnaborough. As he retired, the militia took several of his waggons, and single men often rode up within gunshot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape. The panic occasioned by the defeat of general Gates had in a great measure worn off. The defeat of major Ferguson, and the consequent retreat of lord Cornwallis, encouraged the American militia to take the field, and the necessity of the times induced them to submit to stricter discipline. Sumter, soon after the dispersion of his corps on the eighteenth of August, collected a band of volunteers, partly from new adventurers, and partly from those who had escaped on that day. With these, though for three months there was no continental army in the state, he constantly kept the field in support of American independence. He varied his position from time to time about Evree, Broad, and Tyger Rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he testified the British parties with frequent excursions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and so harassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. His spirit of enterprise was so particularly injurious to the British, that they laid many plans for destroying his force, but they all failed in the execution. On the twelfth of November, he was attacked at Broad River by major Wemyss, commanding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Eight days after he was attacked at Black Stocks, near Tyger River, by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. The attack was begun with a hundred and seventy dragoons and eighty men of the 63d regiment. A considerable part of Sumter's force had been thrown into a large barn, from the apertures of which they fired with security. Many of the 63d regiment were killed. Tarleton

charged with his cavalry, but being unable to dislodge the Americans, retreated, and Sumter was left in quiet possession of the field.

For the three months which followed the defeat of the American army near Camden, general Gates was industriously preparing to take the field. Having collected a force at Hillsbury he advanced to Salisbury, and very soon after to Charlotte. He had done every thing in his power to repair the injuries of his defeat, and was again in a condition to face the enemy; but from that influence which popular opinion has over public affairs in a commonwealth, congress resolved to supersede him, and to order a court of inquiry to be held on his conduct.

While the war raged in South-Carolina, the campaign of 1780, in the northern states, was barren of important events. At the close of the preceding campaign, the American northern army took post at Morristown and built themselves huts, agreeably to the practice which had been first introduced at Valley Forge. This position was well calculated to cover the country from the excursions of the British, being only twenty miles from New-York.

The loyal Americans who had fled within the British lines, commonly called refugees, reduced a predatory war into system. On their petition to Sir Henry Clinton, they had been, in the year 1779, permitted to set up a distinct government in New-York, under a jurisdiction called the honourable board of associated loyalists. They had something like a fleet of small privateers and cruisers, by the aid of which they committed various depredations. A party of them who had formerly belonged to Massachusetts, went to Nantucket, broke open the warehouses, and carried off every thing that fell in their way. They also carried off two loaded brigs and two or three schooners. In a proclamation they left behind them they observed, "That they had been deprived of their property, and compelled to abandon their dwellings, friends, and connections; and that they conceived themselves warranted by the laws of God and man, to wage war against their persecutors, and to endeavour by every means in their power to obtain compensation for their sufferings." These associated loyalists eagerly embraced every adventure which gratified either their avarice or their revenge. Their enterprises were highly lucrative to themselves, and extremely distressing to the Americans. Their knowledge of the country and superior means of transportation enabled them to make hasty descents and successful enterprises. A war of plunder, in which the feelings of humanity were often suspended, and which tended to no valuable public purpose, was carried on in this shameful manner, from the double incitements of profit and revenge. The adjoining coasts of the continent, and especially the maritime parts of New-Jersey, became scenes of waste and havoc.

The distress which the Americans suffered from the diminished value of their currency, though felt in the year 1778, and still more so in the year 1779, did not arrive to its highest pitch till the year 1780. Under the pressure of sufferings from this cause, the officers of the Jersey line addressed a memorial to their state legislature, setting forth, "That four months pay of a private would not procure for his family a single bushel of wheat; that the pay of a colonel would not purchase oats for his horse; that a common labourer or express rider received four times as much as an American officer."

A tide of misfortunes from all quarters was, indeed, at this time pouring in upon the new states. There appeared not, however, in their public bodies, the smallest disposition to purchase safety by concessions of any sort. They seemed to rise in the midst of their distresses, and to gain strength from the pressure of calamities. When congress could neither command money or credit for the subsistence of their army, the citizens of Philadelphia formed an association to procure a supply of necessary articles for their suffering soldiers. The sum of three hundred thousand dollars was subscribed in a few days, and converted into a bank, the principal design of which was to purchase provisions for the troops in the most prompt and efficacious manner. The advantages of this institution were great, and particularly enhanced by the critical time in which it was instituted. The loss of Charlestown, and the subsequent British victories in Carolina, produced effects directly the reverse of what were expected. It being the deliberate resolution of the Americans never to return to the government of

Great Britain, such unfavourable events as threatened the subversion of independence operated as incentives to their exertions.

The powers of the committee of congress in the American camp were enlarged so far as to authorise them to frame and execute such plans as, in their opinion, would most effectually draw forth the resources of the country, in co-operating with the armament expected from France. In this character they wrote letters to the states, stimulating them to vigorous exertions. It was agreed to make arrangements for bringing into the field thirty-five thousand effective men, and to call on the states for specific supplies of every thing necessary for their support. To obtain the men it was proposed to complete the regular regiments by draughts from the militia, and to make up what they fell short of thirty-five thousand effectives, by calling forth more of the militia. The tardiness of deliberation in congress was in a great measure done away, by the full powers given to their committee in camp. Accurate estimates were made of every article of supply necessary for the ensuing campaign. These, and also the numbers of men wanted, were quoted on the ten northern states in proportion to their abilities and numbers. In conformity to these requisitions, vigorous resolutions were adopted for carrying them into effect. Where voluntary enlistments fell short of the proposed number, the deficiencies were, by the laws of several states, to be made up by draughts or lots from the militia. The towns in New-England and the counties in the middle states were respectively called on for a specified number of men. Such was the zeal of the people in New-England, that neighbours would often club together, to engage one of their number to go into the army. The legislative part of these complicated arrangements was speedily passed, but the execution, though uncommonly vigorous, lagged far behind. Few occasions could occur in which it might so fairly be tried, to what extent in conducting a war, a variety of wills might be brought to act in unison. The result of the experiment was, that however favourable republics may be to the liberty and happiness of the people in the time of peace, they will be greatly deficient in that vigour and despatch, which military operations require, unless they imitate the policy of monarchies, by committing the executive departments of government to the direction of a single will.

ARRIVAL OF ROCHANBEAU.

WHILE these preparations were making in America, the armament which had been promised by the king of France was on its way. As soon as it was known in France, that a resolution was adopted to send out troops to the United States, the young French nobility discovered the greatest zeal to be employed on that service. Court favour was scarcely ever solicited with more earnestness, than was the honour of serving under general Washington. The number of applicants was much greater than the service required. The disposition to support the American revolution was not only prevalent in the court of France, but it animated the whole body of the nation. The winds and waves did not second the ardent wishes of the French troops. Though they sailed from France on the first of May 1780, they did not reach a port in the United States till the tenth of July following. On that day, to the great joy of the Americans, M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, five frigates, and five smaller armed vessels. He likewise conveyed a fleet of transports with four old French regiments, besides the legion de Lausun, and a battalion of artillery, amounting in the whole to six thousand men, all under the command of Lieutenant-general count de Rochambeau. To the French as soon as they landed possession was given of the forts and batteries on the island, and by their exertions they were soon put in a high state of defence. Rochambeau declared, "that he only brought over the vanguard of a much greater force which was destined for their aid; that he was ordered by the king his master to assure them, that his whole power should be exerted for their support.

Admiral Arbuthnot had only four sail of the line at New-York, when M. de Ternay arrived at Rhode Island. This inferiority was in three days reversed, by the arrival of admiral Graves with six sail

of the line. The British admiral, having now a superiority, proceeded to Rhode Island. He soon discovered that the French were perfectly secure from any attack by sea. Sir Henry Clinton, who had returned in the preceding month with his victorious troops from Charlestown, embarked about eight thousand of his best men, and proceeded as far as Huntington Bay, on Long Island, with the apparent design of concurring with the British fleet, in attacking the French Force at Rhode Island. When this movement took place, general Washington set his army in motion, and proceeded to Peek's Kill. Had Sir Henry Clinton prosecuted what appeared to be his design, general Washington intended to have attacked New-York in his absence. Preparations were made for this purpose, but Sir Henry Clinton instantly turned about from Huntington Bay towards New-York.

DEFECTION OF ARNOLD.

THE campaign of 1780 passed away in the northern states, as has been related, in successive disappointments and reiterated distresses to the American cause. The country was exhausted, the continental currency expiring. While those disasters were openly menacing the new states, treachery was silently undermining them. A distinguished officer engaged, for a stipulated sum of money, to betray into the hands of the British an important post committed to his care. General Arnold, who committed this foul crime, was a native of Connecticut. The disposition of the American forces in the year 1780 afforded an opportunity of accomplishing this so much to the advantage of the British, that they could well afford a liberal reward for the beneficial treachery. The American army was stationed in the strong-holds of the highlands on both sides of the North River. In this arrangement, Arnold solicited for the command of West Point. This has been called the Gibraltar of America. It was built after the loss of Fort Montgomery, for the defence of the North River, and was deemed the most proper for commanding its navigation. Rocky ridges rising one behind another, rendered it incapable of being invested by less than twenty thousand men. Though some even then entertained doubts of Arnold's fidelity, yet general Washington believing it to be impossible that honour should be wanting in a breast which he knew was the seat of valour, cheerfully granted his request, and entrusted him with the important post. General Arnold, thus invested with command, carried on a negotiation with Sir Henry Clinton, by which it was agreed that the former should make a disposition of his forces, which would enable the latter to surprise West Point under such circumstances that he would have the garrison so completely in his power, that the troops must either lay down their arms or be cut to pieces. The object of this negotiation was the strongest post of the Americans, the thoroughfare of communication between the eastern and southern states, and the repository of their most valuable stores. The loss of it would have been severely felt.

The agent employed in this negotiation on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, was major André, adjutant-general of the British army. To favour the necessary communications, the Vulture sloop of war had been previously stationed in the North River, as near to Arnold's posts as was practicable, without exciting suspicion. Before this a written correspondence between Arnold and André had been for some time carried on under the fictitious names of Gustavus and Anderson. In the night of the twenty-first of September, a boat was sent from the shore to fetch major André. Arnold met him at the beach, without the posts of either army. Their business was not finished till it was too near the dawn of day for André to return to the Vulture. Arnold told him he must be concealed till the next night. For that purpose, he was conducted within one of the American posts, against his previous stipulation and knowledge, and continued with Arnold the following day. The boatmen refused to carry him back the next night, as the Vulture, from being exposed to the fire of some cannon brought up to annoy her, had changed her position. André's return to New-York by land, was then the only practicable mode of escape. To favour this he quitted his uniform which he had hitherto worn under a surcoat, for a common coat, and was fur-

nished with a horse, and under the name of John Anderson, with a passport "to go to the lines of White Plains, or lower if he thought proper, he being on public business." He advanced alone and undisturbed a great part of the way.—When he thought himself almost out of danger, he was stopped by three of the New-York militia, who were with others scouting between the outposts of the two armies. Major André, instead of producing his pass, asked the man who stopped him, "Where he belonged to," who answered, "To below," meaning New-York. He replied, "So do I," and declared himself a British officer, and pressed that he might not be detained. He soon discovered his mistake. His captors proceeded to search him: several papers were found in his possession. These were secreted in his boots, and were in Arnold's hand writing; they contained exact returns of the state of the forces, ordnance, and defences at West Point, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, &c.

ANDRÉ EXECUTED AS A SPY.

ANDRÉ offered his captors a purse of gold and a new valuable watch, if they would let him pass, and permanent provision and future promotion, if they would convey and accompany him to New-York. They nobly disdained the proffered bribe, and delivered him a prisoner to Lieutenant-colonel Jameson, who commanded the scouting parties. In testimony of the high sense entertained of the virtuous and patriotic conduct of John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Vert, the captors of André, congress resolved, "That each of them receive annually two hundred dollars in specie during life, and that the board of war be directed to procure for each of them a silver medal, on one side of which should be a shield with this inscription, *Fidelity*; and on the other the following motto: *Placit Amor Patriæ*; and that the commander in chief be requested to present the same, with the thanks of congress, for their fidelity, and the eminent service they had rendered their country." André, when delivered to Jameson, continued to call himself by the name of Anderson, and asked leave to send a letter to Arnold, to acquaint him with Anderson's detention. This was inconsiderately granted. Arnold on the receipt of this letter abandoned every thing, and went on board the Vulture sloop of war. Lieutenant-colonel Jameson forwarded to general Washington all the papers found on André, together with a letter giving an account of the whole affair; but the express, by taking a different route from the general, who was returning from a conference at Hartford with count de Rochambeau, missed him. This caused such a delay as gave Arnold time to effect his escape. The same packet which detailed the particulars of André's capture, brought a letter from him, in which he avowed his name and character, and endeavoured to show that he did not come under the description of a spy. He stated, that he held a correspondence with a person under the orders of his general; that his intention went no farther than meeting that person on neutral ground, for the purpose of intelligence; and that, against his stipulation, his intention, and without his knowledge beforehand, he was brought within the American posts, and had to concert his escape from them; being taken on his return, he was betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy in disguise.

General Washington referred the whole case of major André to the examination and decision of a board, consisting of fourteen general officers. On his examination, he voluntarily confessed every thing that related to himself, and particularly that he did not come ashore under the protection of a flag. The board did not examine a single witness, but founded their report on his own confession. In this they stated the following facts: "That major André came on shore on the night of the twenty-first of September, in a private and secret manner, and that he changed his dress within the American lines, and under a feigned name and disguised habit passed their works, and was taken in a disguised habit when on his way to New-York, and when taken, several papers were found in his possession, which contained intelligence for the enemy." From these facts they further reported it as their opinion, "That major André ought to be considered as a spy, and agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death."

Sir Henry Clinton, lieutenant-general Robertson, and the late American general Arnold, wrote pressing letters to general Washington, to prevent the decision of the board of general officers from being carried into effect. General Arnold in particular urged, that every thing done by major André was done by his particular request, and at a time when he was the acknowledged commanding officer in the department. He contended, "that he had a right to transact all these matters, for which, though wrong, major André ought not to suffer." An interview also took place between general Robertson, on the part of the British, and general Greene, on the part of the Americans. Every thing was urged by the former, that ingenuity or humanity could suggest for averting the proposed execution; Greene made a proposition for delivering up André for Arnold, but found this could not be acceded to by the British. Robertson urged, "that André went on shore under the sanction of a flag, and that using them in Arnold's power, he was not accountable for his subsequent actions, which were said to be compulsory." To this it was replied, that "he was employed in the execution of measures very foreign from the objects of flags of truce, and such as they were never meant to authorise or countenance; and that major André in the course of his examination had candidly confessed, that it was impossible for him to suppose that he came on shore under the sanction of a flag." As Greene and Robertson differed so widely both in their statement of facts, and the inferences they drew from them, the latter proposed to the former, that the opinions of disinterested gentlemen might be taken on the subject, and proposed Kniphausen and Rochambeau. Robertson also urged that André possessed a great share of Sir Henry Clinton's esteem, and that he would be infinitely obliged if he should be spared. He offered that in case André was permitted to return with him to New-York, any person whatever that might be named, should be set at liberty. All these arguments and entreaties having failed, Robertson presented a long letter from Arnold, in which he endeavoured to exculpate André, by acknowledging himself the author of every part of his conduct, "and particularly insisted on his coming from the Vulture, under a flag which he had sent for that purpose." He declared, that if André suffered, he should think himself bound in honour to retaliate. He also observed, "that forty of the principal inhabitants of South-Carolina had justly forfeited their lives, which hitherto had been spared only through the clemency of Sir Henry Clinton, but who could no longer extend his mercy if major André suffered; an event which would probably open a scene of bloodshed, at which humanity must revolt." He entreated Washington by his own honour, and for that of humanity, not to suffer an unjust sentence to touch the life of André; but if that warning should be disregarded, and André suffer, he called Heaven and earth to witness, that he alone should be justly answerable for the torrents of blood that might be spilt in consequence."

Every exertion was made by the royal commanders to save André, but without effect. It was the general opinion of the American army that his life was forfeited, and that national dignity and sound policy required that the forfeiture should be exacted.

The execution was the subject of severe censures. Barbarity, cruelty, and murder, were plentifully charged on the Americans; but the impartiality of all nations allowed, that it was warranted by the usages of war. It cannot be condemned, without condemning the maxims of self-preservation, which have uniformly guided the practice of hostile nations. The first feelings of humanity might have been gratified, by dispensing with the rigid maxims of war; but these feelings must be controlled by a regard for the public safety. Such was the distressed state of the American army, and so abundant were their causes of complaint, that there was so much to fear from the contagious nature of treachery. Could it have been reduced to a certainty that there were no more Arnold's in America, perhaps André's life might have been spared; but the necessity of discouraging farther plots, fixed his fate, and stamped it with the seal of political necessity. If conjectures in the boundless field of possible contingencies were to be indulged, it might be said that it was more consonant to extended humanity to take one life, than by ill-fitted lenity to lay a foundation, which probably would occasion not only the loss of

many, but endanger the independence of a great country.

This grand project terminated with no other alteration in respect of the British, than that of their exchanging one of their best officers for the worst man in the American army. Arnold was immediately made a brigadier-general in the service of the king of Great Britain. The failure of the scheme respecting West Point made it necessary for him to dispel the cloud which overshadowed his character, by the performance of some signal service for his new masters. The condition of the American army afforded him a prospect of doing something of consequence. He flattered himself that by the allurements of pay and promotion, he should be able to raise a numerous force from among the distressed American soldiery. He therefore took methods for accomplishing this purpose, by obviating their scruples, and working on their passions. His first public measure was issuing an address, directed to the inhabitants of America, dated from New-York (October 7th,) five days after André's execution. This address was soon followed by another, inscribed to the officers and soldiers of the continental army. This was intended to induce them to follow his example, and engage in the royal service. He informed them, that he was authorized to raise a corps of cavalry and infantry, who were to be on the same footing with the other troops in the British service. To allure the private men, three guineas were offered to each, besides payments for their horses, arms and accoutrements. Rank in the Bri-

tish army was also held out to the American officers who would recruit and bring in a certain number of men, proportioned to the different grades in military service. These offers were proposed to unpaid soldiers, who were suffering from the want of both food and clothing, and to officers who were in a great degree obliged to support themselves from their own resources, while they were spending the prime of their days, and risking their lives in the unproductive service of congress. Though they were urged at a time when the paper currency was at its lowest ebb of depreciation, and the wants and distresses of the American army were at their highest pitch, yet they did not produce the intended effect on a single sentinel or officer. Whether the circumstances of Arnold's case added new shades to the crime of desertion, or whether their providential escape from the deep-laid scheme against West Point, gave a higher tone to the firmness of the American soldiery, cannot be unfolded: but either from these or some other causes, desertion wholly ceased at this remarkable period of the war.

It is not to be supposed that the Spaniards on the American frontier would be totally inactive during these transactions. Don Bernardo de Galvez, the governor of Louisiana, was one of the first to proclaim the independence of America; and in the spring of 1780, assembled a small force at New Orleans, and surprised and made himself master of Mobile, and all the British settlements on the Mississippi.

CHAPTER XVII.

Causes which produced a Rupture with Holland—Armed Neutrality—Count Bylant's Squadron taken—Capture of Mr. Laurens—Declaration of War—Affairs of East Indies—Mr. Cornwall taken—Speaker—Dutch War—India affairs—Burke's Reform Bill—Petition of Delegates from Counties—Bill to repeal the Marriage Act—Motion on American War—Session concluded—Attack upon Jersey—Siege of Gibraltar—Capture of St. Eustatia—Campaign in America—Revolt of Pennsylvania Line—Arnold's Expedition to Virginia—General Greene appointed to the Command in Carolina—Tarleton defeated by Morgan—Masterly Retreat of the Americans—Battle of Guilford—Lord Cornwallis proceeds to Virginia—Operations in Virginia—Capture of Lord Cornwallis—Expedition of Commodore Johnstone—Operations in the West Indies—Tobago taken—St. Eustatia Convoys taken—East Indies—Hyder Ally defeated—Cheyt Sing—Engagement with the Dutch—Combined Fleets in the Channel.

CAUSES OF RUPTURE WITH HOLLAND—ARMED NEUTRALITY.

THE desperation which ill success and ill conduct produces in ministers was never more clearly evinced than in the course of the year 1780. As if Great Britain had not been sufficiently involved in the work of bloodshed and devastation; by the singular diligence and activity of administration a new enemy was conjured up, and added to an already sufficiently powerful combination.

One of the causes which provoked the resentment of the British ministry against the States General has already been noticed; but there were some of a still more important nature, which it is now time to remark.

The naval superiority of Great Britain had long been the subject of regret and envy in Europe. As it was the interest, so it seemed to be the wish of the European powers to avail themselves of the present favourable moment to effect an humiliation of her maritime grandeur. That the flag of all nations must strike to British ships of war, could not be otherwise than mortifying to independent sovereigns. This haughty demand was not their only cause of complaint. Various litigations had taken place between the commanders of British armed vessels, and those who were in the service of neutral powers, respecting the extent of that commerce, which was consistent with a strict and fair neutrality. The British insisted on the lawfulness of seizing supplies, which were about to be carried to their enemies. Having been in the habit of commanding on the sea, they considered power and right to be synonymous terms. As other nations, from a dread of provoking their vengeance, had submitted to their claim of dominion on the ocean, they fancied themselves invested with authority to control the commerce of independent nations, when it interfered with their views. This haughtiness worked its own overthrow. The empress of Russia took the lead in establishing a system of maritime laws, which subverted the claims of Great Britain.

On the twenty-sixth of February 1780, a declaration was published by the empress of Russia, addressed to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid. In this it was observed, "That her Imperial majesty had given such convincing proofs of the strict regard she had for the rights of neutrality, and the liberty of commerce in general, that it might have been hoped her impartial conduct would have entitled her subjects to the enjoyment of the advantages belonging to neutral nations. Experience had however proved the contrary: her subjects had been molested in their navigation by the ships and privateers of the belligerent powers. Her majesty therefore declared, "That

she found it necessary to remove these vexations which had been offered to the commerce of Russia; but before she came to any serious measures, she thought it just and equitable to expose to the world, and particularly to the belligerent powers, the principles she had adopted for her conduct, which were as follows:

"That neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers. That all effects belonging to the belligerent powers should be looked on as free on board such neutral ships, with an exception of places actually blocked up or besieged, and with a proviso that they do not carry to the enemy contraband articles." These were limited by an explanation, so as to "comprehend only warlike stores and ammunition;" and her Imperial majesty declared, that "she was firmly resolved to maintain these principles, and that with the view of protecting the commerce and navigation of her subjects, she had given orders to fit out a considerable part of her naval force." This declaration was communicated to the States General, and the empress of Russia invited them to make a common cause with her, so far as such a union might serve to protect commerce and navigation. Similar communications and invitations were also made to the courts of Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Lisbon. A civil answer was received from the court of Great Britain, and a very cordial one from the court of France. On this occasion it was said by his most christian majesty, "That what her Imperial majesty claimed from the belligerent powers, was nothing more than the rules prescribed to the French navy." The kings of Sweden and Denmark also formally acceded to the principles and measures proposed by the empress of Russia. The States General did the same. The queen of Portugal was the only sovereign who refused to concur. The powers engaged in this association resolved to support each other against any of the belligerent nations, who should violate the principles which had been laid down in the declaration of the empress of Russia.

This combination assumed the name of the armed neutrality. By it a respectable guarantee was procured to a commerce from which France and Spain procured a plentiful supply of articles essentially conducive to a vigorous prosecution of the war.

The armed neutrality led almost immediately to a rupture with the States General—Besides this cause, their conduct had indeed all along been directed by the narrow and selfish views of trading policy, and not by any sense of former obligations. Few Europeans had a greater prospect of advantage from American independence than the Hollanders. The conquest of the United States would

have resigned to Great Britain a monopoly of their trade; but the establishment of their independence promised to other nations an equal chance of participating therein. As commerce is the soul of the United Netherlands, to have neglected the present opportunity of extending it would have been a deviation from their established maxims of policy. Former treaties framed in distant periods, when other views were predominant, opposed but a feeble barrier to the claims of present interest. From the year 1775, Sir Joseph Yorke, the British minister at the Hague, had made representations to their high mightinesses of the clandestine commerce carried on between their subjects and the Americans. He particularly stated that Mr. Van Graaf, the governor of St. Eustatia, had permitted an illicit commerce with the Americans; and had at one time returned the salute of a vessel carrying their flag. Sir Joseph, therefore, demanded a formal disavowal of this salute, and the dismission and immediate recall of governor Van Graaf. This demand was answered with a pusillanimous, temporising reply. On the twelfth of September 1778, a memorial was presented to the States-general from the merchants and others of Amsterdam, in which they complained that their lawful commerce was obstructed by the ships of his Britannic majesty. On the twenty-second of July 1779, Sir Joseph Yorke demanded of the States-general the succours which were stipulated in the treaty of 1768: but this was not complied with.

COUNT BYLAND'S SQUADRON TAKEN.

THE British government, therefore, being determined to break with Holland, and having received information, that a large fleet of Dutch merchant-ships, laden with naval and military stores, had sailed for the ports of France, despatched captain Fielding with a proper force to examine the convoy, and to seize such articles as should be deemed contraband. On the first of January 1780, commodore Fielding fell in with this fleet, and the Dutch admiral peremptorily refusing permission to search the ships; and the boats which commodore Fielding despatched for that purpose, having been fired at, and prevented from executing his orders; the commodore proceeded to fire a shot a-head of the Dutch admiral, which was answered by a broadside. Count Byland, the Dutch admiral, however, having received one in return, and not being in condition to support the engagement, struck his colours. Most of the suspected vessels escaped during the contest. The admiral, with the rest of his squadron, was brought to Spithead. Strong remonstrances were addressed to the ministry by the States-general on this transaction, but no satisfaction was obtained. On the seventeenth of April, a most hostile proclamation was published by the king of Great Britain; but the policy of the Dutch was too deep to be led into the snare laid for them by the British ministry. They saw that more numerous advantages were to be derived from the cultivation of a pacific system, than from precipitating themselves violently into all the calamities of war.

CAPTURE OF MR. LAURENS—DECLARATION OF WAR.

ANOTHER occasion, however, soon presented itself for the English to regard the Dutch as enemies. On the third of September the Mercury packet, from Philadelphia for Holland, was captured off the banks of Newfoundland by the Vestal frigate. On board the packet was Mr. Laurens, late president of the congress, who was proceeding on a diplomatic commission to the States-general. Before the vessel struck, he had thrown his papers overboard; but the greater part of them were recovered, and submitted to the inspection of the privy-council; and among them, it is said, was found the sketch of a treaty of amity and commerce between the two republics, which had been examined and approved by M. Van Berkel, counsellor and grand pensionary of Amsterdam. Mr. Laurens, after having been examined by the privy-council, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, on a charge of high treason; and strong representations were made by the British ambassador at the Hague, to the States-general demanding, that "exemplary punishment should be inflicted on Van Berkel and his accomplices, as disturbers of the public peace,

and violators of the rights of nations." The States-general observed their usual caution on this occasion; but their deliberate proceedings were not agreeable to the British ministry, who actually published a declaration of war against Holland on the twentieth of December.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

It was not only in Europe and America that Great Britain was involved in the most distressing embarrassments at this disastrous period, but even in the East Indies several causes had concurred to inspire the native powers of India with general disgust and disapprobation of the politics of England. No regular system was adopted for the government of those provinces, which British valour and rapacity had wrested from the native princes of the East. The whole politics of India were committed to the mercenary servants of the company, who were too intent upon the acquisition of wealth, to entertain any liberal system of policy; and whose whole time and attention were consequently consumed in low intrigues with the native princes, and in schemes of conquest formed on no regular plan.

About the year 1778 the British in India made repeated attempts to interfere in the revolution which had taken place in the Mahratta government. Ragonaut Row caused his nephew the reigning Paishwa (with the care of whom, during his minority, he was solemnly entrusted) to be assassinated, in the hope of securing to himself the sovereignty. From these circumstances, and from the British presidency at Bombay receiving and protecting Ragonaut the murderer of his nephew, the foundation was laid for that famous confederacy which, in the year 1779, was formed between the Nizam, Hyder Ally, and the Mahrattas, the object of which was no less than the complete expulsion of the British from the continent of India. Early in the year 1780 preparations were made for invading the Mahratta territories, and on the fifteenth of February general Goddard marched with a considerable force to besiege the city of Ahmedabad, the capital of the province of Guzarat, which was taken by storm in five days after the arrival of the British army under its walls; the reduction of the whole province soon followed. On the third of April following, the general surprised the camp of Scindia and Holkar, and the Mahratta chiefs were forced to retreat with considerable loss. Some brilliant services were also performed on the side of Bengal. But these successes were more than counterbalanced by the progress made by Hyder Ally, who, having collected a prodigious force, on the twentieth of July, made his way through the ghats, or narrow passes in the mountains; and, at the head of nearly one hundred thousand men, entered without resistance the Carnatic; and by the tenth of August his cavalry had penetrated even to the vicinity of Madras.

In this emergency, Sir Hector Munro hastily assembled the different corps which were scattered through the province, and endeavoured to post himself strongly on the Mount, to cover and protect the capital; and orders were despatched to colonel Baillie, who commanded in the Guntur, to hasten back to join the main army, and in the course of his march to endeavour, as much as possible, to intercept the enemy's convoys. In the mean time Hyder formed the siege of Arcot, and Sir Hector thought it an indispensable duty to march to its relief. On the approach of the British general, Hyder raised the siege, but directed the route of his army in such a manner across the course of colonel Baillie's detachment, as effectually to prevent the intended junction. On the sixth of September, the troops of the Sultan, under the command of his brother Meer Saib and his son, the since celebrated Tippoo Sultan, encountered colonel Baillie and Fletcher at a place called Perimbanam. All that skill could devise or valour effect, was performed by the British; and though the disparity of force was almost unexampled, victory at first declared in favour of colonel Baillie. Unfortunately, in the moment of success and exultation, the tumble which contained the ammunition, suddenly blew up, and with two dreadful explosions, in the centre of the British lines; and one whole face of their column was laid open, and the artillery destroyed. The moment of advantage was suddenly caught by Tippoo Saib, who forced his

way, at the head of his cavalry, into the broken square; and the British being deprived of their ammunition, and not having had even time to form, were, after prodigies of valour, cut to pieces, or made prisoners of war. The British are said to have lost on this occasion about four thousand sepoy, and six hundred Europeans. Immediately after this disastrous event, the army, under Sir Hector Munro, retreated, and abandoned Arror to its fate, which soon fell into the hands of Hyder Ally. Thus ended this unfortunate campaign in India.

MR. CORNWALL CHOSEN SPEAKER.

WHILE these things were transacting abroad, the ministry had contrived to procure a new parliament at home, modelled for their purposes. It met on the thirty-first of October 1780, when their first business was the choice of a speaker. The great merit and faithful services of Sir Fletcher Norton were totally obliterated by the quarrel he had with the minister, as has been already mentioned; and another speaker was determined upon. The business, however, was introduced with the highest compliments to the late speaker, and the choice of another was proposed on account of the importance of parliamentary business, which might be productive of debates inconsistent with his precarious state of health; on which account the American secretary (lord George Germaine) moved that Wolfran Cornwall be appointed to that high office; and the motion was seconded by Welbore Ellis.

The members in opposition expressed the utmost astonishment, not only at the conduct of administration in proposing a new speaker at the very time that they acknowledged Sir Fletcher Norton to be the most proper of all men to fill the office, but at the strange arguments made use of on the occasion. The health of the speaker was now so firmly established, that the pretence of his want of it, especially when coming from the ministerial side, must be considered as an absolute mockery of the house, and a direct insult upon the gentleman himself. Dunning therefore proposed, that Sir Fletcher Norton should be continued speaker, and his motion was seconded by Thomas Townshend. The late speaker, however, declined the intended honour, and said, that he had come to the house with a full resolution not to stand a candidate for the chair upon any account; but he declared that he must be an idiot indeed, if he could believe that his state of health was the reason of the determination of ministry against his being continued in the chair.

Cornwall's election was carried by two hundred and three to one hundred and thirty-four.

DUTCH WAR.

1781.—ON the twenty-fifth of January the king sent a message to the house by his minister, acquainting them that letters of marque and reprisals had been issued against the Dutch. This communication was no sooner made than Burke observed, "That, however lightly a war might be thought of by some men, he was one of those who thought it always a most serious matter; a matter which nothing but the greatest necessity could justify." It was further observed by the opposition, "that the British manifesto stated that a treaty was entered into between the city of Amsterdam and America; but the treaty now laid before the house was, in the express terms of it, the plan of a treaty, or the rough draught of a compact, the ratification of which was to depend upon events which might never happen. This declaration of war was also ventured on, contrary to every recent precedent, during a recess. The minister was reminded that in this manner the house had been betrayed into all the pernicious measures of his administration. In this manner had the house been led into the American war, that fatal source of all our calamities. In this manner had the French rescript been announced; and afterwards the Spanish rescript, and at length the declaration of war against Holland, our ancient and natural ally. Year after year had the minister acquainted the house with a new enemy, but never had he yet brought them the welcome information of a new friend. Much had been said of the provocations we had received from Holland, and the predominance of a French interest in that country;—but had Holland received no provocation from us? The insolence of the British memorial presented to the States in 1777, contributed more than any thing

also to the prevalence of the French faction in Holland. It had been stated, as a serious ground of offence, that Holland had not complied with the requisition of troops, which, by treaty, she had engaged to furnish. But it was notorious, that, in the event of this compliance, Holland would have been immediately invaded by France; and, in conformity with the same treaties, we must then have sent a much greater aid to the assistance of the republic. If the Dutch at the present period had changed their political system respecting this country, it was owing to the criminal conduct of an administration, who had precipitated us into a war, whence all our misfortunes had arisen. In consequence of that war, our American commerce was lost; and could it be a matter of surprise that the Dutch, a people who existed by commerce, should be desirous to secure a share of it? We were abandoned, not by the Dutch only, but by all the powers of Europe, who were all equally convinced, that, under the present wretched administration of affairs, whoever became the ally of Great Britain would only share in her disgraces and her misfortunes."

An address to his majesty, however, in favour of the war was voted by a great majority in the two houses of parliament.

INDIAN AFFAIRS—BURKE'S REFORM BILL.

THE crude and improvident politics of lord North and his colleagues had reduced the British possessions in the East Indies to an unsettled and distracted state. On the fourth of December 1780, a petition was presented to the house of commons from the British inhabitants of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, complaining of the injudicious and indiscriminate manner in which the judges of the supreme court endeavoured to administer the English laws in those provinces; and this was seconded by another from the governor-general and council, containing a long statement of the transactions, and requesting an indemnification from the legal penalties, which, for the preservation of government and the country, they had been under the necessity of incurring by forcibly resisting the proceedings of the chief justice Sir Elijah Impey. General Smith, on the twelfth of February, moved that these petitions should be referred to a committee of fifteen members to be chosen by ballot, and to meet in a chamber above stairs; and after some time a bill was introduced by general Smith founded on the report of the committee of fifteen, for regulating the administration of justice in India, and for indemnifying the governor-general and council for the resistance made by them to the supreme court. This bill, after some resistance from the law members, passed both houses, and received the royal assent; it defined and limited the authority of the supreme court, and exempted the governor-general and council of Bengal from its jurisdiction. It declared farther, that no person should be under the cognizance of the supreme court, on account of his being a landholder or farmer in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and that no judicial officers in the country courts should be liable to actions in the supreme court for their decisions.

Burke, not being dejected by the rejection of his reform bill last year, on the fifteenth of February moved for leave to bring in a bill exactly similar, and opened his proposition by stating the powerful motives which engaged him now to resume his undertaking; and these were the celebrated resolutions of the late parliament, respecting the alarming increase of the influence of the crown; the general wish and expectation of the people, and the direct applications to himself from several of the most considerable counties.

Under very unfavourable auspices the bill was read a second time, when it experienced the weight of that influence it was meant to reduce. It however introduced to public notice the splendid talents of young lord Maitland, and the captivating eloquence of William Pitt, the second son of the late earl of Chatham, who in very early youth had been elected a member of the present parliament, and who now exhibited himself to an admiring nation as the supposed heir of his talents and virtues. "One great object," Pitt said, "of all the petitions which had been presented, was a recommendation of economy in the public expenditure; and the design of the present bill was, to carry into effect the wishes of the people, by introducing a substantial

system of economy. Besides the benefits which would result from the bill in this respect, it had another object still more important, and that was the reduction of the influence of the crown, an influence which was the more to be dreaded, because more secret in its attacks, and more concealed in its operations, than the power of prerogative." Pitt adverted to the extraordinary objections which had been made to the bill; it proposed to bring no more than two hundred thousand pounds per annum into the public coffers, and that sum was insignificant, in comparison of the millions annually expended. "What then is the conclusion we are led to deduce? The calamities of the present crisis are too great to be benefited by economy. Our expenses are so enormous, that it is useless to give ourselves any concern about them; we have spent, and are spending so much, that it is foolish to think of saving any thing. Such is the language which the opponents of this bill have virtually employed. It had also been said, that the king's civil-list was an irreclaimable parliamentary grant, and it had been even compared to a private freehold. The weakness of such arguments was their best refutation. The civil-list revenue" was granted to his majesty, not for his private use, but for the support of the executive government of the state. His majesty, in fact, was the trustee of the public, subject to parliamentary revision. The parliament made the grant, and undoubtedly had a right to resume it when the pressure of the times rendered such resumption necessary. Upon the whole, he considered the present bill as essential to the being and independence of this country, and he would give it his most determined support."

PETITIONS OF COUNTY DELEGATES— PROPOSED MARRIAGE BILL.

THE existing grievances of the country appeared so much to increase in consequence of the war, and so little prospect of redress was afforded by the last parliament, that an association was formed by several of the most opulent and populous counties, and delegates were chosen for the purpose of prosecuting the object of a parliamentary reform, with proper vigour and unanimity. A petition prepared by the delegates, and signed by themselves only, was presented on the eighth of May, by Mr. Duncombe and Sir George Saville, who moved that it should be referred to a committee of the whole house. The motion was however rejected on the plea that it was a petition not from the parties who complained of the grievances, but from persons in a delegated capacity. The numbers were two hundred and twelve, to one hundred and thirty-five.

Fox made an effort, in the course of this session, to introduce a bill for the repeal, or at least for the modification, of the famous marriage act. The principal feature in the proposed bill was, that it reduced the legal age for contracting marriage to eighteen in males, and sixteen in females, and no marriage was to be annulled after the parties had cohabited for one year. The bill passed the house of commons, but was rejected by the lords.

MOTION ON AMERICAN WAR—SESSION CLOSED.

TOWARDS the end of the session, Fox moved the house to resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the American war, for the purpose of devising some means of accommodation. This motion was supported in an animated speech by Pitt, who expressed his utter abhorrence of a war, "which was conceived," he said, "in injustice, nurtured in folly, and whose footsteps were marked with slaughter and devastation. It exhibited the height of moral depravity and human turpitude. The nation was drained of its best blood and its vital resources, for which nothing was received in return but a series of inefficient victories or disgraceful defeats, victories obtained over men struggling in the holy cause of liberty, or defeats which filled the land with mourning for the loss of dear and valuable relatives, slain in a detested and impious quarrel." The motion was rejected by a majority of seventy-three voices.

On the eighteenth of July 1781, the session was closed by a speech, in which his majesty observed, "that the great efforts made by the nation, to sur-

mount the difficulties of the present arduous and complicated war, must convince the world that the ancient spirit of the British nation was not abated or diminished; and he was resolved to accept of no terms or conditions of peace, than such as might consist with the honour and dignity of his crown, and the permanent interests and security of his people."

ATTACK ON JERSEY.

WE now return to the military transactions of this eventful year. On the sixth of January 1781, eight hundred French troops under the command of the baron de Rulle, landed before day-break on the island of Jersey; and so little expectation was entertained of any attack, that they passed undisturbed to the town of St. Hillier, and, to the utter astonishment of the inhabitants, at day-break, the market-place was filled with French soldiers. Fortunately the lieutenant-governor, major Moses Corbet, had received information of their landing, time enough to despatch intelligence to the different stations of the three regiments in the island, and to the militia. But he was taken prisoner himself by seven o'clock, and immediately carried before the French commander, who pressed him to sign terms of capitulation, under pain of dragging the town and putting the inhabitants to the sword. It was in vain the governor represented, that, being a prisoner, he was deprived of all authority, and no capitulation that he could sign would be of any force or efficacy: the general still insisted, and to avoid the consequences, the governor ratified the capitulation.

The king's troops and the militia assembled on the heights near the town, under the command of major Pierson, and now in their turn summoned the invaders to surrender themselves prisoners of war. An engagement ensued, in which major Pierson was killed; and the French general being mortally wounded, the second in command desired Corbet to resume the government, and accept their submission as prisoners of war. The negligence of the lieutenant-governor was afterwards censured by a court-martial, and he was dismissed from his office.

SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR.

THE siege of Gibraltar still continued, and the blockade was renewed after admiral Rodney's departure; but the Spaniards under Don Barcelo were defeated on the seventh of June, in an attempt to burn the English shipping in the harbour there. In the command of the channel fleet, Sir Charles Hardy, who died on the nineteenth of May, was succeeded by admiral Geary. He sailed in the beginning of June, and was not out many days before he was so fortunate as to intercept a considerable convoy of French West India ships, homeward bound from St. Domingo, and captured twelve rich vessels. But this advantage was counterbalanced by the loss of almost the whole outward-bound convoy from England to the East and West Indies, which on the twenty-ninth of July was taken by the combined fleets to the number of fifty-five.

In the mean time, the court of Spain, mortified at this repeated disappointment, determined to make greater exertions for the reduction of Gibraltar. Their works were carried on with more vigour than ever. Having on an experiment of twenty months found the inefficacy of a blockade, they resolved to try the effects of a bombardment. Their batteries were mounted with guns of the heaviest metal, and with mortars of the largest dimensions. These disgorged torrents of fire on a narrow spot. It seemed as if not only the works, but the rock itself, must have been overwhelmed. All distinction of parts was lost in flame and smoke. This dreadful cannonade continued day and night, almost incessantly for three weeks, in every twenty-four hours of which one hundred thousand pounds of gunpowder were consumed, and between four and five thousand shot and shells went through the town. It then slackened, but was not intermitted during one whole day for upwards of a twelve-month. The fatigues of the garrison were extreme; but the loss of men was less than might have been expected. For the first ten weeks of this unceasing bombardment, the whole number of killed and wounded was only about three hundred. The damage done to the works was trifling.

The houses in the town, about five hundred in number, were mostly destroyed. Such of the inhabitants as were not buried in the ruins of their houses, or torn to pieces by the shells, fled to the remote parts of the rock; but destruction followed them to places which had always been deemed secure. No scene could be more deplorable. Mothers and children clasped in each other's arms, were so completely torn to pieces, that it seemed more like an annihilation, than a dispersion of their shattered fragments. Ladies of the greatest sensibility and most delicate constitutions deemed themselves happy to be admitted to a few hours of repose in the casemate amidst the noise of a crowded soldiery, and the groans of the wounded.

At the first onset general Elliot retorted on the besiegers a shower of fire; but foreseeing the difficulty of procuring supplies, he soon retrenched, and received with comparative unconcern, the fury and violence of his adversaries. By the latter end of November, the besiegers had brought their works to that state of perfection which they intended. The care and ingenuity employed upon them were extraordinary. The best engineers of France and Spain had united their abilities, and both kingdoms were filled with sanguine expectations of speedy success. In this conjuncture, when all Europe was in suspense concerning the fate of the garrison, and when, from the prodigious efforts made for its reduction, many believed that it could not hold out much longer, a sally was projected and executed, which in about two hours destroyed those works which had required so much time, skill, and labour to accomplish.

A body of two thousand chosen men, under the command of brigadier general Rose, marched out about two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-seventh of November 1781, and at the same instant made a general attack on the whole exterior front of the lines of the besiegers. The Spaniards gave way on every side, and abandoned their works. The pioneers and artillery-men spread their fire with such rapidity, that in a little time every thing combustible was in flames. The mortars and cannon were spiked, and their beds, platforms, and carriages destroyed. The magazines blew up one after another. The loss of the detachment, which accomplished all this destruction, was inconsiderable.

This unexpected event disconcerted the besiegers; but they soon recovered from their alarm, and with a perseverance almost peculiar to their nation, determined to go on with the siege. Their subsequent exertions and reiterated defeats shall be related in the order of time in which they took place.

ST. EUSTATIA TAKEN.

THE war with Holland was no sooner resolved upon, than British vengeance burst on the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. This, though intrinsically of little value, had long been the seat of an extensive commerce. It was the grand free port of the West Indies, and as such was a general market and magazine to all nations. In consequence of its neutrality and situation, together with its unbounded freedom of trade, it reaped the richest harvests of commerce, during the seasons of warfare among its neighbours; it was in a particular manner a convenient channel of supply to the Americans.

The island is a natural fortification, and very capable of being made strong; but as its inhabitants were a motley mixture of transient persons, wholly intent on the gains of commerce, they were more sollicitous to acquire property, than attentive to improve those means of security which the island afforded.

On the third of February 1781, Sir George Rodney and general Vaughan, with a large fleet and army, surrounded this island, and demanded a surrender of it and of its dependencies within an hour. Mr. de Graaf returned for answer, "that being utterly incapable of making any defence against the force which invested the island, he must of necessity surrender it, only recommending the town and its inhabitants to the known and usual clemency of British commanders."

The wealth accumulated in this barren spot was prodigious. The whole island seemed to be one vast magazine. The storehouses were filled, and the beach covered with valuable commodities.

These alone, on a moderate calculation, were estimated to be worth above three millions sterling. All this property, together with what was found on the island, was indiscriminately seized and declared to be confiscated. This valuable booty was farther increased by new arrivals. The conquerors for some time kept up Dutch colours, which decoyed a number of French, Dutch, and American vessels into their hands. Above one hundred and fifty merchant-vessels, most of which were richly laden, were captured. A Dutch frigate of thirty-eight guns, and five small armed vessels, shared the same fate. The neighbouring islands of St. Martin and Saba were in like manner reduced. Just before the arrival of the British, thirty large ships, laden with West India commodities, had sailed from Eustatius for Holland, under the convoy of a ship of sixty guns. Admiral Rodney despatched the Monarch and Panther, with the Sybil frigate, in pursuit of this fleet; the whole of it was overtaken and captured.

The Dutch West India company, many of the citizens of Amsterdam, and several Americans, were great sufferers by the capture of this island, and the confiscation of all property found therein, which immediately followed; but the British merchants were much more so. These, confiding in the acknowledged neutrality of the island, and in acts of parliament, had accumulated there great quantities of West India produce as well as European goods. They stated their hard case to admiral Rodney and general Vaughan, and contended that their connection with the captured island was under the sanction of acts of parliament, and that their commerce had been conducted according to the rules and maxims of trading nations. To applications of this kind it was answered, "that the island was Dutch, every thing in it was Dutch, under the protection of the Dutch flag, and as Dutch it should be treated."

The severity with which the victors proceeded drew on them pointed censures, not only from the immediate sufferers, but from all Europe. It must be supposed that they were filled with resentment for the supplies which the Americans received through this channel; but there is also reason to suspect, that the love of gain was cloaked under the specious veil of national policy.

While admiral Rodney and his officers were at St. Eustatius, and especially while his fleet was weakened, by a large detachment sent off to convoy their booty to Great Britain, the French were silently executing a well-digested scheme, which assured them a naval superiority on the American coast, to the total ruin of the British interest in the United States.

AMERICAN CAMPAIGN—REVOLT OF PENNSYLVANIA LINE.

THE campaign in America however commenced with some favourable omens to the British; for though general Arnold's address to his countrymen produced no effect in detaching the soldiery of America from the unproductive service of congress, their steadiness could not be accounted for, from any melioration of their circumstances. They still remained without pay, and without such clothing as the season required. They could not be induced to enter the British service; but their complicated distresses at length broke out into deliberate mutiny. This event, which had been long expected, made its first threatening appearance in the Pennsylvania line. The common soldiers enlisted in that state were for the most part natives of Ireland, but though not bound to America by the accidental tie of birth, they were inferior to none in discipline, courage, or attachment to the cause of independence. They had been, but a few months before, the most active instruments in quelling a mutiny of the Connecticut troops, and had on all occasions done their duty to admiration. An ambiguity in the terms of their enlistment furnished a pretext for their conduct. A great part of them were enlisted for three years, or during the war; the three years were expired, and the men insisted that the choice of staying or going remained with them, while the officers contended that the choice was in the state.

The mutiny was excited by the non-commissioned officers and privates, in the night of the first of January 1781, and soon became so universal in the line of that state as to defy all opposition. The

whole, except three regiments, upon a signal for the purpose, turned out under arms without their officers, and declared for a redress of grievances. The officers in vain endeavoured to quell them. Several were wounded, and a captain was killed in attempting it. General Wayne presented his pistols, as if about to fire on them: they held their bayonets to his breast, and said, "We love and respect you, but if you fire, you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy; on the contrary, if they were now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever; but we will be no longer amused; we are determined on obtaining what is our just due." Deaf to arguments and entreaties, they, to the number of one thousand three hundred, moved off in a body from Morristown, and proceeded in good order with their arms and six field-pieces to Princeton. They elected temporary officers from their own body, and appointed a sergeant-major, who had formerly deserted from the British army, to be their commander. General Wayne forwarded provisions after them to prevent their plundering the country for their subsistence. They invaded no man's property, farther than their immediate necessities made unavoidable. This was readily submitted to by the inhabitants, who had long been used to exactions of the same kind, levied for similar purposes by their lawful rulers. They professed that they had no object in view, but to obtain what was justly due to them, nor were their actions inconsistent with that profession.

Congress sent a committee of their body, consisting of general Sullivan, Matthews, Allee, and Dr. Witherspoon, to procure an accommodation. The rebels were resolute in refusing any terms, of which a redress of their grievances was not the foundation. Every thing asked of their country, they might, at any time after the sixth of January, have obtained from the British, by passing over into New-York. This they refused. Their sufferings had exhausted their patience, but not their patriotism. Sir Henry Clinton, by confidential messengers, offered to take them under the protection of the British government, to pardon all their past offences, to have the pay due to them from congress faithfully made up, without any expectation of military service in return, although it would be received if voluntarily offered. It was recommended to them to move behind the South River; and it was promised, that a detachment of the British troops should be in readiness for their protection as soon as desired. In the mean time, the troops passed over from New-York to Staten Island, and the necessary arrangements were made for moving them into New-Jersey, whenever they might be wanted. The royal commander was not less disappointed than surprised to find that the faithful though revolting soldiers disclaimed his offers. The messengers of Sir Henry Clinton were seized and delivered to general Wayne. President Reed and general Potter were appointed, by the council of Pennsylvania, to accommodate matters with the rebels. They met them at Princeton, and agreed to dismiss all whose terms of enlistment were completed, and admitted the oath of each soldier to be evidence in his own case. A board of officers tried and condemned the British spies, and they were instantly executed. President Reed offered a purse of one hundred guineas to the mutineers, as a reward of their fidelity, in delivering up the spies; but they refused to accept it, saying, "That what they had done was only a duty they owed their country, and that they neither desired nor would receive any reward but the approbation of that country, for which they have so often fought and bled."

ARNOLD'S EXPEDITION TO VIRGINIA.

WHILE the Americans were suffering the complicated calamities which introduced the year 1781, their adversaries were carrying on the most extensive plan of operation, which had ever been attempted since the war. It had often been objected to the British commanders, that they had not conducted the war in the manner most likely to effect the subjugation of the revolted provinces. Military critics, in particular, found fault with them for keeping a large army idle at New-York, which they said, if properly applied, would have been sufficient to make successful impressions at one and the same time on several of the states. The British

seem to have calculated the campaign of 1781, with a view to make an experiment of the comparative merit of this mode of conducting military operations. The war raged in that year, not only in the vicinity of the British head-quarters at New-York, but in Georgia, South-Carolina, North-Carolina, and in Virginia. The latter state, from its peculiar situation, and from the modes of building, planting, and living, which had been adopted by the inhabitants, is particularly exposed, and lies at the mercy of whatever army is master of the Chesapeake. These circumstances, together with the pre-eminent rank which Virginia held in the confederacy, pointed out the propriety of making that state the object of particular attention. To favour lord Cornwallis's designs in the southern states, major-general Leslie, with about two thousand men, had been detached from New-York to the Chesapeake, in the latter end of 1780; but subsequent events induced his lordship to order him from Virginia to Charlestown, with the view of his more effectually co-operating with the army under his own immediate command. Soon after the departure of general Leslie, Virginia was again invaded by another party from New-York. This was commanded by general Arnold, now a brigadier in the royal army. His force consisted of about sixteen hundred men, and was supported by such a number of armed vessels as enabled him to commit extensive ravages on the unprotected coasts of that well-watered country. On the fifth of January the invaders landed about fifteen miles below Richmond; and in two days marched into the town, where they destroyed large quantities of tobacco, salt, rum, sail-cloth, and other merchandize. Successive excursions were made to several other places, in which the royal army committed similar devastations.

In about a fortnight, they marched into Portsmouth, and began to fortify it. The loss they sustained from the feeble opposition of the dispersed inhabitants was inconsiderable. The havoc made by general Arnold, and the apprehension of a design to fix a permanent post in Virginia, induced general Washington to detach the *marquis de la Fayette*, with twelve hundred of the American infantry, to that state, and also to urge the French in Rhode Island to co-operate with him in attempting to capture Arnold and his party. The French commanders eagerly closed with the proposal. Since they had landed in the United States, no proper opportunity of gratifying their passion for military fame had yet presented itself. They rejoiced at that which now offered, and indulged a cheerful hope of rendering essential service to their allies, by cutting off the retreat of Arnold's party. With this view, their fleet, with fifteen hundred additional men on board, on the eighth of March sailed from Rhode Island for Virginia. D'Estouches, who, since the death of de Ternay in the preceding December, had commanded the French fleet, previous to the sailing of his whole naval force, on the ninth of February despatched the *Eveillé*, a sixty-four gun ship, and two frigates, with orders to destroy the British ships and frigates in the Chesapeake. These took or destroyed ten vessels, and captured the *Romulus* of forty-four guns. On the tenth of March, *Arbuthnot* with a British fleet sailed from Gardiner's Bay, in pursuit of D'Estouches. On the sixteenth of the same month, the former overtook and engaged the latter off the Capes of Virginia. The British had the advantage of more guns than the French; but the latter were much more strongly manned than the former. The contest between the fleets thus nearly balanced, ended without the loss of a ship on either side; but the British obtained the fruits of victory so far as to frustrate the whole scheme of their adversaries. The French fleet returned to Rhode Island without effecting the object of the expedition. Thus was Arnold saved from imminent danger of falling into the hands of his exasperated countrymen. The day before the French fleet returned to Newport, March twenty-fifth, a convoy arrived in the Chesapeake from New-York, with major-general Phillips, and about two thousand men. This distinguished officer, who having been taken at Saratoga, had been lately exchanged, was appointed to be commander of the royal forces in Virginia. Phillips and Arnold soon made a junction, and carried every thing before them, they successively defeated those bodies of militia which came in their way. The whole country was open to their excursions.

With this expedition, major-general Philips terminated a life, which in all his previous operations had been full of glory. At early periods of his military career, on different occasions in a preceding war, he had gained the full approbation of prince Ferdinand, under whom he had served in Germany. As an officer he was universally admired. Though much of the devastations committed by the troops under his command, may be vindicated on the principles of those who hold that the rights and laws of war are of equal obligation with the rights and laws of humanity; yet the friends of his fame have reason to regret that he did not die three weeks sooner.

The successes which, with a few checks, followed the British arms since they had reduced Savannah and Charleston, encouraged them to pursue their object by advancing from south to north. A vigorous invasion of North-Carolina was therefore projected, for the business of the winter which followed general Gates's defeat.

GENERAL GREENE SUCCEEDS GATES—

TARLETON DEFEATED.

THE American army, after its defeat and dispersion on the sixteenth of August 1780, rendezvoused at Hillsborough. In the latter end of the year they advanced to Charlotte-Town. At this place general Gates transferred the command to general Greene. The manly resignation of the one, was equalled by the delicate disinterestedness of the other. Expressions of civility, and acts of friendship and attention, were reciprocally exchanged.

With an inconsiderable army, miserably provided, general Greene took the field against a superior British regular force, which had marched in triumph two hundred miles from the sea-coast, and was flushed with successive victories through a whole campaign. Soon after he took the command, he divided his force, and sent general Morgan with a respectable detachment to the western extremity of South-Carolina, and about the same time marched with the main body to Hick's Creek, on the north side of the Pedee, opposite the Cheraw Hill.

When this irruption was made into the district of Ninety-six, lord Cornwallis was far advanced in his preparations for the invasion of North-Carolina. To leave general Morgan in the rear, was contrary to military policy. In order therefore to drive him from this station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton was ordered to proceed with about one thousand one hundred men, and "push him to the utmost." He had two field-pieces, and a superiority of infantry in the proportion of five to four, and of cavalry in the proportion of three to one. Besides this inequality of force, two-thirds of the troops under general Morgan were militia. With these fair prospects of success, Tarleton, on the seventeenth of January 1781, engaged Morgan at the Cowpens, with the expectation of driving him out of South-Carolina. The militia fell back. The British advanced and engaged the second line, which, after an obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this crisis, lieutenant-colonel Washington made a successful charge on captain Ogilvie, who, with about forty dragoons, was cutting down the militia, and forced them to retreat in confusion. Lieutenant-colonel Howard almost at the same moment rallied the continental troops, and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back on their rear, and communicated a panic to the whole. Two hundred and fifty horse which had not been engaged, fled with precipitation. The pieces of artillery were seized by the Americans, and the greatest confusion took place among the infantry. While they were in this state of disorder, lieutenant-colonel Howard called to them to "lay down their arms," and promised them good quarter. Some hundreds accepted the offer, and surrendered. The first battalion of the seventy-first, and two British light-infantry companies, laid down their arms to the American militia. A party which had been left some distance in the rear to guard the baggage, was the only body of infantry that escaped.

MASTERLY RETREAT OF THE AMERICANS.

LORD CORNWALLIS, though preparing to extend

his conquests northward, was not inattentive to the security of South-Carolina. Besides the force at Charleston, he left a considerable body of troops under the command of lord Rawdon. These were principally stationed at Camden, from which central situation they might easily be drawn forth to defend the frontiers, or to suppress insurrections. To facilitate the intended operations against North-Carolina, major Craig, with a detachment of about three hundred men from Charleston, and a small marine force, took possession of Wilmington. While these arrangements were making, the year 1781 commenced with the fairest prospects to the friends of British government. The arrival of general Leslie in Charleston from Virginia, gave earl Cornwallis a decided superiority, and enabled him to attempt the reduction of North-Carolina, with a force sufficient to bear down all probable opposition. A mold was before him in Virginia, while South-Carolina in his rear was considered as completely subdued. His lordship had much to hope and little to fear. His admirers flattered him with the expectation, that his victory at Camden would but prove the dawn of his glory; and that the events of the approaching campaign would immortalize his name, as the conqueror, at least, of the southern states. Whilst lord Cornwallis was indulging these pleasing prospects, he received intelligence, no less unwelcome than unexpected, that Tarleton, his favorite officer, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, instead of driving Morgan out of the country, was completely defeated by him. This surprised and mortified, but did not discourage his lordship. He hoped by vigorous exertions soon to obtain reparation for the late disastrous event, and even to recover what he had lost. With the expectation of retaking the prisoners captured at the Cowpens, and to obliterate the impression made by the loss of the late action at that place, his lordship instantly determined on the pursuit of general Morgan, who had moved off towards Virginia with his prisoners. The movements of the royal army in consequence of this determination, induced general Greene immediately to retreat from Hick's Creek, lost the British, by crossing the upper sources of the Pedee, should get between him and the detachment, which was encumbered with the prisoners. In this critical situation general Greene left the main army, under the command of general Huger, and rode one hundred and fifty miles through the country, to join the detachment under general Morgan, that he might be in front of lord Cornwallis, and direct the motions of both divisions of his army, so as to form a speedy junction between them. Immediately after the action, on the seventeenth of January, Morgan sent on his prisoners under a proper guard, and having made every arrangement in his power for their security, retreated with expedition. Nevertheless the British gained ground upon him. Morgan intended to cross the mountains with his detachment and prisoners, that he might more effectually secure the latter: but Greene, on his arrival, ordered the prisoners to Charlottesville, and directed the troops to Guilford court-house, to which place he had also ordered general Huger to proceed with the main army.

The British had urged the pursuit with so much rapidity, that they reached the Catawba on the evening of the same day on which their fleeing adversaries had crossed it. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain made that river impassable. The Americans, confident of the justice of their cause, considered this event as an interposition of Providence in their favour. It is certain, that if the rising of the river had taken place a few hours sooner, general Morgan, with his whole detachment, and five hundred prisoners, would have scarcely had any chance of escape. When the flood had subsided so far as to leave the river fordable, a large proportion of the king's troops received orders to be in readiness to march at one o'clock in the morning of the first of February. Points had been made of passing at several different fords, but the real attempt was made at a ford near McCowans, the north banks of which were defended by a small guard of militia, commanded by general Davidson. The British marched through the river, upwards of five hundred yards wide, and about three feet deep, sustaining a constant fire from the militia on the opposite bank, without returning it till they had made good their passage. The light-infantry and grenadier companies, as soon as they reached the

land, dispersed the Americans, general Davidson, the brave leader of the latter, being killed on the first onset. The militia throughout the neighbouring settlements were dispirited, and but few of them could be persuaded to take or keep the field. A small party which collected about ten miles from the ford, was attacked and dispersed by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. All the fords were abandoned, and the whole royal army crossed over without any farther opposition. The passage of the Catawba being effected, the Americans continued to flee and the British to pursue. The former by expeditious movements crossed the Yadkin, partly in flats, and partly by fording, on the second and third days of February, and secured their boats on the north side. Though the British were close in their rear, yet the want of boats, and the rapid rising of the river from the preceding rains, made their crossing impossible. This second hair breadth escape was considered by the Americans as a farther evidence that their cause was favoured by Heaven.

The British having failed in their first scheme of passing the Yadkin, were obliged to cross at the upper fords; but before this was completed, the two divisions of the American army, on the seventh of February, made a junction at Guilford courthouse. Though this had taken place, their combined numbers were so much inferior to the British, that general Greene could not with any propriety risk an action. He therefore called a council of officers, who unanimously concurred in opinion that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid an engagement till he was reinforced. Lord Cornwallis, knowing the inferiority of the American force, conceived hopes, by getting between general Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat, intercept his supplies and reinforcements, and oblige him to fight under many disadvantages. With this view, his lordship kept the upper country, where only the rivers are fordable—supposing that his adversaries, from the want of a sufficient number of flats, could not make good their passage in the deep water below, or, in case of their attempting it, he expected to overtake and force them to action before they could cross. In this expectation he was deceived. General Greene by good management eluded his lordship. The British urged their pursuit with so much rapidity, that the American light troops were on the fourteenth compelled to retire upwards of forty miles. By the most indefatigable exertions, general Greene had that day transported his army, artillery, and baggage, over the river Dan into Virginia. So rapid was the pursuit, and so narrow the escape, that the van of the pursuing British just arrived as the rear of the Americans had crossed. The hardships and difficulties which the royal army had undergone in this march, were exceeded by the mortification that all their toils and exertions were to no purpose. They conceived it next to impossible that general Greene could escape without receiving a decisive blow. They therefore cheerfully submitted to difficulties, of which they who reside in cultivated countries can form no adequate ideas. After surmounting incredible hardships, when they fancied themselves within grasp of their object, they discovered that all their hopes were blasted.

PLANS OF LORD CORNWALLIS DEFEATED.

THE continental army being driven out of North-Carolina, lord Cornwallis thought the opportunity favourable for assembling the loyalists. With this view he left the Dan, and proceeded to Hillsborough. On his arrival there, he erected the king's standard and published a proclamation, inviting all loyal subjects to repair to it with their arms and ten days' provision, and assuring them of his readiness to concur with them in effectual measures for suppressing the remains of rebellion, and for the re-establishment of good order and constitutional government. Soon after the king's standard was erected at Hillsborough, some hundreds of the inhabitants rode into the British camp. They seemed to be very desirous of peace, but averse to any co-operation for procuring it. They acknowledged the continentals were chased out of the province, but expressed their apprehensions that they would soon return, and on the whole declined to take any decided part in a cause which yet appeared dangerous. Notwithstanding the in-

difference or timidity of the loyalists near Hillsborough, lord Cornwallis hoped for substantial aid from the inhabitants between Haw and Deep River. He therefore detached lieutenant-colonel Tarleton with four hundred and fifty men, to give countenance to the friends of royal government in that district. Greene being informed that many of the inhabitants had joined his lordship, and that they were repairing in great numbers to make their submission, was apprehensive that unless some spirited measure was immediately taken, the whole country would be lost to the Americans. He therefore concluded, at every hazard, to recross the Dan. This was done by the light troops, and these on the next day were followed by the main body, accompanied with a brigade of Virginia militia. Immediately after the return of the Americans to North-Carolina, some of their light troops, commanded by general Pickens and lieutenant-colonel Lee, were detached in pursuit of Tarleton, who had been sent to encourage the insurrection of the loyalists. Three hundred and fifty of these troops commanded by colonel Pyles, when on their way to join the British, fell in with this light American party, and mistook them for the royal detachment sent for their support. The Americans attacked them, labouring under this mistake, to great advantage, and cut them down as they were crying out, "God save the king," and making protestations of their loyalty. Natives of the British colonies, who were of this character, more rarely found mercy than European soldiers. Tarleton was refreshing his legion about a mile from this scene of slaughter. Upon hearing the alarm, he recrossed the Haw and returned to Hillsborough. On his retreat he cut down several of the royalists, as they were advancing to join the British army, mistaking them for the rebel militia of the country. These events, together with the return of the American army, overthrew all the schemes of lord Cornwallis. The tide of public sentiment was no longer in his favour. The recruiting service in behalf of the royal army was entirely stopped. The absence of the American army, for one fortnight longer, might have turned the scale. The advocates for royal government being discouraged by these adverse accidents, and being also generally deficient in that ardent zeal which characterised the patriots, could not be induced to act with confidence. They were so dispersed over a large extent of a thinly settled country, that it was difficult to bring them to unite in any common plan. They had no superintending congress to give system or concert to their schemes. While each little district pursued separate measures, all were obliged to submit to the American governments. Numbers of them, who were on their way to join lord Cornwallis, struck with terror at the unexpected return of the American army, and the unhappy fate of their brethren, went home to wait events. Their policy was of that timid kind, which disposed them to be more attentive to personal safety, than to the success of either army.

BATTLE OF GUILDFORD.

THOUGH general Greene had recrossed, his plan was not to venture upon an immediate action, but to keep alive the courage of his party, to depress that of the loyalists, and to harass the foragers and detachments of the British till reinforcements should arrive. While Greene was unequal to offensive operations, he lay several days within ten miles of Cornwallis's camp, but took a new position every night, and kept it a profound secret where the next was to be. By such frequent movements lord Cornwallis could not gain intelligence of his situation in time to profit by it. He manoeuvred in this manner to avoid an action for three weeks. By the end of that period, two brigades of militia from North-Carolina, and one from Virginia, together with four hundred regulars raised for eighteen months, joined his army, and gave him a superiority of numbers: he therefore determined no longer to avoid an engagement. Lord Cornwallis having long sought for this, no longer delay took place on either side. The American army consisted of about four thousand four hundred men, of which more than one half were militia: the British of about two thousand four hundred, chiefly troops grown veteran in victories. The former was drawn up in three lines; the front composed of North-Carolina militia, the second of Virginia militia, the

third and last of continental troops commanded by general Huger and colonel Williams. After a brisk cannonade in front, the British advanced in three columns; the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant-colonel Webster's brigade on the left; and attacked the front line. This gave way when their adversaries were at the distance of one hundred and forty yards, from the misconduct of a colonel, who, on the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer at some distance that he would be surrounded. The alarm was sufficient: without inquiring into the probability of what had been injudiciously suggested, the militia precipitately quitted the field. As one good officer may sometimes mend the face of affairs, so the misconduct of a bad one may injure a whole army. Untrained men when on the field are similar to each other. The difference of their conduct depends much on incidental circumstances, and on none more than the manner of their being led on, and the quality of the officers by whom they are commanded.

The Virginia militia stood their ground, and kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat. General Stevens, their commander, had posted forty riflemen at equal distances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post. The continental troops were last engaged, and maintained the conflict with great spirit for an hour and a half. At length the discipline of veteran troops gained the day. They broke the second Maryland brigade, turned the American left flank, and got in rear of the Virginia brigade. They appeared to be gaining Greene's right, which would have encircled the whole of the continental troops; a retreat was therefore ordered. This was made in good order, and no farther than over the reedy fork, a distance of about three miles. Greene halted there, and drew up till he had collected most of the stragglers, and then retired to Speedwell's iron-works, ten miles distant from Guilford. The Americans lost four pieces of artillery and two ammunition-wagons. The victory cost the British dear. Their killed and wounded amounted to several hundreds. The guards lost colonel Stuart and three captains, besides subalterns. Colonel Webster, an officer of distinguished merit, died of his wounds, to the great regret of the whole army. Generals O'Hara and Howart, and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, were wounded. About three hundred of the continentals, and one hundred of the Virginia militia, were killed or wounded. Among the former was major Anderson, of the Maryland line, a most valuable officer; of the latter were generals Huger and Stevens. The early retreat of the North Carolinians saved them from much loss. The American army sustained a great diminution, by the numerous fugitives who, instead of rejoining the camp, went to their homes. On the other hand, lord Cornwallis suffered so much, that he was in no condition to improve the advantage he had gained. The British had only the name, the Americans, all the good consequences of a victory. General Greene retreated, and lord Cornwallis kept the field; but notwithstanding, the British interest in North-Carolina was from that day ruined. Soon after this action, (on the eighteenth of March) lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation setting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring order and good government, and offering a pardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted, who would surrender themselves on or before the twentieth of April. On the next day after this proclamation was issued, his lordship left his hospital and seventy-five wounded men, with the numerous loyalists, in the vicinity, and began a march towards Wilmington, which had the appearance of a retreat. Major Craig, who for the purposes of co-operating with his lordship, had been stationed at Wilmington, was not able to open a water communication with the British army while they were in the upper country. The distance, the narrowness of Cape Fear River, the commanding elevation of its banks, and the hostile sentiments of the inhabitants on each side of it, forbade the attempt. The destitute condition of the British army made it necessary to go to these supplies, which for these reasons could not be brought to them.

General Greene no sooner received information

of this movement of lord Cornwallis, than he put his army in motion to follow him. As he had no means of providing for the wounded, of his own, and the British forces, he wrote a letter to the neighbouring inhabitants of the Quaker persuasion, in which he mentioned his being brought up a Quaker, and urged them to take care of the wounded on both sides. His recommendations prevailed, and the Quakers supplied the hospitals with every comfort in their power.

Lord Cornwallis halted and refreshed his army for about three weeks at Wilmington, and then marched across the country to Petersburg in Virginia. The resolution of returning to South-Carolina was formed by general Greene. This animated the friends of congress in that quarter. Had the American army followed his lordship, the southern states would have considered themselves conquered; for their hopes and fears prevailed just as the armies marched north or south. Though lord Cornwallis marched through North-Carolina to Virginia, yet as the American army returned to South-Carolina, the people considered that movement of his lordship in the light of a retreat.

While the two armies were in North-Carolina, the whig inhabitants of South-Carolina were animated by the gallant exertions of Sumter and Marion. These distinguished partizans, while surrounded with enemies, kept the field. Though the continental army was driven into Virginia, they did not despair of the commonwealth. Having mounted their followers, their motions were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. With their light troops they intercepted the British convoys of provisions, infested their out-posts, beat up their quarters, and harassed their detachments with such frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be always on their guard.

While lord Cornwallis was preparing to invade Virginia, general Greene determined to recommence offensive military operations in the southern extreme of the confederacy, in preference to pursuing his lordship into Virginia. General Sumter, who had warmly urged this measure, was about this time authorised to raise a state brigade to be in service for eighteen months. He had also prepared the militia to co-operate with the returning continentals. With these forces an offensive war was recommenced in South-Carolina, and prosecuted with spirit and success.

Camden, before which the main American army was encamped, is a village situated on a plain, covered on the south and east sides by the Wateree and a creek, the western and northern by six redoubts. It was defended by lord Rawdon with about nine hundred men. The American army, consisting only of about an equal number of continentals, and between two and three hundred militia, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm, or of completely investing it. General Greene therefore took a good position about a mile distant, in expectation of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his whole force, and with great spirit sallied on the twenty-fifth. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time evidently inclined to the Americans, but in the progress of the action, the premature retreat of two companies eventually occasioned the defeat of the whole American army. Greene, with his usual firmness, instantly took measures to prevent lord Rawdon from improving the success he had obtained. He retreated with such order that most of his wounded, and all his artillery, together with a number of prisoners, were carried off. The British retired to Camden, and the Americans encamped about five miles from their former position. Their loss was between two and three hundred. Soon after this action general Greene, knowing that the British garrison could not subsist long in Camden without fresh supplies from Charlestown or the country, took such positions as were most likely to prevent their procuring any.

On the seventh of May, lord Rawdon received a reinforcement of four or five hundred men by the arrival of colonel Watson from Pedee. With this increase of strength, he attempted on the next day to compel general Greene to another action, but found it to be impracticable. Failing in this design, he returned to Camden, and burned the jail, mills, many private houses, and a great deal of his own baggage. He then evacuated the post, and retired

to the southward of Santee. His lordship discovered as much prudence in evacuating Camden, as he had shown bravery in its defence. The position of the American army in a great measure intercepted supplies from the adjacent country. The British in South-Carolina, now cut off from all communication with lord Cornwallis, would have hazarded the capital, by keeping large detachments in their distant out-posts: they therefore resolved to contract their limits by retiring within the Santee. This measure animated the friends of congress in the extremities of the state, and disposed them to co-operate with the American army.

While operations were carrying on against the small posts, Greene proceeded with his main army, and laid siege to Ninety-six, in which lieutenant-colonel Cruger, with upwards of five hundred men, was advantageously posted. On the left of the besiegers was a work, erected in the form of a star; on the right was a strong blockade fort, with two block-houses in it. The town was also piquetted in with strong piquets, and surrounded with a ditch, and a bank, near the height of a common parapet. The besiegers were more numerous than the besieged, but the disparity was not great.

The siege was prosecuted with indefatigable industry. The garrison defended themselves with spirit and address. On the twenty-fifth of May, the morning after the siege began, a party sallied from the garrison, and drove the advance of the besiegers from their works. The next night, two strong block batteries were erected at the distance of three hundred and fifty yards. Another battery twenty feet high, was erected within two hundred and twenty yards, and soon after a fourth was erected within a hundred yards of the main fort, and lastly, a rifle battery was erected thirty feet high, within thirty yards of the ditch; from all of which the besiegers fired into the British works. The abatis was turned, and a mine and two trenches were so far extended, as to be within six feet of the ditch. At that interesting moment, intelligence was conveyed into the garrison, that lord Rawdon was near at hand with about two thousand men for their relief. These had arrived in Charlestown from Ireland after the siege began, and were marched for Ninety-six on the seventh day after they landed. In these circumstances, general Greene had no alternative but to raise the siege, or attempt the reduction of the place by assault. The latter was attempted. Though the assailants displayed great resolution, they failed of success. On this, general Greene raised the siege, and retreated over Saluda. His loss in the assault and previous conflicts was about a hundred and fifty men. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger deservedly gained great reputation by this successful defence. He was particularly indebted to major Greene, who had bravely and judiciously defended that redoubt, for the reduction of which the greatest exertions had been made. Lord Rawdon, who by rapid marches was near Ninety-six at the time of the assault, pursued the Americans as far as the Enoree river; but without overtaking them. Desisting from this fruitless pursuit he drew off a part of his force from Ninety-six, and fixed a detachment at the Congaree. General Greene, on hearing that the British force was divided, faced about to give them battle. Lord Rawdon, no less surprised than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the Congaree in two days after he had reached it, and marched to Orangeburgh. General Greene in his turn pursued and offered him battle. His lordship would not venture out, and his adversary was too weak to attack him in his encampment with any prospect of success.

Reasons similar to those which induced the British to evacuate Camden, weighed with them about this time to withdraw their troops from Ninety-six. While the American army lay near Orangeburgh, lieutenant-colonel Cruger, having evacuated the post he had gallantly defended, was marching with the troops of that garrison, through the forks of Edisto, to join lord Rawdon at Orangeburgh. General Greene being unable to prevent their junction, and still less so to stand before their combined force, retired to the high hills of Santee. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by striking at the posts below it, the same manoeuvre was now attempted to induce the British to leave Orangeburgh. With this view generals Sumter and Marion, with their brigades, and the legion of cavalry, were

detached to Monk's Corner and Dorchester. They moved down different roads, and commenced separate and successful attacks, on convoys and detachments in the vicinity of Charlestown. In this manner was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces compact, they could not cover the country, and the American general had the prudence to avoid fighting. When they divided their army, their detachments were attacked and defeated. While they were in the upper country, light parties of Americans annoyed their small posts in the lower settlements. The people soon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promised protection. The spirit of revolt became general, and the royal interest daily declined.

The British having evacuated all their posts to the northward of Santee and Congaree, and to the Westward of Edisto, conceived themselves able to hold all that fertile country, which is in a great measure enclosed by these rivers. They therefore once more resumed their station near the junction of the Wateree and Congaree.

The Americans retired to their former position on the high hills of Santee, and the British took post in the vicinity of Monk's Corner. In the close of the year general Greene moved down into the lower country, and about the same time the British abandoned their out posts, and retired with their whole force to the quarter-house on Charlestown Neck. The defence of the country was given up, and the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the state, seldom aimed at any thing more than to secure themselves in the vicinity of the capital. The crops which had been planted in the spring of the year under British auspices, and with the expectation of affording them supplies, fell into the hands of the Americans, and administered to them a seasonable relief. A few excursions were afterwards made by the British, and some small enterprises were executed, but nothing of more general consequence occurred than the loss of property, and of individual lives.

LORD CORNWALLIS PROCEEDS TO VIRGINIA.

It has already been mentioned that lord Cornwallis, soon after the battle of Guilford, marched to Wilmington in North-Carolina. When he had completed that march, various plans of operation were presented to his view. It was said in favour of his proceeding southwardly, that the country between Wilmington and Camden was barren and of difficult passage—that an embarkation for Charlestown would be both tedious and disgraceful, and that a junction with the royal forces in Virginia, and the prosecution of solid operations in that quarter, would be the most effectual plan for effecting and securing the submission of the more southern states. Other arguments of apparently equal force urged his return to South-Carolina. Previous to his departure for Virginia, he had received information that general Greene had begun his march for Camden, and he had reason from past experience to fear that if he did not follow him, the inhabitants, by a second revolt, would give the American army a superiority over the small force left under lord Rawdon. Though his lordship was very apprehensive of danger from that quarter, he hoped either that lord Rawdon would be able to stand his ground, or that general Greene would follow the royal army to Virginia; or in the most unfavourable event he flattered himself, that by the conquest of Virginia, the recovery of South-Carolina would be at any time practicable. His lordship having too much spirit to turn back, and preferring the extensive scale of operations which Virginia presented, to the narrow one of preserving past conquests, determined to leave Carolina to its fate. Before the end of April, he therefore proceeded on his march from Wilmington towards Virginia. To favour the passage of the many rivers, with which the country is intersected, two boats were mounted on carriages and taken along with his army. The king's troops proceeded several days without opposition, and almost without intelligence. The Americans made an attempt at Swift Creek and afterwards at Fishing Creek to stop their progress, but without any effect. The British took the shortest road to Halifax, and on their arrival there defeated several parties of the Americans and took some stores, with very little loss on their side. The Roanoke, the Meherrin,

and the Nottaway rivers were successfully crossed by the royal army, and with little or no opposition from the dispersed inhabitants. In less than a month the march from Wilmington to Petersburg was completed. The latter had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, in a private correspondence with general Phillips. By this combination of the royal force previously employed in Virginia, with the troops which had marched from Wilmington, lord Cornwallis was at the head of a very powerful army. This junction was scarcely completed, when lord Cornwallis received lord Rawdon's report of the advantage he had gained over general Greene, on the twenty-fifth of the preceding month. About the same time he received information that three British regiments had sailed from Cork for Charleston.

These two events eased his mind of all anxiety for South-Carolina, and inspired him with brilliant hopes of a glorious campaign. He considered himself as having already subdued both the Carolinas, and as being in a fair way to increase his military fame, by the addition of Virginia to the list of his conquests. By the late combination of the royal forces under Phillips and Cornwallis, and by the recent arrival of a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men directly from New-York, Virginia became the principal theatre of operation for the remainder of the campaign. The formidable force, thus collected in one body, called for vigorous exertions. The defensive operations, in opposition to it, were principally entrusted to the marquis de la Fayette. Early in the year he had been detached from the main American army on an expedition, the object of which was a co-operation with the French fleet in capturing general Arnold. On the failure of this, the marquis marched back as far as the head of Elk. There he received an order to return to Virginia to oppose the British forces, which had become more formidable by the arrival of a considerable reinforcement, under general Phillips. He proceeded without delay to Richmond, and arrived there the day before the British reached Manchester, on the opposite side of James River. Thus was the capital of Virginia, at that time filled with almost all the military stores of the state, saved from imminent danger. So great was the superiority of numbers on the side of the British, that the marquis had before him a labour of the greatest difficulty, and was pressed with many embarrassments. In the first moments of the rising tempest, and till he could provide against its utmost rage, he began to retire with his little army, which consisted only of about one thousand regulars, two thousand militia, and sixty dragoons.

OPERATIONS IN VIRGINIA.

LORD CORNWALLIS advanced from Petersburg to James River, which he crossed at Weston, and thence marching through Hanover county, crossed the South Anna, or Pamunkey river. The marquis followed his motions, but at a guarded distance. The superiority of the British army, especially of their cavalry, which they easily supplied with good horses from the stables and pastures of private gentlemen in Virginia, enabled him to traverse the country in all directions. Two distant expeditions were therefore undertaken. The one was to Charlottesville, with the view of capturing the governor and assembly of the state; the other to Point of Fork, to destroy stores. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, to whom the first was committed, succeeded so far as to disperse the assembly, capture seven of its members, and to destroy a great quantity of stores at and near Charlottesville. The other expedition, which was committed to lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, was only in part successful, for the Americans had previously removed most of their stores from Point of Fork. In the course of these marches and counter-marches, immense quantities of property were destroyed, and some unimportant skirmishes took place. The British made many partial conquests, but these were seldom of longer duration than their encampments. The young marquis, with a degree of prudence that would have done honour to an old soldier, acted so cautiously on the defensive, and made so judicious a choice of posts, and showed so much vigour and design in his movements, as to prevent any advantage being taken of his weakness. In his circumstances, not to be destroyed was triumph. He effected a junction at Racoon Ford with general Wayne, who was

at the head of eight hundred Pennsylvanians. While this junction was forming, the British got between the American army and its stores, which had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old court-house. The possession of these was an object with both armies. The marquis, by forced marches, got within a few miles of the British army, when they were two days march from Albemarle old court-house. The British general considered himself as sure of his adversary, for he knew that the stores were his object; and he conceived it impracticable for the marquis to get between him and the stores; but by a road, in passing which he might be attacked to advantage. The marquis had the address to extricate himself from this difficulty, by opening in the night a nearer road to Albemarle old court-house, which had been long disused and was much embarrassed. To the surprise of lord Cornwallis, the marquis fixed himself the next day, June eighteenth, between the British army and the American stores. Lord Cornwallis finding his schemes frustrated, fell back to Richmond. About this time the marquis's army was reinforced by Steuben's troops, and by militia from the parts adjacent. He followed lord Cornwallis, and had the address to impress him with an idea that the American army was much greater than it really was. His lordship therefore on the twenty-sixth retreated to Williamsburgh. The day after the main body of the British army arrived there, their rear was attacked by an American light corps under colonel Butler, and sustained a considerable loss.

It being a principal object of the campaign to fix on a strong permanent post or place of arms in the Chesapeake, for the security of both the army and navy, and Portsmouth and Hampton road having both been pronounced unfit for that purpose, York-Town and Gloucester Points were considered as most likely to accord with the views of the royal command. Portsmouth was therefore evacuated, and its garrison transferred to York-Town. Lord Cornwallis applied himself with industry to fortify his new posts, so as to render them tenable by his present army amounting to seven thousand men, against any force that he supposed likely to be brought against them.

Count de Grasse, with a French fleet of twenty-eight sail of the line from the West Indies, on the thirtieth of August entered the Chesapeake, and about the same time intelligence arrived, that the French and American armies which had been lately stationed in the more northern states, were advancing towards Virginia. Count de Grasse, without loss of time, blocked up York-River with three large ships and some frigates, and moored the principal part of the fleet in Lynhaven Bay. Three thousand two hundred French troops; brought in this fleet from the West Indies, commanded by the marquis de St. Simon, were disembarked, and soon after formed a junction with the continental troops under the marquis de la Fayette, and the whole took post at Williamsburgh. An attack on this force was intended, but before all the arrangements subservient to its execution were fixed upon, letters of an early date in September were received by lord Cornwallis from Sir Henry Clinton, announcing that he would do his utmost to reinforce the royal army in the Chesapeake, or make every diversion in his power, and that admiral Digby was hourly expected on the coast. On the receipt of this intelligence, earl Cornwallis, not thinking himself justified in hazarding an engagement, abandoned the resolution of attacking the combined force of Fayette and St. Simon.

Admiral Graves, with twenty sail of the line, made an effort for the relief of lord Cornwallis, but without effecting his purpose. When he appeared off the Capes of Virginia, M. de Grasse went out to meet him, and an indecisive engagement took place on the seventh of September. The British were willing to renew the action, but M. de Grasse for good reasons declined it. His chief object in coming out of the Capes was to cover a French fleet of eight line of battle ships, which was expected from Rhode Island. In conformity to a preconcerted plan, count de Barras, commander of this fleet, had sailed for the Chesapeake, about the time de Grasse sailed from the West Indies for the same place. To avoid the British fleet, he had taken a circuit by Bermuda. For fear that the British fleet might intercept him on his approach to the Capes of Virginia, de Grasse came out to be at hand for

his protection. While Graves and de Grasse were manœuvring near the mouth of the Chesapeake, count de Barras passed the former in the night, and got within the Capes of Virginia. This gave the French fleet a decided superiority. Admiral Graves soon took his departure, and M. de Grasse re-entered the Chesapeake. All this time, conformably to the well-digested plan of the campaign, the French and the American forces were marching through the middle states on their way to York-Town. To understand in their proper connection, the great events shortly to be described, it is necessary to go back and trace the remote causes which brought on this grand combination of fleets and armies which put a period to the war.

AIDS FROM FRANCE.

THE fall of Charlestown in May 1780, and the complete rout of the American southern army in August following, together with the increasing inability of the Americans to carry on the war, gave a serious alarm to the friends of independence. In this low ebb of their affairs, a pathetic statement of their distresses was made to their ally the king of France. To give greater efficacy to their solicitations, congress appointed lieutenant-colonel John Laurens their special minister, and directed him, after replying to the court of Versailles, to urge the necessity of speedy and effectual succour, and in particular to solicit for a loan of money, and the co-operation of a French fleet, in attempting some important enterprise against the common enemy. At this crisis his most christian majesty gave his American allies a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more, borrowed for their use in the United Netherlands. A naval co-operation was promised, and a conjunct expedition against their common foe was projected.

The American war was now so far involved in the consequences of naval operations, that a superior French fleet seemed to be the only hinge on which it was likely soon to take a favourable turn. The British army being parcelled in the different sea-ports of the United States, any division of it blocked up by a French fleet, could not long resist the superior combined force which might be brought to operate against it. The marquis de Castries, who directed the marine of France, with great precision calculated the naval force which the British could concentrate on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in such a manner as ensured him a superiority. In conformity to these principles, and in subserviency to the design of the campaign, M. de Grasse sailed in March 1781 from Brest, with twenty-five sail of the line, several thousand land forces, and a large convoy, amounting to more than two hundred ships; a small part of this force was destined for the East Indies, but M. de Grasse with the greater part sailed for Martinique. The British fleet then in the West Indies had been previously weakened by the departure of a squadron for the protection of the ships which were employed in carrying to England the booty which had been taken at St. Eustatius. The British admirals Hood and Drake were detached to intercept the outward-bound French fleet commanded by M. de Grasse; but a junction between his force and eight ships of the line, and one of fifty guns, which were previously at Martinique and St. Domingo, were nevertheless effected. By this combination of fresh ships from Europe, with the French fleet previously in the West Indies, they had a decided superiority. M. de Grasse having finished his business in the West Indies, sailed in the beginning of August with a prodigious convoy. After seeing this out of danger, he directed his course for the Chesapeake, and arrived there, as has been related, on the thirteenth of the same month. Five days before his arrival in the Chesapeake, the French fleet in Rhode Island sailed for the same place. These fleets, notwithstanding their original distance from the scene of action, and from each other, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner, far beyond the reach of military calculation. They all tended to one object and at one and the same time, and that object was neither known nor suspected by the weak and ill-informed British ministry, till the proper season for counteraction was elapsed. The plan of operations had been so well digested, and was so faithfully executed by the different commanders, that general

Washington and count Rochambeau had passed the British head-quarters in New-York, and were considerably advanced in their way to York-Town before count de Grasse had reached the American coast. This was effected in the following manner: Mons. de Barras, appointed to the command of the French squadron at Newport, on the sixth of May arrived at Boston with despatches for count de Rochambeau. An interview soon after took place at Weathersfield, between general Washington, Knox, and Du Portail, on the part of the Americans, and count de Rochambeau, and the chevalier Chastelleux, on the part of the French. At this interview, an eventual plan of the whole campaign was fixed. This was to lay siege to New-York in concert with a French fleet, which was to arrive on the coast in the month of August. It was agreed that the French troops should march towards the North River: the French troops marched from Rhode Island in June, and early in the following month joined the American army. About the time this junction took place, general Washington marched his army from their winter encampment near Peek's Kill, to the vicinity of Kingsbridge. General Lincoln fell down the North River with a detachment in boats, and took possession of the ground where Fort Independence formerly stood. An attack was made upon him, but was soon discontinued. The British about this time retired with almost the whole of their force to New-York Island. General Washington hoped to be able to commence operations against New-York, about the middle, or at farthest, the latter end of July.

That tardiness of the states, which at other times had brought them near the brink of ruin, was now the accidental cause of real service. Had they sent forward their recruits for the regular army, and their quotas of militia, as was expected, the siege of New-York would have commenced in the latter end of July, or early in August. While the season was wasting away in expectation of these reinforcements, lord Cornwallis, as has been mentioned, fixed himself near the Capes of Virginia. His situation there, the arrival of a reinforcement of three thousand Germans from Europe at New-York, the superior strength of that garrison, the failure of the states, in filling up their battalions, and embodying their militia, and especially recent intelligence from count de Grasse, that his destination was fixed to the Chesapeake, concurred, about the middle of August, to make a total change in the plan of the campaign.

The appearance of an intention to attack New-York was nevertheless kept up. While this deception continued, the allied army on the twenty-fourth of that month crossed the North River, and passed on the way of Philadelphia to York-Town. An attempt to reduce the British forces in Virginia, promised success with more expedition, and to secure an object of nearly equal importance with the reduction of New-York. No one can undertake to say what would have been the consequence, if the allied forces had persevered in their original plan; but it is evident from the event, that no success could have been greater, or more conducive to the establishment of their schemes, than what resulted from their operations in Virginia.

While the attack of New-York was in serious contemplation, a letter from general Washington detailing the particulars of the intended operations of the campaign being intercepted, it fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. After the plan was changed, the royal commander was so much under the impression of the intelligence contained in the intercepted letter, that he believed every movement towards Virginia to be a feint calculated to draw off his attention from the defence of New-York. Under the influence of this opinion he bent his whole force to strengthen that post, and suffered the French and American armies to pass him without any molestation. When the best opportunity of striking at them was elapsed, then for the first time he was brought to believe that the allies had fixed on Virginia for the theatre of their combined operations. As truth may be made to answer the purposes of deception, so no feint of attacking New-York could have been more successful than the real intention.

In the latter end of August, the American army began their march to Virginia, from the neighbourhood of New-York. General Washington had advanced as far as Chester, before he received the

news of the arrival of the fleet commanded by Monsieur de Grasse. The French troops marched at the same time, and for the same place. General Washington and count Rochambeau reached Williamsburgh on the fourteenth of September: They with generals Chastelloux, Du Portail, and Knox, proceeded to visit count de Grasse on board his ship the *Ville de Paris*, and agreed on a plan of operations.

The count afterwards wrote to Washington, that in case a British fleet appeared, "he conceived that he ought to go out and meet them at sea, instead of risking an engagement in a confined situation." This alarmed the general. He sent the marquis de la Fayette with a letter to dissuade him from this dangerous measure. This letter and the persuasions of the marquis had the desired effect.

The combined forces proceeded on their way to York-Town, partly by land, and partly down the Chesapeake. The whole, together with a body of Virginia militia, under the command of general Nelson, amounting in the aggregate to twelve thousand men, rendezvoused at Williamsburgh on the twenty-fifth of September, and in five days after, moved down to the investiture of York-Town. The French fleet at the same time moved to the mouth of York river, and took a position which was calculated to prevent lord Cornwallis either from retreating or receiving succour by water. Previously to the march from Williamsburgh to York-Town, Washington gave out in general orders as follows: "If the enemy should be tempted to meet the army on its march, the general particularly enjoins the troops to place their principal reliance on the bayonet, that they may prove the vanity of the boast, which the British make of their peculiar prowess in deciding battles with that weapon."

The combined army halted in the evening, about two miles from York-Town, and lay on their arms all night. About this time lord Cornwallis received a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, announcing the arrival of admiral Digby with three ships of the line from Europe, and the determination of the general and flag officers in New-York to embark five thousand men in a fleet, which would probably sail on the fifth of October; that this fleet consisted of twenty-three sail of the line, and that joint exertions of the navy and army would be made for his relief. On the night after the receipt of this intelligence, lord Cornwallis quitted his outward position, and retired to one more inward.

CAPTURE OF LORD CORNWALLIS.

THE works erected for the security of York-Town on the right, were redoubts and batteries, with a line of stockade in the rear. A marshy ravine lay in front of the right, over which was placed a large redoubt. The morass extended along the centre, which was defended by a line of stockade, and by batteries: on the left of the centre was a horn-work with a ditch, a row of fraize and an abbatis. Two redoubts were advanced before the left. The combined forces advanced and took possession of the ground from which the British had retired. About this time the legion cavalry and mounted infantry passed over the river to Gloucester; general de Choisy invested the British post on that side so fully, as to cut off all communication between it and the country. In the mean time the royal army was straining every nerve to strengthen their works, and their artillery was constantly employed in impeding the operations of the combined army. On the ninth and tenth of October, the French and Americans opened their batteries; they kept up a brisk and well directed fire from heavy cannon, from mortars, and howitzers. The shells of the besiegers reached the ships in the harbour, and the *Charon* of forty-four guns and a transport ship were burned. On the tenth a messenger arrived with a despatch from Sir Henry Clinton to lord Cornwallis, dated on the thirtieth of September, which stated various circumstances tending to lessen the probability of relief being obtained, by a direct movement from New-York. Lord Cornwallis was at this juncture advised to evacuate York-Town, and after passing over to Gloucester, to force his way into the country. Whether this movement would have been successful, no one can have certainty pronounced; but it could not have produced any consequences more injurious to the royal interest than those which resulted from declining the attempt. On the other hand, had this movement

been made, and the royal army been defeated or captured in the interior country, and in the mean time had Sir Henry Clinton, with the promised relief, reached York-Town, the precipitancy of the noble lord would have been perhaps more the subject of censure, than his resolution of standing his ground and resisting to the last extremity. On the eleventh of October the besiegers commenced their second parallel two hundred yards from the works of the besieged. Two redoubts which were advanced on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined armies; it was therefore proposed to carry them by storm. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of the one was committed to the French, of the other to the Americans, and both marched to the assault with unloaded arms. The Americans having passed the abbatis and palisades, they attacked on all sides, and carried the redoubt in a few minutes.

The French were equally successful on their part. They carried the redoubt assigned to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two redoubts were included in the second parallel, and facilitated the subsequent operations of the besiegers. The British could not with propriety risk repeated sallies. One was projected at this time, October sixteenth, consisting of four hundred men, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie. He proceeded so far as to force two redoubts, and to spike eleven pieces of cannon. Though the officers and soldiers displayed great bravery in this enterprise, yet their success produced no essential advantage. The cannon were soon unspiked and rendered fit for service.

By this time the batteries of the besiegers were covered with nearly a hundred pieces of heavy ordnance, and the works of the besieged were so damaged, that they could scarcely show a single gun. Lord Cornwallis had now no hope left but from offering terms of capitulation or attempting an escape. He determined on the latter. This, though less practicable than when first proposed, was not altogether hopeless. Boats were prepared to receive the troops in the night, and to transport them to Gloucester Point. After one whole embarkation had crossed, a violent storm of wind and rain dispersed the boats employed on this business, and frustrated the whole scheme. The royal army, thus weakened by division, was exposed to increased danger.

Orders were sent to those who had passed, to recross the river to York-Town. With the failure of this scheme the last hope of the British army expired. Longer resistance could answer no good purpose, and might occasion the loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis therefore wrote a letter to general Washington requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to digest terms of capitulation. It is remarkable while lieutenant-colonel Laurens, the officer employed by general Washington, on this occasion, was drawing up these articles, that his father was closely confined in the Tower of London, of which lord Cornwallis was constable. By this singular combination of circumstances, his lordship became a prisoner to the son of his own prisoner.

On the nineteenth of October the posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered by a capitulation, the principal articles of which were as follows: The troops to be prisoners of war to congress, and the naval force to France. The officers to retain their side-arms and private property of every kind; but all property, obviously belonging to the inhabitants of the United States, to be subject to be reclaimed. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and to be supplied with the same rations as were allowed to soldiers in the service of congress. A proportion of the officers to march into the country with the prisoners; the rest to be allowed to proceed on parole to Europe, to New-York, or to any other American maritime port in possession of the British. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been refused to general Lincoln on his giving up Charlestown, was now refused to lord Cornwallis; and general Lincoln was appointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York-Town, precisely in the same way his own had been conducted about eighteen months before. Lord Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain permission for the British

and German troops to return to their respective countries, under no other restrictions than an engagement not to serve against France or America. He also tried to obtain an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to recede from the former, and also to consent that the loyalists in his camp should be given up to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship nevertheless obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined to New-York. This gave an opportunity of screening such of them as were most obnoxious to the Americans.

The regular troops of France and America, employed in this siege, consisted of about seven thousand of the former, and five thousand five hundred of the latter; and they were assisted by about four thousand militia. On the part of the combined army about three hundred were killed or wounded: on the part of the British about five hundred, and seventy were taken in the redoubts, which were carried by assault on the fourteenth of October. The troops of every kind that surrendered prisoners of war exceeded seven thousand men; but so great was the number of sick and wounded, that there were only three thousand capable of bearing arms.

A British fleet and an army of seven thousand men, destined for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the twenty-fourth of October; but on receiving advice of his lordship's surrender, they returned to Sandy Hook and New York. Such was the fate of that general, from whose gallantry and previous successes the speedy conquest of the southern states had been so confidently expected. No event during the war promised fairer for oversetting the independence of at least a part of the confederacy, than his complete victory at Camden; but by the consequences of that action, his lordship became the occasion of rendering that a revolution, which from his previous success was in danger of terminating as a rebellion. The loss of his army may be considered as the closing scene of the continental war in North America.

EXPEDITION OF COMMODORE JOHNSTONE—OPERATIONS IN THE WEST INDIES.

In the beginning of the campaign a squadron of ships, under the command of commodore Johnstone, was sent against the Cape of Good Hope; the court of France however not being apprised of its destination, despatched a fleet of superior force from Brest, under the command of M. de Suffren, to counteract the design of the British commodore. The French overtook the English squadron at the Cape de Verd Islands, on the sixteenth of April, and though the latter was at anchor in a neutral port (Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago), and consequently under the protection of the Portuguese flag, proceeded to attack it. The British squadron was thrown into some confusion on the first attack, and the conduct of the commodore has not escaped censure on this occasion. The native valour of the British seamen, however, soon displayed itself, and the outward-bound India ships which came under convoy of the commodore, taking an active part in the engagement, the French were beaten off, but not without the loss of seventy-seven killed and wounded on the part of the English. The object of the expedition was by this encounter completely defeated.

As before mentioned, a fleet of twenty sail of the line, and a fifty-four gun ship, had sailed from Brest, under the command of M. de Grasse; and as the French had already eight sail of the line and a fifty gun ship at Martinique and St. Domingo, it was generally supposed they would have a decided superiority in the West Indies. The British fleet was weakened by the admiral's sending a squadron under the command of commodore Hotham, with the convoy which conveyed the *Eustatia* treasure to England, which reduced his fleet to twenty-one sail of the line. As it was therefore of the utmost importance to intercept the squadron of de Grasse, admiral Rodney detached the admirals Hood and Drake, with seventeen sail for that purpose, while he remained himself at St. Eustatia, with a few ships for its protection.

On the twenty-ninth of April the French fleet appeared in sight of the British admiral Hood as

he lay in the channel of St. Lucia. The French convoy got safe into the harbour of Fort Royal in Martinique, and four ships of the line, and a fifty gun ship out of the same harbour, were enabled to join the French fleet. The enemy, notwithstanding this superiority, appeared desirous of avoiding a general engagement, and after many ineffectual endeavours on the part of the English to gain the wind, so as to force the French admiral to a decisive action, both fleets ceased firing, and each claimed the victory. To the French indeed it was almost productive of equal consequences; for though they lost the greatest number of men in the action, five of the English ships were so disabled as to be rendered unfit for immediate service. Thus the superiority of the enemy in those seas was decided and irresistible. M. de Grasse, on the following day, was desirous of bringing the contest to that conclusive point which before he had evaded; but Sir Samuel Hood disappointed him by his masterly movements, by which the English fleet arrived safe at Antigua after being pursued by the French.

On the twenty-sixth of May, admiral Rodney received intelligence from governor Ferguson that the French fleet had appeared off the island of Tobago on the twenty-third; upon which admiral Drake was despatched with six sail of the line and some land forces to its relief. Upon reaching the island on the morning of the thirtieth, admiral Drake discovered the enemy's fleet, of twenty sail, between him and the land; he was therefore obliged to retreat. When admiral Rodney on the fourth of June arrived off the island, with twenty sail of the line, he found it in possession of the enemy; the next day he saw the French fleet of twenty-four sail of the line, with which he did not think it prudent to engage on account of their superiority; he therefore returned to Barbadoes.

It may be necessary to remark in this place the ill fate which attended the booty seized by the plunderers of St. Eustatia. The homeward-bound convoy, which conveyed a great part of the property, was almost entirely captured by the French in the Channel, on the second of May; and the island itself was taken on the twenty-sixth of November following, by four ships of the line, and a handful of men, under the command of the marquis de Bouille, and the whole English garrison made prisoners of war. The island of St. Martin submitted at the same time to the French arms.

SUCCESSSES IN INDIA—HYDER ALLY DEFEATED.

WHEN we turn our attention towards the East Indies we find the British forces more successful than in the West. After the defeat of colonel Baillie, the whole Carnatic was evacuated by the British, and Madras itself might be considered as in a state of blockade. The arrival of the indefatigable Sir Eyre Coote, in the latter end of 1780, and the vigorous measures which he pursued, effected a sudden and unexpected change, and relieved, almost at a single blow, the Carnatic from the ravages of a dangerous and remorseless enemy. In two days after his arrival he took his seat at the council-board, and produced orders from the supreme government of Bengal, for the suspension of Mr. Whitehill, the president, whose intemperate conduct had been a chief cause of alienating the affections of the Nizam.

Upon the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote the troops were in a wretched state of despondency; the sepoys deserting, the inhabitants treacherous, and all the resources cut off. The general, therefore, ordered despatches at the same time to Sir Edward Hughes and to general Goddard, to urge them to be active in distressing the possessions of Hyder on the Malabar coast, and to promote as much as possible a peace with the Maharrattas.

In the beginning of the year 1781, Hyder's force within the boundaries of the Carnatic alone was estimated at above one hundred thousand men, while that of Sir Eyre Coote did not exceed seven thousand.

The two armies encountered near Porto Novo on the first of July. At seven in the morning the British troops proceeded from that place, and after an hour's march came in sight of the enemy strongly posted. Hyder's artillery was well served by Europeans, or those instructed by them, and did

considerable execution. In this critical situation, a bold movement was necessary; and the British general determined to turn the right of the enemy. Fortunately the country accorded with his wishes, and by this movement he was enabled to take the enemy obliquely, and avoid the full front and fire of their works and batteries. In this manner the first line only decided the fortune of the day. Though Hyder, with great dexterity and promptness, formed a new front to receive the British general, and detached a large body of infantry to prevent, the second line from obtaining possession of some high grounds, yet at length European order and discipline was victorious over the undisciplined rabble of an eastern camp. Hyder was obliged to retreat, after leaving three thousand of his best troops dead on the field of battle.

In the course of the following month the British gained a second victory over Hyder, after fighting from nine in the morning till sun-set, within about sixteen miles of the city of Trepassore.

In the mean time the shipping of Hyder Ally was destroyed by Sir Edward Hughes, in his own ports of Calicut and Mangalore. The Dutch also fatally experienced the valour and enterprise of the British forces in that quarter of the globe.

Some gentlemen of the factory at Fort Marlborough, in the month of August, undertook an expedition against Sumatra; and all the Dutch settlements on the western coast of that island were reduced without any loss. The town and fortress of Negapatam, in the Tanjore country (one of the most valuable of the Dutch settlements on the continent of India), surrendered by capitulation to the English on the twelfth of November, after a siege of twenty-two days.

ENGAGEMENT WITH THE DUTCH.

THE inactivity of the Dutch has been attributed to the treachery of certain persons, employed in high offices of trust under the States General, secretly in league with the court of London.

To harass the trade of Holland, and to protect that of England, a squadron was fitted out at Portsmouth, in the month of June, and the command given to admiral Sir Hyde Parker. The Dutch seemed, at an instant, to awake from their torpid inactivity; and by the middle of July, a considerable fleet was fitted out in the Texel, under the command of admiral Zoutman, who sailed about that period, with a considerable convoy under his protection. The British admiral was then on his return with the convoy from Helder. The hostile fleets met and fought on the morning of the fifth of August off the Dogger Bank. The force of the Dutch was seven ships of the line, and ten frigates; and the British squadron consisted only of six ships of the line, and five frigates, but was superior in weight of metal to the Dutch fleet: the firing on both sides was restrained till the ships came within half musket shot of each other; and the action continued with an unceasing fire for three hours and forty minutes, till the vessels on both sides were so shattered that they became unmanageable and unable to form a line to renew the

combat. For a considerable time both squadrons lay in this condition; at length the Dutch, with their convoy, bore away for the Texel; and admiral Parker was in no condition to follow them. The English lost one hundred and four men killed, and three hundred and thirty-nine wounded; the loss of the enemy must have been more considerable. It was attributed to the neglect of the admiralty that the advantages on the part of the English were not greater.

It was owing to the remissness of the same department, that the French fleet from Brest, under the count de Guichen, was permitted to form a junction with the Spanish fleet from Cadiz, in the latter end of July. The combined fleets consisted of forty-nine ships of the line, and carried with them ten thousand land forces for the reduction of Minorca. After landing the troops upon that island, the combined fleets returned with the arrogant intention of annihilating, for ever, the naval force of England. The hostile fleets appeared in the British channel before the ministry had any information of their movements; and it was owing to the accidental meeting of a neutral vessel that admiral Darby had time to escape into Torbay with the British fleet. The count de Guichen was for an immediate attack upon the British ships as they lay: a contrary opinion was supported by M. Bousset, an officer of great reputation, who pointed out the danger there would be in attacking admiral Darby, in his present situation, as they could not bear down upon him in a line of battle abreast, but must go down upon the enemy singly. The Spanish admiral, and the major part of the officers of the fleet, coincided with M. Bousset in opinion; besides, the leaky condition of the ships, and the mortality which prevailed among the seamen, were further inducements to refrain from an immediate attack.

The combined fleets, after waiting in vain for some time to intercept our homeward-bound ships, were obliged, from the hard weather, which set in about September, to return to port as soon as possible. M. Guichen took shelter in Brest; but though the Spanish squadron was scarcely in a condition to reach its destined port, the etiquette of that frivolous court forbade its entrance into a French harbour.

In the beginning of December M. de Guichen sailed again from Brest with nineteen ships of the line, and a considerable convoy of merchant-ships. Admiral Kempenfelt was despatched to intercept them with no more than twelve sail of the line. On the twelfth the British admiral encountered the enemy in a hard gale of wind, when both fleet and convoy were considerably dispersed. With much professional skill he cut off twenty of the convoy, and afterwards drew up in a line of battle to face the enemy, when, for the first time, he was apprised of his great inferiority, and was obliged to retreat. The gross neglect of the admiralty excited the discontent of the public when they saw so favourable an opportunity lost of regaining the honour of the British flag.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Decline of lord North's influence—Session of Parliament—King's Speech—Motion against offensive War with America—Petitions against the War—Misconduct of Admiralty—General Conway's Motion against the War—Dissolution of the Ministry—New Ministry—Popular measures—Affairs of Ireland—Reform bills—Minorca taken—French Fleet in the West Indies defeated by Rodney—Misfortunes of West India Fleet—Bahamas taken by the Spaniards—Defeat of Spaniards at Gibraltar—New Administration.

DECLINE OF LORD NORTH'S INFLUENCE —KING'S SPEECH TO PARLIAMENT.

NOTWITHSTANDING ministers had flattered themselves that they had secured such a majority at the general election as to render their power permanent and irresistible, yet it soon appeared that they were mistaken in this opinion, and that of the new members the majority were secretly disposed to favour the whig party. From the moment of the capture of lord Cornwallis all discerning men foresaw the downfall of lord North's administration, and the wavering and venal phalanx in the senate had already begun to make overtures to the leaders of opposition. In the midst of the dissatisfaction and general ill-humour created by the repeated disgraces which had attended the British arms in America, the parliament assembled on the twenty-seventh of November 1781. In the speech from the throne his majesty observed, "that the war was still unhappily prolonged, and that to his great concern, the events of it had been very unfortunate to his army in Virginia, having ended in the total loss of his forces in that province. But he could not consent to sacrifice, either to his own desire of peace or to the temporary ease and relief of his subjects, those essential rights and permanent interests upon which the strength and security of this country must ever principally depend." His majesty declared, "that he retained a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and a perfect conviction of the justice of his cause;" and he concluded by calling "for the concurrence and support of parliament, and a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and resources of his people."

A motion for an address of thanks, in the usual style, was made in the house of commons.

MOTION AGAINST AMERICAN WAR.

Not discouraged by repeated defeats, the minority on the twelfth of December renewed their opposition to the American war under the form of a specific motion; two of the leading men among the landed interest, Sir James Lowther and Powys, were appointed to introduce the motion. In the beginning of the debate, lord North rose to make a declaration, that it was no longer in the contemplation of government to prosecute the war internally in America, but that the whole form and conduct of it was to undergo a total change. The motion of opposition however went no farther than to declare, that the war has hitherto been ineffectual to the purposes for which it was undertaken, and that all further attempts to reduce the Americans by force, would be injurious to the interests of the country.

In the course of the debate general Burgoyne acknowledged "that he was now convinced the principle of the American war was wrong, though he had not been of that opinion when he engaged in the service. Passion, and prejudice, and interest, were now no more, and reason and observation

had led him to a very different conclusion: and he now saw that the American war was only one part of a system levelled against the constitution of this country, and the general rights of mankind."

The minister stated various arguments against the motion, such as the impolicy of pointing out to the enemy what was to be the future system of the war. On the vote of this day the minister experienced a defection of about twenty of those members who usually divided with him, as Sir James Lowther's motion was rejected by only a majority of forty-one, or two hundred and twenty against one hundred and seventy-nine.

The late hour to which the debate on the twelfth had been protracted, made it necessary to defer proceeding on the business of the army estimates till the following Friday, fourteenth of December, when the subject of the American war underwent, for the fourth time since the beginning of the session, a long and vehement discussion. The secretary at war informed the house, that the whole force of the army, including the militia of the kingdom, required for the service of the year 1782, would amount to one hundred and ninety-five thousand men. One hundred thousand seamen and mariners had been already voted by the house. It was however stated by lord George Germaine, "that the ministry were of opinion, considering the present situation of affairs, and the misfortunes of the war, that it would not be right to continue any longer the plan on which it had hitherto been conducted; and that a fresh army would not be sent to supply the place of that captured at York-Town."

It was intended only to preserve such posts in America as might facilitate and co-operate with the enterprises of our fleets."

General Conway declared himself "anxious for a recall of our fleets and armies from America. Of two evils he would choose the least, and submit to the independence of America, rather than persist in the prosecution of so pernicious and ruinous a war. As to the idea now suggested of a war of posts, what garri-sons, he asked, would be able to maintain them, when it was well known that even Sir Henry Clinton, at New-York, did not consider himself as secure?"

Fox remarked, "that four years ago, after the disaster of Saratoga, the noble lord at the head of affairs had amused the house with the same language as at present. Then the plan of future hostilities was to be differently modified, and the war conducted on a smaller and more contracted scale. On this contracted scale, however, we had lost another great army, besides suffering other grievous defeats, and irretrievable calamities."

Pitt reprobated with the utmost force of language, "as a species of obstinacy bordering upon madness, the idea of any further prosecution of the American war, with our fleets opposed by a superior force, and our armies in captivity. He appealed to the whole house, whether every description of men did not detest and execrate the American war, and whether it were uncharitable to impute the Almighty to shower down his vengeance on the men who were the authors of their country's ruin?"

PETITIONS AGAINST THE WAR—MISCONDUCT OF ADMIRALTY.

THE approbation of the people to the cause of the minority now appeared in several petitions and remonstrances which were presented against the war. The city of London, on this occasion, led the way in a very strong remonstrance, in which they tell his majesty, "Your armies have been captured; your dominions have been lost; and your majesty's faithful subjects have been loaded with a burden of taxes, which, even if our victories had been as splendid, as our defeats have been disgraceful; if our accession of dominion had been as fortunate as the dismemberment of the empire has been cruel and disastrous, could not itself be considered, but as a great and grievous calamity." Several other remonstrances and addresses were brought in from other places; and the speedy dissolution of the ministry appeared evident.

1782. An inquiry into the conduct of the first lord of the admiralty was the first business of parliament after the recess. The accusation was opened on the twenty-third of January 1782, with great address and ability, by Mr. Fox.

In support of the motion it was urged that our naval armaments had been always too late to be attended with any success; and that the earl of Sandwich had uniformly neglected to send fleets, at the opening of the several campaigns, to prevent the junction of the French and Spanish squadrons; nor had he, at the conclusion of those campaigns, made any attempts to attack or to annoy their separate force. The confederate fleets, amounting to sixty sail of the line, under count d'Orvilliers, had appeared in the channel, with every mark of triumph, for two campaigns, not only unresisted but even thumbed by our naval armaments. The chevalier de Ternay had also been suffered to proceed unmolested with his ships to America, when he transported thither those French troops which afterwards served under general Washington, and assisted in the capture of Lord Cornwallis and his army. Captain Montrau, and the large fleet of East and West Indians under his convoy, had been betrayed into the hands of the enemy, by being directed to repair to Madeira; whereby they were of necessity obliged to proceed in that track which could not fail to conduct them to the naval armaments of the enemy. Indeed, the first lord of the admiralty had acted uniformly as the ally and servant of the house of Bourbon; and so had the rest of his majesty's ministers; without whose aid, the wisdom of a Franklin, the valour and prudence of a Manrepas, the vigilance of a Sardin, the craft of a de Caistres, the policy of America, and all the vigour and resources of France and Spain, though doubly formidable from their confederacy with Holland, could never have attained the power of overwhelming our once invincible dominions with so much disgrace and calamity.

The culprit was defended by captain John Luttrell, lord Mulgrave, and lord North. After some altercation, however, it was agreed, that the inquiry should be referred to a committee of the whole house, on the following Thursday; and this was followed by resolutions for certain papers, which were necessary to substantiate the criminal charges. The committee of inquiry having been, from various causes, delayed to the seventh of February, Fox on that day rose to move a resolution of censure, founded on facts contained in the papers which were laid in evidence before the house. Though no charges could be better founded, or more satisfactorily proved, than those against the first lord of the admiralty, the vote of censure was negatived in a very full house by a majority of twenty-two.

LORD GEORGE GERMAINE MADE A PEER.

THE creating of lord George Germaine a peer, and consequently calling him to that house which lord Chesterfield has emphatically termed, "The hospital of incurables," was the first happy omen for the country of the mouldering state of the ministry; but before he assumed his new title of lord viscount Sackville, he resigned his office of American secretary. A motion was made by the marquiss of Carmarthen (afterwards duke of Leeds), intimating, "that it was derogatory to the honour of the house, that any person, labouring under the heavy censure

of a court martial, should be recommended by the crown as a proper person to sit in that house."

The motion was evaded by the question of adjournment; but lord George Germaine having actually taken his seat in the house under the title of lord viscount Sackville, the marquiss of Carmarthen renewed his attack, and urged, "that the house of peers being a court of honour, it behoved them to preserve that honour uncontaminated, and to mark in the most forcible manner their disapprobation of the introduction of a person into that assembly who was stigmatised in the orderly books of every regiment in the service."

Lord Abingdon, who seconded the motion, styled the admission of lord George Germaine to a peerage "an insufferable indignity to that house, and an outrageous insult to the public.—What (said his lordship) has that person done to merit honours superior to his fellow-citizens? His only claim to promotion was, that he had undone his country by executing the plan of that accursed invisible, though efficient cabinet, from whom as he received his orders, so he had obtained his reward."

Lord Sackville, in his own vindication, denied the justice of the sentence passed upon him, and affirmed "that he considered his restoration to the council-board, at a very early period of the present reign, as amounting to a virtual repeal of that iniquitous verdict."

The duke of Richmond strongly defended the motion, and said "that he himself was present at the battle of Minden, and was summoned on the trial of Lord George Germaine; and had his deposition been called for, he could have proved that the time lost when the noble viscount delayed to advance, under pretence of receiving contradictory orders, was not less than one hour and a half; that the cavalry were a mile and a quarter only from the scene of action; and it was certainly in his lordship's power, therefore, to have rendered the victory, important as it was, far more brilliant and decisive; and he had little reason to complain of the severity of the sentence passed upon him."

Lord Southampton also, who, as aid-de-camp to prince Ferdinand on that memorable day, delivered the message of his serene highness to his lordship, vindicated the equity of the sentence.

On the division, nevertheless, it was rejected by a majority of ninety three to twenty eight voices: but to the inexpressible chagrin of lord Sackville, a protest was entered on the journals of the house, declaring his promotion to be "an insult on the memory of the late sovereign, and highly derogatory to the dignity of that house."

GENERAL CONWAY'S MOTION AGAINST THE WAR—DEFEAT OF MINISTRY.

THE appointment of Welbore Ellis to the office of secretary to the American department, in the room of Lord Sackville, and Sir Guy Carleton to that of commander in chief in North America, occasioned an alarm among those who were persuaded, that there still existed a secret and obstinate attachment in the court to the prosecution of the war against the Americans. Another attempt, therefore, was made in the commons, on the twenty-second of February, to bind the hands of the executive power, by the strong and explicit declaration of parliament. To this purpose general Conway made a motion, "that an address should be presented, imploring his majesty, that the war might be no longer pursued for the impracticable purpose of reducing the people of America by force." The motion was seconded by lord John Cavendish, and opposed by the new secretary for the American department, who declared, "that it was now in contemplation to contract the scale of the war, and to prosecute hostilities by such means as were very dissimilar from the past. In order to obtain peace with America we must vanquish the French; and as in the late war, America had been said to be conquered in Germany, so in this America must be conquered in France. In the present circumstances, the administration were conscious of the necessity of drawing into a narrow compass the operations of the American war, a change of circumstances demanding a corresponding change of measures." The decision of this question was a real triumph to opposition, as the motion was lost only by a single vote; and as a majority of the absent members were supposed to be adverse to the

ministry, it was thought expedient to bring the question again before the house in a different form. On the twenty-seventh of February, therefore, general Conway, brought forward a new motion to the same effect, which was seconded by lord Althorpe, and petitions from several trading towns were read in disapprobation of the war. In order to evade the question, the attorney-general, Wallace, recommended that a truce should be proposed with America; the intended deception, however, was too obvious to impose upon the house; and, on a division upon his amendment, a majority of nineteen appeared against the ministry. The motion of general Conway was immediately followed by another, for an address to his majesty, to put an end to the war; and it was further resolved, that the address should be presented by the whole house.

When the house went up to St. James's with the address, it was observed as a remarkable circumstance, that the noted general Arnold was found standing at the right hand of his majesty. This circumstance drew forth some pointed observations in parliament from lord Surry, afterwards duke of Norfolk, who declared, "that it was an insult to the house, and deserved its censure."

His majesty's answer to the address was in general terms, that he should take such measures as might appear to him most conducive to the restoration of peace. An reference to the prosecution of offensive war was cautiously avoided.

The evasive nature of this answer induced general Conway to move another resolution in the commons, declaring, "that the house would consider as enemies to his majesty, and to the country, all those who should advise the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America." After a feeble opposition, the motion was permitted to pass without a division. The embarrassment of ministers, and the triumph and exultation which pervaded the whole nation on the success of these motions, are hardly to be described. The whigs were regarded as the real friends and saviours of their country. The continuance of the ministry in office was, however, thought to be a favourite object with certain persons in high authority; and it had been instigated by ministers themselves, that though parliament had interfered with its advice respecting the American war, still since it had expressed no direct censure on their conduct, they could not be expected to resign. In order to remove this impediment, lord John Cavendish, on the eighth of March, moved a direct vote of censure upon the administration, which was seconded by Powys, in a forcible speech. The debate lasted till two in the morning, when, on a division, there appeared, in favour of administration, a majority of ten.

The unpopularity of lord North, however, was now further augmented by his proposal of some new taxes; particularly that on soap, the carriage of goods, and places of public entertainment; all of which were finally rejected by the house.

The interval between the eighth and fifteenth was generally supposed to have been employed in various unsuccessful attempts to divide the party in opposition; and as lord North still seemed averse to resign, on the latter day a motion was made by Sir John Rous, and seconded by the younger lord George Cavendish, the design of which was to accelerate a change of administration. After reciting the facts contained in the resolutions moved on the eighth, it was proposed to resolve, "That, on consideration thereof, the house could have no farther confidence in the ministers who had the direction of public affairs." In the debate, the necessity of some new arrangement in the administration of public affairs was no longer denied; but the im policy, and even the danger of throwing the country entirely into the hands of any party, was still strongly contended. A coalition was loudly called for by many moderate and independent members, and the propriety of leaving the noble lord at the head of the treasury in possession of his office, till such a measure could be accomplished, was much insisted on.

On the other side it was urged, that the bait of a coalition had been thrown out by the court merely for the purpose of delay, and giving room for intrigue and cabal; and that, in order to secure to the nation the advantages which it was now universally admitted would arise from a total change in the public councils, it was necessary not to re-

lax, for a moment, the vigorous pursuit of such measures, as could not fall of being speedily crowned with success.

Lord North endeavoured to vindicate his own administration. He affirmed, that it could not be declared with truth, by that house, that the loss of the American colonies, or of the West India islands, or our other national calamities, originated from the measures of the present administration. The repeal of the American stamp-act, and the passing of the declaratory law, took place before his entrance into office. As a private member of parliament, he gave his vote in favour of both; but, as a minister, he was not responsible for either. The house at length divided upon the question, when there appeared for it two hundred and twenty-seven, and against it two hundred and thirty-six; so that there was a majority of nine in favour of administration.

MINISTRY DISSOLVED.

NOTWITHSTANDING this seemingly favourable determination, it was so well known that the ministry could not stand their ground, that four days after (March nineteenth) a similar motion to that made by Sir John Rous, was to have been made by the earl of Surry; but when his lordship was about to rise for that purpose, lord North addressed himself to the speaker, and observed, that as he understood the motion to be made by the noble earl was similar to that made a few days before, and the object of which was the removal of the ministers, he had such information to communicate to the house, as must, he conceived, render any such motion now unnecessary. He could with authority assure the house, that his majesty had come to a full determination to change his ministers. Indeed, those persons who had for some time conducted the public affairs, were no longer his majesty's ministers. They were not now to be considered as men holding the reins of government, and transacting matters of state, but merely remaining to do their official duty, till other ministers were appointed to take their places. The sooner those new ministers were appointed, his lordship declared, that, in his opinion, the better it would be for the public business, and the general interests of the nation. He returned thanks to the house for the many instances of favour and indulgence which he had received from them during the course of his administration; and he declared, that he considered himself as responsible, in all senses of the word, for every circumstance of his ministerial conduct, and that he should be ready to answer to his country, whenever he should be called upon for that purpose. Upon this intelligence the motion was withdrawn, and the house adjourned to the Monday following.

Thus ended an administration which had plunged the nation into a war, under the pretext of levying a tax which would not have paid for the collection of it; and which refused every offer of accommodation from the revolted colonies short of the most unconditional submission. The venerable Franklin, and the judicious Penn, were equally insulted, with proposals in their hands for the adjustment of the disputed points between the Americans and the mother country.

NEW MINISTRY.

WHILE the nation at large evinced the most unfeigned joy at the sudden dissolution of this cabal, it was still feared by many, that great difficulty would arise in the formation of a new and efficient administration, on account of the unfortunate division which had long subsisted among the whigs in opposition to the court. Of the two parties, that of lord Rockingham was by far the most numerous and powerful; but, from various causes easily and distinctly ascertainable by attentive observers, the other party, of which since the death of lord Chatham the earl of Shelburne was accounted the head, were in less disfavour with the king; and the highest department of government was upon this occasion expressly offered to that nobleman by his majesty. For, not to descend to subordinate reasons of preference, it is evident that the chief of the inferior party, lord Shelburne, would, from his comparative weakness of connection, have been more immediately and necessarily dependant than his competitor lord Rockingham upon the crown for protection and support. But the noble lord had

the generosity and wisdom to resist the temptation; and the marquis of Rockingham, to the universal satisfaction of the kingdom, was a second time, in a manner the most honourable and flattering to his character and feelings, placed at the head of the treasury; under whom lord John Cavendish acted as chancellor of the exchequer; the earl of Shelburne and Fox were nominated secretaries of state; lord Camden was appointed president of the council; the duke of Grafton reinstated as lord privy seal; admiral Keppel, now created lord Keppel, placed at the head of the admiralty; general Conway, of the army; the duke of Richmond, of the ordnance. The duke of Portland succeeded lord Carlisle as lord lieutenant of Ireland; Burke was constituted paymaster of the forces; and colonel Barré, treasurer of the navy. Lord Thurlow alone, by the unaccountable and unmerited indulgence of the new ministers, continued in possession of the great seal.

Previous to their coming into office, the whig ministry stipulated for peace with America, and the acknowledgment of its independence, should it be necessary to that object; a reform in the several branches of the civil list expenditure, upon the plan suggested by Burke; and the diminution of the influence of the crown by excluding contractors from the house of commons, and by disqualifying revenue officers from voting in elections for members of parliament.

While these changes were taking place, the Irish began to be dissatisfied with the opposition which the ministry had manifested to what they considered as their natural rights. At a general meeting of the volunteers of the province of Ulster on the fifteenth of February 1782, it was resolved, "That the claims of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance; that the powers exercised by the privy councils of both kingdoms, under the colour of Poyning's law, are unconstitutional; and that all restraints imposed upon the trade of Ireland, except by the parliament of that kingdom, are likewise unconstitutional." These resolutions they determined to support by every legal means.

AFFAIRS OF IRELAND—EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

THE parliament met on the eighth of April; and on the following day Fox presented a message from his majesty to the house of commons, recommending to them to take the affairs of Ireland into consideration.

In the Irish house of commons the celebrated orator Grattan moved an address to his majesty, which was unanimously voted, stating, that Ireland was a distinct kingdom, the crown of Ireland an imperial crown; and that no authority except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, could make laws to bind that nation. It represented the power assumed by the councils of both kingdoms, of altering bills, as an unconstitutional grievance; and insisted upon a mutiny bill, limited in duration, as essential to the liberty of the nation.

Justice and policy seconded the views of Ireland, the obnoxious acts of parliament were immediately repealed; by which the whole powers of government were vested solely in the king, lords, and commons of Ireland; the controlling power of the English parliament, and the practice of altering the bills in the privy council, were renounced for ever.

The parliament of Ireland in return for these concessions immediately voted one hundred thousand pounds for the purpose of raising twenty thousand seamen for the public service. At the same time fifty thousand pounds was voted to Henry Grattan, esquire, for his services.

Whilst measures were thus happily pursuing for restoring order and tranquillity in the sister kingdom, the new ministry were no less anxiously intent on effectuating a general peace with the different foreign powers with whom the nation was at war. No time was lost in pursuit of this great object, or in taking the necessary steps for its attainment. Accordingly, the empress of Russia having offered her mediation, in order to restore peace between Great Britain and Holland, secretary Fox, within two days after his entrance into office, wrote a letter to Mons. Simolin, the Russian minister in

London, informing him, that his majesty was ready to enter into a negotiation, for the purpose of settling on foot a treaty of peace, on the terms and conditions of that which was agreed to in 1764, between his majesty and the republic of Holland; and that in order to facilitate such a treaty, he was willing to give immediate orders for a suspension of hostilities, if the States-general were disposed to agree to that measure. But the states of Holland did not appear inclined to a separate peace; nor, perhaps, would it have been agreeable to the principles of sound policy, if they had agreed to any propositions of this kind. However, immediately after the change of ministry, negotiations for a general peace were commenced at Paris. Greenville was invested with full powers to treat with all the parties at war; and was also directed to propose the independency of the thirteen united provinces of America, in the first instance, instead of making it a condition of a general treaty. Admiral Digby and general Carleton were also directed to acquaint the American congress with the pacific views of the British court, and with the offer that was made to acknowledge the independency of the United States.

REFORM BILLS.

THE British parliament prosecuted with vigour the plans of reformation and economy, which had been recommended by the new ministry. The bills for excluding contractors from seats in the house of commons, and incapacitating revenue officers from voting at elections for members of parliament, were passed with a feeble opposition from lord Mansfield and the chancellor, the latter declaring it to be a "puny regulation, only calculated to deceive and betray the people." Every good patriot will indeed agree with the noble lord in the truth of the assertion, that it was a "puny," that is, an inefficient "regulation;" but on very different principles. Burke's bill for the reform of the civil list expenditure was introduced with augmented splendour, but diminished utility. By this bill, which now passed the house with little difficulty, the board of trade, and the board of works, with the great wardrobe, were abolished; together with the office of American secretary of state, now rendered useless by the loss of the American colonies; the offices of treasurer of the chamber, cofferer of the household, the lords of police in Scotland, the paymaster of the pensions, the master of the barriers, the master of the stag-hounds, and six clerks of the board of green cloth. Provision also was made to enable his majesty to borrow a sum for the liquidation of a new arrear of three hundred thousand pounds, by a tax on salaries and pensions; for a debt to this amount had been again contracted by the shameful prodigality of the late ministers, notwithstanding the addition of one hundred thousand pounds per annum, so recently made to the civil list.

The economical abolitions and retrenchments of the reform bill met with a violent opposition in the upper house, from the lords Thurlow and Loughborough, but it finally passed by a great majority. A bill sent up from the commons, for disfranchising certain voters of the borough of Cricklade, who had been proved guilty of the most shameful and scandalous acts of bribery, was also impeded and embarrassed in all its stages by the same law lords, with every possible subtlety of legal quibble and chicanery. The duke of Richmond was upon this occasion provoked to charge the chancellor with indiscriminately opposing every measure of regulation and improvement which was laid before the house. And lord Fortescue, with unguarded but honest warmth, remarked, "that what he had long feared was at length come to pass; from the profusion of lawyers introduced into that house, it was no longer a house of lords, it was converted into a mere court of law, where all the solid and honourable principles of truth and justice were sacrificed to the low and miserable chicanery used in Westminster Hall. That once venerable, dignified, and august assembly, now resembled more a meeting of pettifoggers than a house of parliament. With respect to the learned lord on the woolsack, who had now for some years presided in that house, he seemed to be fraught with nothing but contradictions and distinctions and law subtleties. As to himself," lord Fortescue with a noble pride added, "he had not attended a minister's levee, till very lately, for these forty years; and the present ministry he

would support no longer than they deserved it. But as they came into office upon the most honourable and laudable of all principles, the approbation of their sovereign, and the esteem and confidence of the nation, it filled his breast with indignation when he beheld their measures day after day thwarted and opposed, by men who resembled more a set of Cornish attorneys than members of that right honourable house."

On the third of May, on the motion of Wilkes, seconded by Byng, the celebrated vote of the seventeenth of February 1769, relative to the Midlesex election, was rescinded and expunged from the journals, as well as all the other motions relative to the incapacity of Wilkes to take his seat in that parliament.

On the twenty-second of April, the lord advocate of Scotland moved a long series of resolutions relative to the affairs of the East India company, which were passed by the house; and on the twenty-ninth a bill for inflicting pains and penalties on Sir Thomas Rumbold, for high crimes and misdemeanours committed during his administration in the Carnatic; and another for restraining Sir Thomas Rumbold, and Peter Perring, Esq. from going out of the kingdom; were introduced under the same authority. A vote of censure was soon afterwards passed on the conduct of Warren Hastings, Esq. governor-general in Bengal, and William Hornaby, Esq. president of the council in Bombay; and a declaration, that it was the duty of the court of directors to take the necessary legal steps for their recall. Several resolutions were also passed censuring the conduct of Laurence Sullivan, Esq. chairman of the court of directors, for neglecting to transmit the act for the regulation of the company's service in India. An address to the king was also agreed to by the house, pressing for the recall of Sir Elijah Impey.

MINORCA TAKEN—FRENCH FLEET DEFEATED BY RODNEY.

On the seventh of May Pitt made a motion "that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the representation, and to report to the house their opinion thereon." Though ably supported by several members, the motion was rejected by one hundred and sixty-one against one hundred and forty-one. While this patriotic ministry were reforming abuses at home, our fleets and armies were reaping laurels abroad. In the beginning of the year, however, Great Britain experienced some adverse fortune—the island of Minorca was taken by the Spaniards, on the fifth of February, after a close siege of upwards of six months. On the first of January the marquis de Bouille landed on the island of St. Christopher with eight thousand men, and was supported by the count de Grasse, with thirty-two ships of the line. After a pressing siege of four weeks, the fortress on Brimstone-hill, to which the British forces had retired upon the approach of the enemy, was compelled to surrender, though Sir Samuel Hood had made a bold effort to relieve the island with his fleet. Nevis and Montserrat followed the fortune of St. Christopher's; but the naval career of the French and Spaniards was fortunately interrupted in the beginning of February, by the arrival of Sir George Rodney, with twelve ships of the line at Barbadoes, which were augmented by the beginning of March to a fleet of thirty-six sail of the line; that of the French consisting only of thirty-four. On the eighth of April, the count de Grasse weighed anchor from Fort Royal, with a large convoy under his protection, and intended to proceed to Hispaniola, where he expected to meet the Spanish fleet. But the British admiral, by means of good intelligence, was enabled to follow them by noon of the same day, from Gros-Islet bay, in St. Lucia, and came within sight of the enemy off Dominica that night. Both fleets prepared for action by day-break on the succeeding day. The English, however, lay becalmed under the high lands of Dominica, till near nine o'clock, when the breeze at length reached the fleet, and carried the van directly into the centre of the enemy, while the centre and the rear of the English were still becalmed. The French admiral could not resist the temptation of falling upon one third of the force of his adversaries, with his whole fleet. The combat commenced with the van of the English, which was greatly pressed for more than an hour

by the superior force of the enemy. Upon the approach of some ships to the assistance of the van, the French admiral perceived he had fallen in his design of crushing the first division of the British; he therefore withdrew his fleet from the action, and, having the command of the wind, completely evaded all the efforts of the British commanders for its renewal. Two of the French ships were so much disabled as to be under the necessity of putting into Guadaloupe to refit. The damages the English received were not so great, but that they were repairable at sea. On the eleventh the French were so far to the windward as to weather Guadaloupe; and had gained such a distance, that the body of their fleet could only be perceived from the masts of the English centre. About noon, however, two of the disabled ships were observed to fall considerably to leeward. The British admiral made signals for a general chase; and the pursuit soon became so vigorous that these ships must have been inevitably cut off before the evening, had not M. de Grasse borne down to their assistance. The scene of action is described as a moderately large basin of water, lying between the islands of Guadaloupe, Dominica, the Saints, and Marigalante. The hostile fleets met upon opposite tacks; and the line of battle being formed early in the morning of the twelfth, the battle commenced about seven, and continued with unremitting fury till about the same hour in the evening. The ships were so near each other that every shot told; and those of the French being full of men, a dreadful carnage ensued. The formidable Sir George Rodney's ship, fired no less than eighty broadsides, and every other ship in proportion; and the gallantry of the French was in no instance inferior to that of their opponents.

About noon the British admiral, with his seconds the Duke and the Namur, broke through the enemy's line; and immediately throwing out the signals for the van to tack, the British got to windward, and completed the general confusion of the French squadron. In this state the contest continued with unabated violence till the close of the day, when the admiral's ship, the *Ville de Paris*, struck to Sir Samuel Hood in the *Barfleur*. Four other ships of the line were taken; one was sunk, and another blew up in the action. Sir Samuel Hood pursued the flying squadron, and on the nineteenth overtook and captured two of them in the Mona Passage, the *Jason* and the *Caton*, with two frigates. Sir George Rodney immediately proceeded with the ships and prizes for Jamaica, and on his return to England, was honoured with an English, and Sir Samuel Hood with an Irish peerage.

This victorious fleet, however, suffered afterwards from the inclemency of the elements. On the twenty-sixth of July, admiral Graves sailed from Jamaica, with seven ships of the line, including the *Ville de Paris* and some other of the prizes, the *Pallas* frigate, and about one hundred sail of merchantmen. The admiral had not been long at sea, before the *Hector* of seventy-four guns, one of the prizes, from her bad condition, lost company with the fleet, and was never able afterwards to recover it. On the eighth of September, the *Caton* of sixty-four guns, another of the French vessels, sprung a leak in a hard gale of wind, and the admiral ordered both her and the *Pallas* to Halifax to refit. This was only a prelude to their future misfortunes; for on the tenth the fleet and convoy, which still amounted to nearly ninety, encountered, on the banks of Newfoundland, one of the most dreadful storms which was ever known in that quarter. The hurricane increased during the night, and was accompanied with a dreadful deluge of rain. At ten o'clock in the morning, the *Ramilles*, the admiral's ship, had five feet of water in her hold, and she was obliged to part with several of her guns and other heavy articles, to enable her to keep afloat. The water increasing, the admiral removed the people on board some of the merchantmen. About four o'clock the water in her hold was increased to fifteen feet, and at the same period she was so completely set on fire, that captain Moriarty and the people had quitted her but a few minutes when she blew up.

The fate of the *Caton* was still more dreadful. After losing her masts and rudder, she was by the unwearying exertions of the crew kept afloat till the twenty-third; but the struggle was then at an end.

The ship rapidly filling with water, while the aspect of the sea indicated that neither boat nor raft could live for any length of time, the majority of the crew had given themselves up for lost, and remained below. In this extremity captain Inglesfield came upon deck, and observed that a few of the people had forced their way into the pinnace, and others were preparing to follow; upon this he threw himself into the boat, but found much difficulty in getting clear of the ship's side, from the violence of the crowd that was passing to follow his example. Of all these Mr. Baylis only, a youth of seventeen, who threw himself into the waves and swam after the boat, had the good fortune to be taken in. The number of the persons who were thus committed to the mercy of the waves, amounted to twelve; their whole stock of provisions consisted of a bag of bread, a small ham, a single piece of pork, a few French cordials, and one quart bottle of water. A minute detail of their sufferings would exceed our bounds; suffice it to say, that they were sixteen days exposed in this forlorn state; when at length their provision and water being totally exhausted they were happy enough to gain the port of Fayal. The rest of the crew, it is presumed, perished with the vessel.

For an account of the fate of the *Ville de Paris*, and the *Glorieux*, the public are indebted to a singular accident. A Danish merchant-ship returning from the West Indies, found a man floating upon a piece of a wreck, who appears to have been insensible when taken on board. When restored to his senses, he reported that his name was Wilson; that he had been a seaman on board the *Ville de Paris*; and added, that when she was going to pieces, he clung to a part of the wreck, and remained in a state of insensibility during most of the time that he continued in the water; he perfectly recollected that the *Glorieux* had foundered, and that he saw her go down on the day preceding that on which the *Ville de Paris* perished.

The crew of the *Hector*, after suffering great hardships, were saved by the good fortune of meeting with a merchant-ship called the *Hawke*, commanded by Thomas Hill, of Dartmouth, who humanely received them on board his own vessel, and conveyed them to Newfoundland. The *Hector* had previously had a desperate engagement with two of the enemy's frigates, who left her in that miserable condition in which the merchant-ship found her. Thus of seven ships of the line, which composed the Jamaica squadron, only two, the *Canada* and the *Caton*, escaped.

The victory of Rodney was in some measure damped by the taking of the Bahama Islands by the Spaniards on the eighth of May, which were found in a defenceless state by the enemy. This loss was however again nearly compensated by the capture of Acra, and four other Dutch forts on the coast of Africa, by Captain Shirley in the *Leander*. On the fifth of January, also, Sir Edward Hughes reduced the town of Trincomalee belonging to the Dutch, in the island of Ceylon.

TOTAL DEFEAT OF THE SPANIARDS AT GIBRALTAR.

IN Europe the conclusion of the campaign was not less glorious for Great Britain, than it had been in the West Indies. The reduction of Minorca inspired the Spanish nation with fresh motives to perseverance. The duke de Crillon, who had been recently successful in the siege of Minorca, was appointed to conduct the siege of Gibraltar, and it was resolved to employ the whole strength of the Spanish monarchy in seconding his operations. No means were neglected, nor expense spared, that promised to forward the views of the besiegers. From the failure of all plans hitherto adopted for effecting the reduction of Gibraltar, it was resolved to adopt new ones. Among the various projects for this purpose, one which had been formed by the chevalier d'Arcon was deemed the most worthy of trial. This was to construct such floating batteries as could neither be sunk nor fired. With this view, their bottoms were made of the thickest timber, and their sides of wood and cork long soaked in water, with a large layer of wet sand between.

To prevent the effects of red hot balls, a number of pipes were contrived to carry water through

every part of them, and pumps were provided to keep these constantly supplied with water. The people on board were to be sheltered from the fall of bombs by a cover of rope netting, which was made aloping, and overlaid with wet hides.

These floating batteries, ten in number, were made out of the hulls of large vessels, cut down for the purpose, and carried from twenty-eight to ten guns each, and were seconded by eighty large boats mounted with guns of heavy metal, and also by a multitude of frigates, ships of force, and some hundreds of small craft.

General Elliott, the intrepid defender of Gibraltar, was not ignorant that inventions of a peculiar kind were prepared against him, but knew nothing of their construction. He nevertheless provided for every circumstance of danger that could be foreseen or imagined. The thirteenth day of September was fixed upon by the besiegers for making a grand attack, when the new-invented machines, with all the united powers of gunpowder and artillery in their highest state of improvement, were to be called into action. The combined fleets of France and Spain in the bay of Gibraltar amounted to forty-eight sail of the line. Their batteries were covered with one hundred and fifty-four pieces of heavy brass cannon. The numbers employed by land and sea against the fortress were estimated at one hundred thousand men. With this force, and by the fire of three hundred cannon, mortars, and howitzers, from the adjacent isthmus, it was intended to attack every part of the British works at one and the same instant. The surrounding hills were covered with people assembled to behold the spectacle. The cannonade and bombardment were tremendous. The showers of shot and shells from the land batteries and the ships of the besiegers, and from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a most dreadful scene. Four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment. The whole peninsula seemed to be overwhelmed in the torments of fire which were incessantly poured upon it. The Spanish floating batteries for some time answered the expectations of their framers. The heaviest shells often rebounded from their tops, while thirty-two pound shot made no visible impression upon their hulls. For some hours the attack and defence were so equally supported, as scarcely to admit of any appearance of superiority on either side. The construction of the battering ships were so well calculated for withstanding the combined force of fire and artillery, that they seemed for some time to bid defiance to the powers of the heaviest ordnance. In the afternoon the effects of hot shot became visible. At first there was only an appearance of smoke, but in the course of the night, after the fire of the garrison had continued about fifteen hours, two of the floating batteries were in flames, and several more were visibly beginning to kindle. The endeavours of the besiegers were now exclusively directed to bring off the men from the burning vessels; but in this they were interrupted. Captain Curtis, who lay ready with twelve gun-boats, advanced and fired upon them with such order and expedition, as to throw them into confusion before they had finished their business. They fled with their boats, and abandoned to their fate great numbers of their people. The opening of day-light disclosed a most dreadful spectacle. Many were seen in the midst of the flames crying out for help, while others were floating upon pieces of timber, exposed to equal danger from the opposite element. The generous humanity of the victors equalled their valour, and was the more honourable, as the exertions of it exposed them to no less danger than those of active hostility. In endeavouring to save the lives of his enemies, captain Curtis nearly lost his own. While for the most benevolent purpose he was along-side of the floating batteries, one of them blew up, and some heavy pieces of timber fell into his boat, and pierced through its bottom. By similar perilous exertions, near four hundred men were saved from inevitable destruction. The exercise of humanity to an enemy under such circumstances of immediate action and impending danger, conferred more true honour than could be acquired by the most splendid series of victories. It in some degree occurred the impression made to the disadvantage of human nature, by the madness of mankind in destroying each other by wasteful wars. The floating batteries

were all consumed. The violence of their explosion was such, as to burst open doors and windows at a great distance. Soon after the destruction of the floating batteries, lord Howe, with thirty-five ships of the line, brought to the brave garrison an ample supply of every thing wanted, either for their support or their defence. This complete relief of Gibraltar was the third decisive event in the course of a twelvemonth, which favoured the re-establishment of a general peace.

NEW ADMINISTRATION.

THE prosperity of nations often depends upon unforeseen contingencies. We have seen the government in the year 1782, wrested out of the unskilful hands which had conducted it almost to the verge of destruction; and the whole ability, the patriotism, the landed interest of the nation, at once united in support of an administration formed on the most popular basis. But this pleasing prospect was clouded by the lamented death of the marquis of Rockingham on the first of July. He was the centre of union which kept the jarring particles of the whig interest united. A few days after the death of the marquis, a meeting of the Rockingham party was convened by Fox, the avowed object of which was, to defeat the appointment of lord Shelburne to the situation of prime minister. At this meeting it was agreed to support the nomi-

nation of the duke of Portland to the first office in the treasury, and that Fox should wait on his majesty with this resolve. It is said that Fox arrived at the royal closet only in time to learn that the treasurer's staff had just been committed to the hands of lord Shelburne. It is added, that Fox then requested leave to name the new secretary of state; and, on being informed that the office was already disposed of, he requested permission to resign, and was followed by lord John Cavendish, the duke of Portland, Burke, Sheridan, Montague, lord Althorpe, lord Duncannon, J. Townshend, and Lee.

The Shelburne administration was respectable, but it was feeble: it wanted both parliamentary interest and parliamentary ability. Lord Grant-ham, a nobleman more distinguished by his amiable character than by the extent of his abilities, succeeded to the office of Fox; Pitt was made chancellor of the exchequer, and earl Temple succeeded the duke of Portland as lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Though lord Shelburne had formerly declared in the house of lords, "that whenever the parliament of Great Britain should acknowledge the independence of America, the sun of England's glory was set for ever;" he took occasion to observe, in the same house, when he came into administration, that he now considered it as a necessary evil to which the country must inevitably submit.

CHAPTER XIX.

Motives for a general Peace—Preliminaries Signed with America—With France, Spain, &c.—Meeting of Parliament—Debates on the Peace—Resolutions carried against Ministry—Lord Shelburne resigns—Coalition Ministry—Bill preventing appeals from Ireland—India Affairs—Pitt's Motion on the Subject of a Parliamentary Reform—The Quakers petition the House of Commons against the Slave Trade—Fox introduces his India Bill—A second Bill for the internal Government of the British Dominions in India—The Bill lost in the House of Peers—Contest between the Crown and Commons—The Conduct of the High Bailiff of Westminster in refusing to return Fox brought before the House of Commons—Pitt's India Bill—The Commutation Tax—Bill for the Restoration of the Estates forfeited in Scotland in 1715 and 1746, passed.

MOTIVES FOR A GENERAL PEACE.

THE events which disposed the hostile nations to pacific measures have been amply detailed in the two preceding chapters. The capture of the British army in Virginia, the defeat of count de Grasse, and the destruction of the Spanish floating batteries, inculcated on Great Britain, France, and Spain, the policy of sheathing the sword, and stopping the effusion of human blood. Each nation found on a review of past events, that though their losses were great, their gains were little or nothing. By urging the American war, Great Britain had increased her national debt upwards of one hundred millions of pounds sterling, and wasted the lives of at least fifty thousand of her subjects. To add to her mortification, she had brought all this on herself, by pursuing an object, the attainment of which seemed to be daily less probable, and the benefits of which, even though it could have been attained, were very problematical.

The empress of Russia, and the emperor of Germany, were the mediators in accomplishing the great work of peace. Such was the state of the contending parties, that the intercession of powerful mediators was no longer necessary. The disposition of Great Britain to recognise the independence of the United States had removed the principal difficulty which had hitherto obstructed a general pacification.

The avowed object of the alliance between France and America, and the steady adherence of both parties not to enter into negotiations without the concurrence of each other, reduced Great Britain to the alternative of continuing a hopeless unproductive war, or of negotiating under the idea of recognising American independence. Seven years experience had proved to the nation that the conquest of the American states was impracticable; they now received equal conviction, that the recognition of their independence was an indispensable preliminary to the termination of a war, from the continuance of which, neither profit or honour was to be acquired. At the close of the war, a revolution was effected in the sentiments of the inhabitants of Great Britain, not less remarkable than what in the beginning of it took place among the citizens of America.

In the course of the summer of 1783, Fitzherbert, the minister at Brussels, was appointed plenipotentiary on the part of Great Britain, to conclude the treaty with the ministers of France, Spain, and Holland; and Mr. Oswald, a merchant, who had been long conversant in American affairs, was nominated as commissioner from his Britannic majesty to treat with John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, the commissioners from America.

PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE WITH AMERICA—FRANCE, SPAIN, &c.

ON the thirtieth of November 1783, provisional articles were signed by the British and American commissioners, which were to be inserted in the general treaty of peace, whenever it should be concluded between the European powers. By these articles the independence of America was acknowledged in the fullest extent; very ample boundaries were assigned to the States, comprehending the extensive countries on both sides the Ohio, and on the east of the Mississippi, and the fall right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland.

The preliminary articles between Great Britain and France were signed at Versailles by Fitzherbert and the count de Vergennes, on the twenty-eighth of January 1783, and those with Spain on the same day. By the former of these treaties the fishery on the coast of Newfoundland was permitted to the French, from Cape St. John, on the eastern side, round the north of the island, to Cape Ray on the west.—The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to France. In the West Indies Great Britain ceded also the island of Tobago, and restored that of St. Lucia. In Africa the river Senegal, and all its dependencies and forts were ceded, and the island of Goree restored to the French. In the East Indies England restored all her conquests. The articles also relative to the port and harbour of Dunkirk, established at the peace of Utrecht, were by the new treaty annulled.

In return for these concessions, France restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat, in the West Indies; and in Africa the possession of Fort James, and the river Gambia, were guaranteed to Great Britain.

By the treaty with Spain, Great Britain relinquished all right and claim to West Florida, and the island of Minorca, and ceded the province of East Florida; on the other side, the Bahama islands were restored to Great Britain. With respect to the Dutch, a suspension of arms only was agreed to; and it was some months before the preliminaries were settled. [See note B, at the end of this Vol.]

By these treaties an end was put to the most unfortunate war, in which Great Britain had hitherto been engaged: From the conflict of parties which distracted the nation, however, these articles of peace were doomed to undergo a severe examination.

DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT ON THE PEACE—MINISTRY OUTVOTED—THEY RESIGN.

THE parliament met on the twenty-first of January 1783, and a coalition having been previously

formed between lord North and the Portland faction, some debates ensued concerning the provisional articles with America; but little business of consequence was transacted till the seventeenth of February, when the preliminary articles were laid before the two houses.

An address of thanks and approbation being moved in the house of peers by lord Pembroke, and seconded by the marquis of Carmarthen, a succession of able and eloquent speeches were made by the lords Carleton, Walsingham, Beckville, Sturmont, and Leighton, reproaching the preliminaries of peace as derogatory from the dignity, and in the highest degree injurious to the interests of the nation. "The dereliction of the loyalists of America, and the Indians our allies," was said to be a baseness unexampled in the records of history. In the lowest ebb of distress we ought not to have subscribed to terms so ignominious. Francis I. when conquered and a captive, wrote, "that all was lost except his honour;" and his magnanimity finally re-established his fortune. The felicity of our negotiations was every where apparent. In Africa, our trade was surrendered to France by the cession of Senegal and Goree—in Asia, Pondicherry was not only given back, but, to render the boon more acceptable, a large territory was made to accompany it—in America, the prohibitions against fortifying St. Pierre and Miquelon were removed, and the limits of the fishery extended—and under pretence of drawing a boundary line, the treaty grants to the United States an immense tract of country inhabited by more than twenty Indian nations—in the West Indies, St. Lucia was relinquished, which was of such military importance, that so long as we retained this island in our hands, we might well have stood upon the *utriusque*, as the basis of negotiation in that quarter—The cession of East Florida to Spain was an extravagance for which it was impossible to find even the shadow of a pretence—To complete the whole, France was allowed to repair and fortify the harbour of Dunkirk, which, in the event of a future war, might annoy our trade in its centre, and counteract all the advantages of our local situation for foreign commerce; and what is most wonderful, all these sacrifices are made on the professed ground of arranging matters on the principles of reciprocity."

The minister defended himself from these attacks with great ability. His lordship declared, "that peace was the object for which the nation at large had discovered the most unequivocal desire; and he had in view was the advantage of his country, and he was certain that he had attained it. The vast uncultivated tract of land to the southward of the lakes," his lordship said, "was of infinite consequence to America, and of none to England; and the retention of it, or even of the forts which commanded it, could only have laid the foundation of future hostility. If our liberality to Ireland was the subject of just applause, why act upon principles of illiberality to America? The refusal of the Newfoundland fishery would have been a direct manifestation of hostile intentions; and as it lay on their coasts, it was in reality impossible to exclude them from it by any restrictions; it is an advantage which nature has given them, and to attempt to wrest it from them would not only be unjust, but impracticable. Of one objection his lordship acknowledged that he deeply felt the force. His regret and compassion for the situation of the unhappy loyalists were as poignant as those of their warmest advocates. This objection admitted only of one answer, the answer which he had given to his own bleeding heart—"It is better that a part should suffer, rather than the whole empire perish." He would have dashed from him the bitter cup which the adversities of his country held out to him, if peace had not been absolutely necessary—if it had not been called for with a unanimity and vigour that could not be resisted. No arts of address or negotiation had been neglected; but the American commissioners had no power to concede further. The congress itself had not the power—for, by the constitution of America, every state was supreme, including in itself the legislative and judicial powers; its jurisdiction, therefore, was not liable to control. In the mode of interposition, by recommendation alone, could the congress act. If, after all, the loyalists should not be received into the bosom of their native country, Britain, penetrated with gratitude

for their services, and warm with the feelings of humanity, would afford them an asylum; and it would doubtless be wiser to indemnify them for their losses, than to ruin the nation by a renewal or prolongation of the calamities of war. The cession of East Florida, his lordship said, was rendered unavoidable, by the mistaken and ruinous policy of those ministers who had brought the nation under the miserable necessity of treating with its enemies on terms very different from those it could formerly have commanded. This province, detached from Western Florida, already conquered by the arms of Spain, was however of trivial value; and the amount of its imports and exports bore no proportion to the expense of its civil establishment. We had, nevertheless, obtained a compensation in the restitution of the Bahamas. Although the bounds of the French fishery were somewhat extended, by far the most eligible parts of the Newfoundland coast were left in possession of the English, and a source of future contention removed by the exact ascertainment of limits. In exchange for St. Lucia, France had restored six of the seven islands she had taken, and only retained Tobago. Senegal and Goree had been originally French settlements, but their commerce was inconsiderable; and the whole African trade was open to the English, by our settlements on the river Gambia, which were guaranteed to us by this treaty. The restoration of Pondicherry, and our other conquests in the East, must be acknowledged not a measure of expediency so much as of absolute necessity, if the state of the East India company were adverted to. Such had been the formidable confederacy against which they were compelled to contend, such the wretched derangement of their finances, and so exposed to hazard were their vast and precarious possessions, that nothing but peace could recover to them their ascendancy in Asia; in such a situation it was impossible to procure terms of accommodation more honourable. The removal of the restraints relative to the harbour of Dunkirk—restraints disgraceful to France, and of trifling advantage to England—was lavished against without candour or reason; Dunkirk, as a port, was, in his lordship's assertion, far from possessing the consequence ascribed to it; it lies near a shoaly part of the channel; it cannot receive ships of a large size, and can never be a rendezvous for squadrons; it may indeed be a resort for privateers, but these we know by experience could easily issue from other ports. In fine, the confederacy formed against us was decidedly superior to our utmost exertions—our taxes were exorbitant—our debts, funded and unfunded, amounted to two hundred and forty-seven millions—our commerce was rapidly declining—our navy was overbalanced by the fleets of the combined powers, in the alarming proportion of more than fifty ships of the line. Peace was in those circumstances necessary to our existence as a nation. The best terms of accommodation which our situation would admit had been procured; and his lordship ventured to affirm, that they could be declared or opposed only by ignorance, prejudice, or faction." On a division, the address was carried by a majority of seventy-two to fifty-nine voices.

In the house of commons the ministry were less successful. The address was moved by T. Pitt, and seconded by Wilberforce. It however met with a very different fate, after giving occasion to very warm debates.

An amendment to the address was proposed by lord John Cavendish, and seconded by St. John.

Lord North, in a very long, but (considering his situation) a most unbecoming speech, went over the different articles of the peace, which he reprobated as being altogether unbecomable to Great Britain, dangerous to the safety and derogatory to the honour of the nation, and not warranted or justified by the situation of the parties at war. He therefore said, he would vote for the amendment, to which he proposed to add a clause in favour of the American loyalists.

Powys was strenuous for the address, and declared his satisfaction with the peace in the most unequivocal manner. He disavowed all personal and interested motives; and while he gloried that the first lord of the treasury had broken the confederacy in arms against this country, he confessed that he had no great predilection for his character. He thought that this was the age of strange confederacies. The world had seen great

and arbitrary despotism and forth the protectors of an infant republic. France and Spain had combined to establish the rising liberties of America; and what was wonderful, the house of commons now surveyed the counterpart of this picture. A monstrous coalition had been made between a noble lord, and an illustrious commoner. The lofty asserter of the prerogative had joined in alliance with the worshipper of the majesty of the people.

The lord advocate exclaimed against the amendment, and against the addition made to it by lord North, and from the coalition formed between the latter and Fox, he judged that they would be both against the original motion. After attacking the coalition, his lordship defended the treaties. He was persuaded that, with regard to the loyalists, the ministry had done every thing within the compass of their power.

Sheridan remarked the reflections which had been thrown out against the coalition of lord North and Fox; and pointed out, as something more singular, the intimate alliance which had been formed between the lord advocate, the most pledged supporter of the high prerogative of the crown, and Pitt, the leader of the popular advocates for a parliamentary reform. He doubted not the convenience of the principles of the learned lord. They could perpetually fluctuate with his interest. It mattered not to him whether he was to advance the prerogative, or to act to its overthrow. In their opposite lines of conduct he could preserve his consistency; for his uniform object was himself.

Fox now rose, and pointed out the peculiar delicacy of his situation. He had been accused of having formed a union with a noble lord whose principles he had opposed for several years of his life. But the grounds of their opposition being removed, he did not conceive it to be honourable to keep up animosities for ever. The American war was the source of his disagreement with the noble lord; and that cause of enmity being now no more, it was wise and fit to put an end to the ill-will, the animosity, the rancour, and the feuds which it engendered. The learned lord, who had impenitently been so lavish of his charges, had once been the obedient friend of the noble person in the blue ribbon; and with what view had he deserted him? He had formerly approved his system when it was calamitous and unjust; and did he now, from a spirit of system, avoid him when his line of conduct was more meritorious? The maxims adopted by the learned lord were not unknown; and no virtuous statesman could possibly approve of them. They taught him to submit to perpetual variations of his sentiments; and to go decidually into the views of ministers, whatever they might be.

Pitt, and several other members, took part in the debate; after which the house having divided, it appeared that ministry were outvoted, there being a majority for the amendment of two hundred and twenty-four to two hundred and eight.

The defeat of the minister in the house of commons on the subject of the address to the throne, was a topic of universal conversation, and considered as a prognostic of his approaching fall. It was immediately perceived, that the determination of the house would be a public notification of the impropriety of the peace; and it was therefore thought advisable that it should be followed up by some other proceedings. Accordingly, on the twenty-first February, the subject was a second time brought before the house of commons by lord John Cavendish. His lordship expressed his concern, that the majority for the amendment on the address to the throne had been represented as having actually voted against the peace, possibly by some persons who might have had their own views to serve in propagating such a report. He was therefore anxious to convince the nation, and the powers with whom we were negotiating, of our fixed determination not to renew the war. Nevertheless, he censured in severe terms the conditions on which the peace had been obtained; and having recapitulated the various disadvantages we had sustained in effecting the pacification, read the following motions:

1. "That in consideration of the public faith, which ought to be preserved inviolable, his faithful commons will support his majesty in rendering firm and permanent the peace to be concluded definitively, in consequence of the provisional treaty, and the preliminary articles.—2. That, in concurrence with his majesty's paternal regard for his poe-

ple, they will employ their best endeavours to improve the blessings of peace.—3. That his majesty, in acknowledging the independence of the United States of America, has acted as the circumstances of affairs indisputably required, and in conformity to the sense of parliament.—4. That the concessions made to the adversaries of Great Britain, are greater than they were entitled to, either from the actual situation of their respective possessions, or from their comparative strength.—And, 5. That they would take the case of the loyalists into consideration, and administer such relief as their conduct and necessity should be found to merit."

The two first resolutions were agreed to without any opposition. On the third a short debate took place, occasioned by doubts having arisen in the minds of several members, respecting the power vested in the king, to acknowledge the independence of the United States, which, it was unanimously agreed by the gentlemen of the long robe, his majesty had full authority to do, in consequence of the statute past last year to enable him to make peace with America. The last resolution lord John Cavendish consented to waive. On the fourth, which conveyed so pointed a censure on ministry, a very animated debate took place; but the memorable coalition brought such an accession of strength and numbers to one side, that the question was carried against the ministry by a majority of two hundred and seven voices to one hundred and ninety.

The success of this motion ascertained the certainty of a ministerial revolution, and the house of commons adjourned from time to time, with the view of forwarding a new arrangement. From these ineffectual endeavours to accommodate party views, the business of the nation was suspended, and more than a month passed in a kind of ministerial interregnum.

The want of an efficient government could be at no time more severely felt than at this. At home the disembodiment of the militia, the discharge of seamen, the reduction of soldiers, the neglect of giving them their pay, contributed to fill Portsmouth and Plymouth with tumult and confusion, and spread mutinies and riots all over the kingdom. But these were not the only matters that called for the attention of government. Our negotiations with foreign powers were not brought to an end. No definitive treaty was concluded with France and Spain. No commercial alliance was adjusted with America, and the East India Company required the immediate aid of parliament both with regard to its foreign and domestic concerns.

Such was the state of public affairs, when Coke, member for Norfolk, moved, on the twenty-fourth of March, an address to the king, "That he would be graciously pleased to take into consideration the distracted and unsettled state of the empire, and condescend to a compliance with the wishes of this house, by forming an administration entitled to the confidence of his people." This address was unanimously carried, and presented to the king, by such members of the house as were privy counsellors. His majesty replied, "That it was his earnest desire to do every thing in his power to comply with the wishes of his faithful commons." This answer not being deemed sufficiently explicit, lord Surrey moved, in a few days after, another address, framed in very strong and pointed terms: "Assuring his majesty that all delays in a matter of this moment, have an inevitable tendency to weaken the authority of his government, and most humbly intreating his majesty that he will take such measures towards this object as may quiet the anxiety and apprehension of his faithful subjects." But Pitt, declaring that he had resigned his office of chancellor of the exchequer, and that any resolution or address relative to a new arrangement of administration was unnecessary, Lord Surrey consented to withdraw his motion; and the ministers, who, reluctant to quit the luxury of power, had lingered in office to the last moment, now gave place to their determined and victorious antagonists.

COALITION MINISTRY—ACT AGAINST APPEALS FROM IRELAND.

THE duke of Portland was placed at the head of the treasury; and lord John Cavendish was re-appointed chancellor of the exchequer; lord North and Fox were nominated joint secretaries of state, the first for the home, the latter for the foreign de-

partment; lord Koppel, who had recently resigned on account of his disapprobation of the peace, was again placed at the head of the admiralty; lord Sebright was created president of the council; and lord Carlisle was advanced to the post of lord privy seal. The great seal was put into commendation: the chief justice Loughborough, so distinguished for political versatility, "Who could change and change and yet go on," being declared first lord commissioner; the earl of Northampton was appointed to the government of Ireland; and Burke was reinstated in his former post of paymaster of the forces. Of the seven cabinet ministers, the majority, who also occupied the most important posts of administration, were of the old whig, or Rockingham party. Lord Stormont, lord North, and lord Carlisle, contenting themselves rather with a participation of honours and emoluments, than of power.

Notwithstanding, therefore, the admission of those Tory lords into the ministry, it could not but be acknowledged, as to all the grand purposes of government, a Whig administration: more especially when the ability, the vigour, and the decision of its efficient leader were justly and impartially estimated. But unfortunately a junction of persons whose principles were radically hostile, operated to diminish public confidence in their measures; and therefore, while it obtained them a complete conquest, it deprived them of the more solid advantages of victory.

One of the first measures of the new ministry was to expedite the passing of a bill before pending, "for preventing any writs of error or appeal from the kingdom of Ireland, from being received by any of his majesty's courts in Great Britain; and of renouncing in express terms, the legislative authority of the British parliament in relation to Ireland." This bill was a necessary consequence of the general plan of Irish emancipation; for the mere repeal of the declaratory act did not, in the contemplation of the common law, make any difference whatever in the relative situation of the two countries.

Mr. Fox lost no time in attempting to remove every obstacle which opposed the opening an immediate intercourse with America; and early in April he moved for liberty to bring in a "Bill for preventing any manifesto, certificate, or other document being required from any ships belonging to the United States of America, arriving from thence at any port of this kingdom; or upon entering or clearing out from any port of this kingdom, for any port within the United States." The bill in its original shape, was supposed to go too far, by extending an indulgence that might be made subservient to the practice of smuggling; an amendment was therefore adopted, limiting for a certain time the powers to be vested in the king, after which it was carried through the commons, and with some slight opposition passed the lords.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

THE very critical situation of our affairs in the east next engaged the attention of parliament. The house of commons had appointed a select committee to examine into the state of the British dominions in India. In the prosecution of this important inquiry, it was discovered that the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, had been perverted to the base purposes of speculation, plunder, and oppression, and that corruption, fraud, and injustice, pervaded all the departments of the company's government in India. These alarming discoveries produced a general unity of opinion amongst public men of every description, on the immediate necessity of taking some effectual step, to restore the British name from disgrace, to restore to the natives the pure administration of mild and equal laws, and to secure and improve our territorial possessions in India.

To a representation of the defects and abuses of Indian government, succeeded in a few days a disclosure of the ruined state of the company's finances, by a bill introduced by Sir Henry Fletcher, "For suspending the payments of the company now due to the royal exchequer, and for enabling them to borrow the sum of three hundred thousand pounds for their farther relief."

Lord John Cavendish declared this bill to be only a branch of a larger plan; and that it was brought forward separately, in order to answer an exigency which did not admit of delay.

In the upper house, lord F. William dwelt on the desperate situation of the East India company,

and affirmed, "that, unless the bill passed, their bankruptcy would be inevitable. The expenditure of their settlements had far exceeded their revenue; bills had been drawn upon them which they were unable to answer without a temporary supply, so that the existence of the company depended upon the success of the bill;" which accordingly passed both houses with little difficulty or opposition.

Here it may not be improper to remark, that about this period, intelligence was received of an event, that opened a prospect of a favourable change to our affairs in the east. This was peace being concluded with the Mahrattas. This advantage to Great Britain, and to the East India company, was soon followed by the death of Hyder Ally, a man eminently distinguished for an enterprising spirit, and vigour of mind; who entertained the most rooted aversion to the English name; and who by his power, courage, and military skill, had long proved himself, the most daring and formidable of all the company's enemies.

PITT'S REFORM BILL.

THE former motion of Pitt for an inquiry into the state of the representation being negatived, he now brought forward (May 7th) a specific plan for adding one hundred members to the commons, and abolishing a proportionable number of the burghage-tenure and other small and obnoxious boroughs. The revival of this important subject, which had deeply agitated the public mind, produced an animated debate; in the course of which, the discordant sentiments of ministers did not fail to awaken afresh the resentment of the house against the "ill-starred coalition."

Lord North, in a strain of allusive pleasantry declared, "That, while some with Lear, demanded a hundred knights, and others with Generl, were satisfied with fifty, he with Regan exclaimed, No, not one."

Fox, whose opinion on this great national question, was totally irreconcilable with that of his brother secretary's, very honourably preferred the consistency of public character to every consideration. "In his opinion the constitution required innovation and renovation. Its nature exposed it to change; and he regarded it as one of its chief excellences, that it was capable of renewed improvements. It might thus be gradually carried to perfection."

While the discussion of this important subject exposed the absurdity of one coalition, it is very remarkable that it paved the way for another, in every view certainly as singular and extraordinary. The Lord Advocate for Scotland, who had all along distinguished himself by his zeal for high prerogative, suspended upon the present occasion his natural sentiments, became at once a convert to the doctrine of reform, and asserted his entire approbation of Pitt's resolutions. He stood up boldly the advocate of the people, and affirmed, "that the yielding to their wishes would be the happiest means of putting an end to their complaints; and would certainly give a fresh infusion of fine blood into the constitution of the house of commons." Though the lord advocate and Pitt had been in office together during the short-lived Shelburne administration, they had continued until now rather shy than familiar, but this unexpected support and patriotic effusion effected a cordial and lasting union between those two celebrated characters. But Pitt's motion and resolutions were lost by a majority of two hundred and ninety-three to one hundred and forty-nine.

Pitt having failed in his attempt to improve the constitution of the house of commons, alderman Sawbridge, brought forward, May sixteenth, his motion for shortening the duration of parliaments. He observed "that he had heard the British constitution characterized on a former day, as the most glorious fabric, the work of ages, and the wonder of the world. It was his rooted persuasion, that the British constitution, till the decollation of Charles the first, was a system of the most wretched despotism. No gleam of liberty had ever shone out till after that era. It was in late times only, that the flame of public liberty illuminated the constitution. It was in late times only that our constitution had become the wonder of the world. To talk of it as having been so for ages, was to falsify records and history." The motion of

Sawbridge was seconded by alderman Bull, and warmly supported by the earl of Surrey and others, but was lost by a majority of one hundred and twenty-three to fifty-six.

QUAKERS PETITION AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE.

A BILL for regulating the trade of the African Company, being introduced towards the close of the session, with a clause prohibiting the officers of the company from exporting negroes, that humane, intelligent, and respectable class of citizens, known by the appellation of Quakers, convened in their annual assembly in the metropolis, embraced this favourable occasion to petition the house of commons, "That the clause in question might be extended to all persons whatsoever, professing themselves deeply affected with the consideration of the rapine, oppression, and blood attending this traffic: under the countenance of the laws of this country, say the petitioners, many thousands of these our fellow-creatures, entitled to the natural rights of mankind, are held as personal property in cruel bondage. Your petitioners regret, that a nation professing the christian faith should so far counteract the principles of humanity and justice." This petition awakened in a remarkable degree, the compassion of the house, and of the public, for those unhappy beings, and laid the foundation of the subsequent noble and generous efforts, to effect a total abolition of this detestable and inhuman commerce.

A variety of business comprehending details not sufficiently important to claim a place in history, having been completed; the parliament was at length prorogued, July sixteenth, by a speech, in which his majesty declared his intention of calling them together at an early period, in order to resume the consideration of the affairs of the East-Indies, which would demand their most serious and uninterrupted attention.

In the course of the summer, few material events occurred deserving of particular notice. The king, by virtue of an act passed for that purpose, issued an order in council, limiting the commerce between the continent of America and the British West-India islands, to ships British built. This was conformable to the grand principle on which the act of navigation was originally founded; and though this restriction gave extreme offence to the inhabitants of the United States; they had certainly no just reason to complain, as they could have no possible right to claim the advantages of dependence and independence at one and the same time.

On the third of September the definitive treaties of peace with France, Spain, and America, were with some alteration signed; and also preliminaries of peace with the States General, by which all the conquests of England were restored, except the town of Negapatnam on the coast of Coromandel, which their High Mightinesses were at last most reluctantly compelled to cede.

In the speech from the throne, at the meeting of parliament on the eleventh of November, his majesty, after noticing the conclusion of peace with France, Spain, and America; and the ratification of the preliminary articles with the States General; stated as a principal object of their consideration, the situation of the East-India company. "The utmost exertions of their wisdom," he said, "would be required to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from our India possessions; and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of those provinces." The address passed without opposition.

FOX'S INDIA BILL.

ON the eighteenth of November, accordingly, Fox moved for leave to bring in a bill for vesting the affairs of the East-India company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietary and the public. The plan proposed by Fox, was marked with all the characteristics of his ardent, daring, and luminous mind. The total derangement of the finances of the company, and their utter incompetency to govern the vast territories of which they had by very questionable means obtained the possession, was too evident to admit of contradiction. The evil was notorious, and difficult indeed was the task of devising an adequate remedy. His famous bill proposed to take at once from the directors and proprietors, the entire ad-

ministration, both of their territorial and commercial affairs; and to vest the management and direction of them in the hands of seven commissioners named in the bill, and irremovable by the crown, except in consequence of an address of either house of parliament. These commissioners were to be assisted by a subordinate board of nine directors, to be named in the first instance, by parliament, and afterwards chosen by the proprietors.

These commissioners and directors were empowered to enter immediately into possession of all lands, tenements, books, records, vessels, goods, merchandise, and securities, in trust for the company. They were required to come to a decision upon every question within a limited time, or to assign a specific reason for their delay. They were never to vote by ballot, and they were almost in all cases, to enter upon their journals the reasons of their vote. They were to submit once in every six months an exact state of their accounts to the court of proprietors, and at the beginning of every session to present a statement of their affairs to both houses of parliament.

This bill which vested the government in commissioners, was to continue in force four years, that is, till the year after the next general election. It was accompanied by a second bill, enacting regulations for the future government of the British territories in Hindostan. It took from the governor-general all power of acting independently of his council. It declared every existing British power in India incompetent to the acquisition or exchange of any territory in behalf of the company;—to the according to any treaty of partition;—to the hiring out the company's troops; to the appointment to office of any person removed for misdemeanour;—and to the hiring out any property to any civil servant of the company. It prohibited all monopolies; and also declared every illegal present recoverable by any person for his own sole benefit. But that part of the present bill, upon which the principal value seemed to be placed by its author, related to the Zemindars, or native landholders, whom it employed effectual means to secure in the possession of their respective inheritances, and to defend from oppression. It particularly endeavoured to preclude all vexatious and unwarrantable claims that might be made upon them. It therefore prohibited mortgages, and subjected every doubtful claim to the examination and censure of the commissioners.

It is scarcely possible to conceive the astonishment excited in the house of commons by the disclosure of this system. It was opposed with zeal and enthusiasm by the friends of the minister; and it was attacked by his opponents with all the vehemence of indignation, and all the energy of invective. It was on one side of the house extolled as a master piece of genius, virtue, and ability; while on the other it was reprobated as a deep and dangerous design, fraught with mischief and ruin. Pitt distinguished himself on this occasion as a formidable adversary of the minister. He acknowledged, "that India indeed wanted a reform, but not such a reform as this. The bill under consideration included a confiscation of the property, and a disfranchisement of the members of the East-India company. The influence which would accrue from this bill—a new, enormous, and unexampled influence,—was indeed in the highest degree alarming. Seven commissioners chosen ostensibly by parliament, but really by administration, were to involve in the vortex of their authority, the patronage and treasures of India. The right honorable member had acknowledged himself to be a man of justice, and it now appeared that he was prepared to sacrifice the king, the parliament, and the people at the shrine of his ambition. He desired to divest his present connections to a situation in which no political convulsions, and no variations of power, might be able to destroy their importance, and terminate their ascendancy."

On the other hand, Fox with his astonishing eloquence and ability vindicated the bill. The arguments of his opponents, he said might have been adopted with additional propriety, by King James the second. He might have claimed the property of dominion; but what had been the language of the people? No, you have no property in dominion;—dominion was vested in you, as it is in every chief magistrate, for the benefit of the community to be governed. It was a sacred trust delegated

by compact. You have abused the trust. You have exercised dominion for the purpose of vexation and tyranny, not of comfort, protection, and good order. We therefore resume the power which was originally ours. I am also (continued Fox,) charged with increasing the influence, and giving an immense accession of power to the crown. But certainly this bill as little augments the influence of the crown, as any measure that could be devised for the government of India, with the slightest promise of success. The very genius of influence consisted in hope or fear; fear of losing what we had, or hope of gaining more. Make the commissioners removable at will, and you set all the little passions of human nature afloat. Invest them with power, upon the same tenure as the British judges hold their station, removable upon delinquency, punishable upon guilt, but fearless of danger if they discharge their trust; and they will be liable to no resentment, and will execute their functions with glory to themselves, and for the common good of the country and mankind. This bill presumes the possibility of bad administration, for every word in it breathes suspicion. It supposes that men are but men; it confides in no integrity—it trusts to no character. It annexes responsibility, not only to every action, but even to the inaction of the powers it has created. He would risk (he said) his all upon the excellence of this bill. He would risk upon it whatever was most dear to him, whatever men most valued, the character of integrity, of talents, of honour, of present reputation and future fame;—these he would stake upon the constitutional safety, the enlarged policy, the equity and wisdom of the measure. Whatever therefore might be the fate of its authors, he had no fear that it would produce to this country every blessing of commerce and revenue; and by extending a generous and humane government over those millions whom the inscrutable dispensations of providence had placed under us in the remotest regions of the earth; it would consecrate the name of England among the noblest of nations."

While the bill was pending in the commons, a petition was presented by the East India company, representing the measure as subversive of their charter, and operating as a confiscation of their property without charging against them any specific delinquency; without trial, without conviction; a proceeding contrary to the most sacred privileges of British subjects; and praying to be heard by counsel against the bill. The city of London also took the alarm, and presented a strong petition to the same effect. But it was carried with uncommon rapidity through all its stages in the house of commons by decisive majorities, the division on the second reading being two hundred and seventeen to one hundred and three voices.

On the ninth of December Fox, attended by a numerous train of members presented the bill at the bar of the house of lords.

FOX'S BILL THROWN OUT BY THE PEERS.

THE second reading of the bill took place on the fifteenth of December, when counsel was heard at the bar in behalf of the company; and on the seventeenth it was moved that the bill be rejected. On this occasion Lord Camden spoke with great ability against the bill, which his lordship affirmed to be "in the highest degree pernicious and unconstitutional. To divest the company of the management of their own property, and commercial concerns, was to treat them as idiots; and he regarded the bill, not so much in the light of a commission of bankruptcy as of lunacy. But as a means of throwing an enormous addition of weight into the scale, not of legal, but ministerial influence, it was still more alarming. Were this bill to pass into a law, his lordship forcibly declared, we should see the king of England and the king of Bengal contending for superiority in the British parliament." After a vehement debate, the motion of rejection was carried by ninety five against seventy six voices.

Such was the concluding scene of an administration from whose vigour its partisans had conceived the most sanguine hopes; and whose strength had been represented by its enemies so vast and irresistible, as would in its progress break down all the barriers of the constitution. As the first divisions in the upper house were favourable to this bill, it will naturally be imagined that such a sudden and remarkable change of sentiment, must have been

occasioned by the intervention of some powerful cause, adequate to so extraordinary and unexpected an effect. On the eleventh of December, earl Temple had a conference with his majesty, which appears principally to have turned on the bill then pending in parliament. Though it was generally believed that the most entire cordiality and confidence on all points did not subsist between the king and his ministers, yet upon this measure they had obtained his perfect concurrence. It was probably the language that had been held by some of the members in the house of commons, who, in the heat of debate had asserted, that if the bill passed into a law, the crown would be no longer worth wearing, that first excited doubts in the royal breast. The monarch considered himself as having been duped and deceived by his confidential servants. A card was immediately written, stating, "that his majesty allowed earl Temple to say, that whoever voted for the India bill was not only not his friend, but would be considered by him as his enemy. And if these words were not strong enough, earl Temple might use whatever words he might deem stronger or more to the purpose."

An interference of so extraordinary a nature, was not likely to pass without animadversion and censure. William Baker, accordingly, moved the house of commons on the seventeenth, the very day that the bill was rejected by the lords; "That it was now necessary to declare, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion of the king upon any bill, or other proceeding depending in either house of parliament, with a view to influence the votes of the members, was a high crime and misdemeanor." After an animated debate the house divided upon the question, when the resolution was carried by a majority of seventy three.

CONTEST BETWEEN THE CROWN AND THE COMMONS.

THIS contest between the crown and the commons presented to the public a scene truly novel and interesting. Prerogative and privilege at war, is one of those alarming events, which the wisdom of preceding reigns had taken care to prevent. The crown therefore boldly entering the lists with the commons, exhibited a conduct without example in the annals of the present royal family. The situation of the prince was critical; he had gone perhaps too far to be able to recede. The ministers were committed upon their Indian system, and could not without a total sacrifice of personal independence, and the reputation of principle, abandon the scheme. It was impossible to discover a medium to preserve un wounded the honour of both.

An entire change of administration was therefore determined upon; and accordingly at midnight on the eighteenth of December, a royal message was sent to the secretaries of state, demanding the seals of their several departments, and at the same time directing that they should be delivered to the sovereign by the under secretaries, as a personal interview would be disagreeable. Early next morning letters of dismission, signed Temple, were sent to the other members of the cabinet. In a few days after, Pitt was declared first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, the marquis of Carmarthen and Thomas Townshend, created lord Sydney, were nominated secretaries of state; lord Thurlow was reinstated as lord chancellor; earl Gower as president of the council; the duke of Rutland was constituted lord privy seal; lord Howe placed at the head of the admiralty; and the duke of Richmond of the ordinance. The earl of Northampton was recalled from his government of Ireland, to which lord Temple, who had retained the seals of secretary only three days, was again appointed to succeed.

On the twenty-second of December the house of commons, being in a committee on the state of the nation, Erskine moved, "That an address be presented to the king, stating, that alarming reports had gone forth of an intended dissolution of parliament, and humbly representing to his majesty, the inconveniences and dangers of a prorogation or dissolution in the present conjuncture; and entreating the sovereign to hearken to the advice of that house, and not to the secret advice of particular persons who might have private interests of their own, separate from the true interests of the king and people."—This address was carried without a division,

and on the twenty-fourth was presented to the sovereign who returned the following answer: "Gentlemen, it has been my constant object to employ the authority entrusted to me by the constitution to its true and only end, the good of my people; and I am always happy in concurring with the wishes and opinions of my faithful commons. I agree with you in thinking that the support of the public credit and revenue must demand your most earnest and vigilant care. The state of the East Indies is also an object of as much delicacy and importance as can exercise the wisdom and justice of parliament. I trust you will proceed in these considerations with all convenient speed, after such an adjournment as the present circumstances may seem to require; and I assure you, that I shall not interrupt your meeting, by any exercise of my prerogative, either of prorogation or dissolution."

1784. The house now with tolerable satisfaction adjourned for the usual Christmas recess to the tenth of January, 1784; on which day the committee on the state of the nation was resumed; and several resolutions were brought forward by Fox, and agreed to by the house; prohibiting the lords of the treasury from assenting to the acceptance of the company's bills from India; forbidding also the issue of any of the public money after a prorogation or dissolution of parliament, unless the act of approbation shall have previously passed; and ordering accounts to be laid before the house of the monies already issued. These resolutions were followed by a motion from the earl of Surrey, "1. That in the present situation of his majesty's dominions it was peculiarly necessary that there should be an administration that had the confidence of the public. 2. That the late changes in his majesty's councils were accompanied with circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as did not conciliate the confidence of that house." On this motion the house divided, but it was carried in the affirmative by one hundred and ninety-six to one hundred and forty-two voices.

On the sixteenth of January a resolution was moved by lord Charles Spencer, "That the continuance of the present ministers in trusts of the highest importance and responsibility, was contrary to the principles of the constitution, and injurious to the interests of the king and people." Upon this question the house divided, ayes two hundred and five, noes one hundred and eighty-four; so that the anti-ministerial majority was reduced by defection from fifty-four to twenty-one voices.

About this time the chancellor of the exchequer introduced into the house, a bill for the better government of India, on principles which left the commercial concerns of the company in their own hands; and established a board of control, consisting of certain commissioners appointed by the king, possessing a negative on the proceedings of the company in all matters of government. On the motion of commitment, this bill was lost by two hundred and twenty-two against two hundred and fourteen—so that the opposition majority was now diminished by an ominous defection to eight.

Whatever hopes the present cabinet might form, from this flattering accession of parliamentary strength, they were still more encouraged by the addresses of thanks to the king for the removal of his late ministers, which now began to pour in from every quarter of the kingdom. In this the city of London took the lead, and in their address they say, "Your faithful citizens lately beheld with infinite concern the progress of a measure which equally tended to encroach on the right of your majesty's crown—to annihilate the chartered rights of the East India company—and to raise a power unknown to this free government, and highly inimical to its safety. As this dangerous measure was warmly supported by your majesty's late ministers, we heartily rejoice in their dismission, and humbly thank your majesty for exerting your prerogative in a manner so salutary and constitutional." And concluding in a style widely different from the usual tenor of their addresses on former occasions, they say, "Highly sensible of your majesty's paternal care and affection for your people, we pray the Almighty that you may long reign in peace over a free, a happy, and united nation."

Though the dismissal of the late ministers originated in a cause merely accidental, and on the part of the crown from a sudden and strong resent-

ment at a supposed invasion of the prerogative; yet the monarch acquired a popularity by the measure that effected for a time all recollection of former disagreements; and elevated the loyalty of the people to a degree of ardour, which court flattery itself cannot but acknowledge was at least commensurate with the merits of the sovereign. However grateful this circumstance might prove to the royal feelings, and however acceptable to the ministers; it still failed in securing to government the advantage most essential to the interests of the country, an ascendancy in the house of commons. Nor could the opposition expect to possess long the ground they now occupied. Every gazette threatened them with three or four addresses of thanks for their late removal from power; their numbers were daily falling off, and under such circumstances the most sanguine could not hope for ultimate success. Both parties therefore alarmed at the novel and dangerous situation of the country, seemed at length disposed to pause; and a number of respectable independent members having expressed a strong desire, that the great leaders of both sides would unite and form an administration on a broad and comprehensive basis, the idea was listened to with such general approbation as held out for a time a tolerable prospect of its being carried into effect.

With a view to forward this general union of parties, a meeting had been held of the independent interest of the house of commons. These gentlemen, finding their endeavours fruitless, in attempting to induce Pitt to an actual or virtual resignation of office; or to bring the duke of Portland to negotiate on any other terms; came at last to the resolution that a message should be sent from the king desiring an interview between his grace and Pitt, as the only remaining expedient that could preserve unscathed the honour of both, without any concession of principle on either side. His majesty accordingly complied with this request, and sent a message to the duke of Portland, expressing his desire that an interview might take place between his grace and Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of arranging a new plan of administration on fair and equal terms. The duke, previous to such interview, requested to be informed in what sense he was to understand the words fair and equal; and Pitt declining any explanation, the negotiation finally terminated.

The king and the nation at large were now evidently and openly united in sentiment against the commons; and the house of peers, who had hitherto remained the silent and passive spectators of this extraordinary contest, thought proper to come forward at this time, and at the motion of the earl of Effingham their lordships resolved, "1. That an attempt in any one branch of the legislature to suspend the execution of law, by separately assenting to itself the direction of a discretionary power vested by act of parliament, is unconstitutional. 2. That by the known principles of the constitution the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of the executive government was solely vested in the king; and that this house had every reason to place the firmest reliance on his majesty's wisdom in the exercise of this prerogative." These resolutions, shaped in the form of an address, were presented to the king. It was not to be supposed that so direct an attack upon the authority and wisdom of the commons, would be passed over in silence.—In return therefore they resolved, at the motion of lord Beauchamp, "1. That the house had not assumed to itself a right to suspend the execution of law, and 2. that for them to declare their opinion respecting the exercise of any discretionary power was constitutional and agreeable to established usage."

The opposition, who were still the majority of the house of commons, found themselves daily in a more embarrassing situation. But no difficulties however pressing, no dangers however formidable, could subdue their spirit, or suspend their exertions. On the eighteenth of February, previous to the house entering on business, Pitt thought proper to acquaint them, not as a message from the king, but as a piece of information he conceived himself pledged to communicate, "That his majesty had not yet, in compliance with the resolutions of the house, thought proper to dismiss his ministers, and that his ministers had not resigned." This intimation so far affected the temper and feelings of

the house, that it was found necessary to adjourn for two days, in order to recover a state of mind suitable to the discussion of a question, which involved the character, the attributes, and the existence of the popular branch of the legislature. On the twentieth of February the house met again, and an address, carried by a majority of twenty voices only, was presented to the king, expressive of "the reliance the house had on the wisdom of the sovereign, that he would take such measures as might tend to give effect to the wishes of his faithful commons, by removing every obstacle to the formation of such an administration as the house of commons had declared to be requisite." To this the king again replied in terms happily adapted to the occasion. He mentioned "his recent endeavours to unite in the public service, on a fair and equal footing, those whose joint efforts might have a tendency to put an end to the unhappy divisions and distractions of the country. Observing, at the same time, that there was no specific charge or complaint suggested against his present ministers, and that numbers of his subjects had expressed to him in the warmest manner their satisfaction at the late changes. Under these circumstances he trusted his faithful commons would not wish that the essential offices of the executive government should be vacated, until such a plan of union as he had called for, and they had pointed out, could be carried into effect."

This answer was by no means satisfactory, and on the first of March a yet stronger address was moved and carried, but by a still smaller majority than the last. The house, "humbly besought his majesty that he would be graciously pleased to lay the foundation of a strong and stable government, by the previous removal of his present ministers." To this address, which went directly to the point at issue, and left no room for evasion, the king replied in the same mild and firm language as before, repeating, "that no charge nor complaint, nor any specific objection, was yet made against any of his present ministers;" and adding this remarkable observation, "that if there were any just grounds for their removal, it ought to be equally a reason for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united administration which is stated to be requisite."

The measure of addressing having been fully and unavailingly tried, and it now appearing unquestionably clear, that any further experiment of this kind would prove useless and nugatory; Fox, in the following week, moved a representation to the crown, a mode of addressing to which no answer was customary, and which at great length, and in energetic language, stated, "the dangerous and pernicious tendency of those measures and maxims, by which a new system of executive government had been set up, which, wanting the confidence of that house, and acting in defiance of the resolutions, must prove at once inadequate by its inefficiency to the necessary objects of government, and dangerous by its example to the liberties of the people." This motion was carried by a majority of one.

On the following day, Fox proceeding himself deserted by many of his partisans, abandoned his original intention of moving the postponement of the mutiny bill, as a security against a sudden and premature dissolution. Here then the contest finally terminated, and administration obtained a complete victory. And on the twenty-fourth of March the parliament was prorogued, and the next day dissolved by proclamation, and a new parliament convened to meet on the eighteenth of May.

NEW PARLIAMENT.

At the general election, the influence of the crown being evidently combined with the inclination of the country, the effect produced was astonishing. The conditionalists, even those who once stood highest in the estimation of the public, were almost every where thrown out. But the most distinguished contest was that of the election for the city of Westminster; where the parties maintained a long and violent struggle, almost as memorable as a battle between contending nations. Fox, however, to the surprise of all, closed the poll with a majority of two hundred and thirty-five; but the high bailiff, by a scandalous partiality, re-

fused to make the return in his favour, for which an action was afterwards brought by Fox, in the court of king's bench, and a verdict with large damages obtained.

The meeting of parliament took place on the eighteenth of May; and from this term we may date the commencement of the parliamentary existence of administration. The remainder of the last session may rather be said to have been spent in a contest about places and power, than in the characteristic exertions of a regular government. The new ministers had now completed their arrangements; they had now obtained every advantage of situation; and had leisure to pursue, and strength to carry those measures which were to decide their character as statesmen and legislators. The king in his opening speech expressed "great satisfaction at meeting his parliament at this time, after having recurred in so important a moment to the sense of his people. He recommended to their most serious consideration to frame suitable provisions for the good government of our possessions in the East-Indies. Upon this subject, parliament would not lose sight of the effect which the measures they adopted might have on our own constitution and our dearest interests at home." The address of thanks proposed on this occasion, contained strong expressions of approbation respecting the late dissolution. On this point, therefore, the house divided, and the address, as originally proposed, was carried by a majority of seventy-six voices; a decisive proof that the dissolution had fully answered its intended purpose.

HIGH BAILIFF'S CONDUCT IN REFUSING TO RETURN FOX.

Tax business which chiefly occupied the attention of the house and the public for some time, was the complaint stated by Fox respecting the conduct of the high-bailiff of Westminster, who had daringly refused to make the return in his favour, although he was evidently entitled to it from a large and decided majority.

On the twenty-fourth of May, a resolution was moved by Lee, late attorney-general, "That the high-bailiff of Westminster, on the day upon which the writ of election expired, ought to have returned two citizens to serve in parliament for that city." A long and violent debate ensued, but, on the motion of Sir Lloyd Kenyon, the previous question was put and carried, by more than two to one. It was then ordered that the high bailiff and his deputy should attend the house on the day following. The only ground on which that officer rested his defence was that he had granted a scrutiny, and could not in conscience make the return till its termination. But to this simple and barefaced plea, a decisive answer presented itself. He was bound, by the nature of his office and the tenor of his oath, to make his return at the period the writ was returnable, according to the poll actually taken. If he really felt any of those scruples of conscience by which he professed to be embarrassed, the law of parliament allowed him to include all the three candidates in the same return; which would at once have transferred the burden of the decision from his own conscience to the conscience of the house. After long pleadings by council at the bar of the house on either part, the motion was renewed, "that the high bailiff be directed forthwith to make the return;" but to the astonishment of every liberal mind in the kingdom, this motion was on a division finally negatived by a majority of seventy-eight. It was then moved by Lord Mulgrave, and carried; "That the high bailiff do proceed in the scrutiny with all possible despatch." This ended for the present session this shameful business.

On the sixteenth of June, a motion was made by Alderman Sawbridge, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the representation of the commons of Great Britain in parliament." Pitt, in the usual language of ministers, stated, that the time was improper, but observed also, that the measure had his approbation, and he should bring the subject before parliament early next session. But the most remarkable circumstance attending this debate was, that Dundas, who had supported the former proposition of Pitt, had the good luck to escape the charge of inconsistency in opposing the present motion, by the

fortunate discovery of a distinction which preserved his reputation. His objection was, that the committee now moved for was a select committee, whereas the committee for which he had formerly voted, was a committee of the whole house. Lord Mulgrave moved the previous question, which was carried by a majority of seventy-four.

PITT'S INDIA BILL.

PITT had now reached the summit of popularity, and the public with impatient anxiety expected the production of his plan for the future government of India. He therefore, introduced the subject on the sixth of July, by a bill, founded on the general principles of that rejected by the former parliament, and to which the company had now given their slow and reluctant assent. By this bill, a board of control, composed of a certain number of commissioners of the rank of privy counsellors, was established, the members of which were to be appointed by the king, and removable at his pleasure. This board was authorised to check, superintend, and control the civil and military government and revenue of the company. The despatches transmitted by the court of directors to the different presidencies, were to be previously subjected to the inspection of the board, and were also by them to be counter-signed. The directors were enjoined to pay due obedience to the orders of the board, touching civil and military government and revenue; and in case such orders do at any time, in the opinion of the directors, relate to matters not connected with these points, they are empowered to appeal to his majesty in council, whose decision is declared final. The bill also enacted, that the appointment of the court of directors to the office of governor-general, president, or counsellor to the different presidencies, shall be subject to the approbation and recall of his majesty. As to the Zemindars, or great hereditary land-holders of India, who had been violently dispossessed of their property, and who, agreeably to the generous and decisive tenor of Fox's bill, were to have been universally and presumptuously reinstated in their seminaries, the present bill provided, only that an inquiry should be instituted, in order to restore such as should appear to have been irregularly and unjustly deprived. Lastly, a high tribunal was created, for the trial of Indian delinquents, consisting of three judges, one from each court, of four peers, and six members of the house of commons, who were authorised to judge without appeal; to award, in case of conviction, the punishment of fine and imprisonment, and to declare the party convicted incapable of serving the East India company. Such were the grand and leading features of Pitt's bill.

Fox, with his usual powers of discrimination, pointed out the defects of the bill. He observed, "that it established a weak and inefficient government, by dividing its powers. To the one board belonged the privilege of ordering and contriving measures; to the other, that of carrying them into execution. Theories which did not connect men with measures, were not theories for this world. The new tribunal he stigmatised as a screen for delinquents; as a palpable and unconstitutional violation of the sacred right of a trial by jury. Since no man was to be tried but on the accusation of the company, or the attorney-general, he had only to conciliate government in order to his remaining in perfect security. It was a part of the general system of deception and delusion, and he would venture to pronounce it a bed of justice, where justice would for ever sleep."

With all the partiality of the house in favour of Pitt, this bill was found to be so crude and imperfect on its first appearance, that almost all his own friends objected to one or other of its clauses; and in a variety of subsequent amendments which it underwent, it may be said to have lost entirely its original shape; and after all, such were its radical defects, that it required (as will appear in the sequel) a declaratory act to render it intelligible. With respect to the amendments, Sheridan humorously remarked, "that twenty-one new clauses were added to the bill, which were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet, and he requested some gentleman to suggest three more, in order to complete the horn-book of the present ministry. On the motion of commitment, the numbers were,

ayes two hundred and seventy-six, noes sixty-one; and it was carried in triumph to the house of peers, where, after an opposition vigorous in point of exertion, but feeble in regard of numbers, the bill passed August ninth, 1784. It was however accompanied by a protest, in which it was severely branded as a measure ineffectual in its provisions, unjust in its inquisitorial spirit, and unconstitutional in its partial abolition of the trial by jury.

COMMUTATION TAX.

ON the dismissal of this unwelcome business, the attention of the house was immediately transferred to a bill introduced by the minister for the more effectual prevention of smuggling, which had of late years arisen to a most alarming height. This bill contained various prudential, but somewhat severe regulations. The distance from shore at which seizures should in future be deemed lawful was extended, and the constructing of vessels of a certain form and dimension peculiarly calculated for smuggling prohibited. But by far the most extraordinary part of the present plan was the reduction of the duties paid by the East India company on the importation of tea, which was declared to be the grand medium of the smuggling traffic; and the consequent imposition of a new duty on windows, already most grievously burdened, to the amount of the deficiency, stated at no less than six hundred thousand pounds per annum. This was styled by the minister a commutation tax, and the equity of it was defended on the simple and vague idea, that teas being an article of universal consumption, the weight of the tax would be compensated by a proportional statement in the purchase of the commodity.

A vigorous but unavailing opposition was made to the bill by Fox.—He asked, "what connection there was between an impost upon tea, and an impost upon windows, to entitle the latter to be denominated a commutation for the former?" He affirmed it to be the essence of financial injustice and oppression to take off a tax upon luxury, and substitute in its stead a tax upon that which was of indispensable necessity." The bill at length passed the house by a great majority.

The remaining great operation of finance during this session, was the providing for the arrears of the unfunded debt left at the conclusion of the war, amounting to more than twenty millions. This was disposed of partly in the four per cents, and partly in a new created five per cent. stock, made irredeemable for thirty years, or until twenty-five millions of the existing funds should be extinguished. It must not be omitted, that the sum of sixty thousand pounds, was voted to his majesty, to enable him to discharge the debt contracted on the civil list. This was the fourth grant for the same purpose since his accession. A warm altercation took place as to the precise period when this debt was incurred. All however that the public could be fully certified of was, that with the civil-list revenue of eight hundred thousand pounds, afterwards increased to nine hundred thousand pounds per annum, exclusive of the revenues arising from the crown lands, more than fourteen hundred thousand pounds had been voted within the space of about fifteen years, for the payment of the debts of the crown. The stern observation of the great Milton could not but forcibly recur at this time to the public recollection—"That the very trappings of a monarchy were more than sufficient to defray the whole expense of a republic."

RESTORATION OF THE FORFEITED ESTATES.

THE last measure which came before parliament during the present session, was a bill introduced by Dundas for the restoration of the estates forfeited in Scotland in consequence of the rebellion in 1715 and 1745, he declared "the measure to be, in his opinion, worthy of the justice and generosity of parliament. He said there was not one of the families comprehended in the scope of it, in which some person had not atoned for the crimes and errors of his ancestors, by sacrificing his blood in the cause of his country; and that the sovereign had not for a long series of years past a more loyal set of subjects than the highlanders and their chieftains.

Of this the late lord Chatham was deeply sensible, and that illustrious statesman had publicly recognised the rectitude of the measure now proposed. He did not however mean, that the estates should be freed from the claims existing against them at the time of forfeiture. This might be regarded as a premium for rebellion. He therefore proposed the appropriation of such sums, amounting to about eighty thousand pounds, to public purposes; fifty thousand of which he would recommend to be employed in the completion of the grand canal reaching from the Frith of Forth to that of Clyde."

This liberal measure was received in a manner that did honour to the feelings of the house. Fox,

in particular, with his usual generosity, bestowed upon it the highest encomiums. Nevertheless when the bill was sent to the lords, it met with a most determined resistance from the lord chancellor, who expatiated with much satisfaction on that maxim of ancient wisdom, which pronounced treason to be a crime of so deep a dye, that nothing less was adequate to its punishment, than the total eradication of the person, the name, and the family out of the community. Fortunately on dividing the house, this nobleman was left in a minority, and to the entire satisfaction of the public the bill passed, and an end was put to the session, August twentieth, 1784.

CHAPTER XX.

Meeting of Parliament—Westminster Scrutiny resumed by the Commons—Parliamentary Reform—The Shop Tax—The Hawkers and Pedlars' Tax—both unjust and oppressive—The Irish Commercial Propositions passed the Commons—carried to the Lords—amended by the Lords—returned to the Commons—finally passed—Reflections on the System of Commercial Intercourse held out by the Irish Propositions—Plan of Fortifications submitted to the House of Commons—Proposal of a Sinking Fund—Bill passed—The Civil List in Arrears—Burke commences his Charges against Warren Hastings—Attempt to assassinate the King by Margaret Nicholson—Treaty of Commerce with France signed—A Convention with Spain respecting the British Settlements on the M^o-Jiquillo Shore, and the Coast of Honduras—Consideration of the French Commercial Treaty—Embarrassed circumstances of the Prince of Wales—Hastings' Impeachment resumed by the Commons—Interference of the Courts of London and Berlin in the Affairs of Holland—Meeting of Parliament—The East India Declaratory Act—Hastings' Trial—A Bill to regulate the Transportation of Slaves passed—The King's Indisposition—Disputes on the Mode of Establishing a Regency—Notification of the King's Recovery—Parliament regularly opened—The Shop Tax repealed—Test and Corporation Acts—African Slave Trade—Prorogation of Parliament.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—WESTMINSTER SCRUTINY CLOSED.

THE short interval between the prorogation of Parliament and its re-assembling, proved a period of profound national tranquillity, in which no event occurred of sufficient importance to demand particular attention. The people of England, highly gratified with the recent change which had taken place, seemed to repose with unbounded confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the present administration. The young premier had indeed become the idol of the public, and the most sanguine hopes were indulged, that under his auspices, Britain would soon resume her rank and dignity among the nations, and rise to a state of prosperity and splendour superior to the brightest era of her former greatness.

1785. Such appeared to be the temper of the public mind, and such the flattering hopes of the nation, when the parliament of Great Britain assembled for its second session on the twenty-fifth of January 1785. The measure on this occasion, chiefly recommended in the speech from the throne, was the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between this country and Ireland, as were not yet finally arranged. The address of thanks being carried unanimously, the first business which engaged the attention of the house of commons, was the state of the Westminster scrutiny; and such was the violent and malignant spirit with which its continuance was defended, that this wretched burlesque on English jurisprudence was at last dignified by the appellation of the "Court of Scrutiny." This court had now existed for a period of eight months, and only two parishes out of seventeen had been scrutinised; so that there remained no probability, by this mode of procedure, of deciding the question of return during the existence of the present parliament. The high bailiff had no power to summon witnesses, to impose an oath, or to commit for contempt; and in consequence of this miserable imbecility, both court and counsel were exposed to low and sarcastic buffoonery.

Pitt, however, condescended to vindicate the proceedings of this judicature, and led Fox to remark, "that he well remembered the day when he congratulated the house on the acquisition of Pitt's splendid abilities: it had been his pride to fight in conjunction with him the battles of the constitution: he had been ever ready to recognise in the right honourable gentleman a formidable rival, who would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory; but he

had never expected that this rival would become his persecutor. He thought he had possessed an elevation of mind wholly incompatible with so low and grovelling a passion. He considered the present measure with regard to Westminster, as a *saccedaneum* to expulsion, without daring to exhibit any charge against the person expelled."

The motion of Welbore Ellis, "that the high bailiff do attend at the bar of this house," was at length negatived, February ninth, by one hundred and seventy-four, to one hundred and thirty-five voices. This being but a slender majority, the motion was renewed by colonel Fitzpatrick and rejected by a majority of only nine; and was finally repeated by Alderman Sawbridge on the third of March, and carried in the affirmative, ayes one hundred and sixty-two, noes one hundred and twenty-four. Thus did the house, by a decision truly honourable to themselves, and highly satisfactory to the nation, leave the minister, and the veteran phalanx of courtiers and king's friends, in a disgraceful minority. Thus abruptly terminated this scandalous scrutiny, and the high bailiff next day made a return of lord Hood and Fox.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

As the late proceedings in parliament on the business of the scrutiny were viewed even by the minister's friends with inexpressible regret and astonishment, it was fortunate for Pitt that the public attention was quickly transferred to a subject of high national importance, namely reform in the commons house of parliament. In supporting this measure, which of all others has long been deemed by the wisest and best of men, the most essential to the true honour and lasting interests of Britain, he discovered a conduct more worthy of his talents, station, and character, and which tended to revive all the former flattering prophecies in his favour; and he shone forth at once the patriot and statesman.

This plan of reform was brought forward by Pitt on the eighteenth of April, and in his introductory speech, "He rose," he said, "with hopes infinitely more sanguine than he had ventured to entertain at any former period. There never was a moment when the minds of men were more enlightened on this interesting topic, or more prepared for its discussion. He declared his present plan of reform to be perfectly coincident with the spirit of those changes which had taken place in the exercise of the elective franchise from the earliest ages, and not in the least allied to the spirit of innovation.

King James the first in his first proclamation for calling a parliament, directed that the sheriffs should not call upon such boroughs as were decayed and ruined to send members to parliament. For this discretion, as vested in the crown, he was certainly no advocate; but he wished to establish a permanent rule to operate like the discretion out of which the constitution had sprung. He wished," he said, "to bring forward a plan that should be complete, gradual, and permanent; a plan that not only corrected the inequalities of the present system, but which would be competent to preserve the purity it restored, and give to the constitution not only consistency, but if possible immortality. It was his design that the actual number of the house of commons should be preserved inviolate. His immediate object was to select a certain number of the decayed and rotten boroughs, the right of representation attached to thirty six of which, should be transferred to the counties, in such proportions as the wisdom of parliament might prescribe; and that all unnecessary harshness might be avoided, he recommended the appropriation of a fund of one million to be applied to the purchasing the franchise of such boroughs, on their voluntary application to parliament. When this was effected, he proposed to extend the bill to the purchasing the franchise of other boroughs, besides the original thirty six; and to transfer the right of returning members to large towns, hitherto unrepresented, upon their petitioning parliament to be indulged with this privilege." The other most important particulars of Pitt's plan, were the admitting of copy-holders to an equality with free-holders, and the extending the franchise in populous towns, where the electors were few, to the inhabitants in general. The result of the minister's plan was to give one hundred members to the popular interest in the kingdom, and to extend the right of election to one hundred thousand persons, who, by the existing provisions of the law, were excluded from the privilege.

This plan, which was admitted on all hands to be cautious, temperate, and well digested, was nevertheless destined to encounter the railery and ridicule of an opposition truly formidable in point of numbers; for the bill was rejected by a majority of two hundred and forty eight to one hundred and seventy four voices.

SHOP AND HAWKERS' TAX—IRISH COMMERCIAL PROPOSITIONS.

On the ninth of May, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed that the remaining part of the floating arrear of debt, consisting of navy bills and ordinance debentures, should be funded on five per cent. stock; and the interest amounting to above four hundred thousand pounds per annum provided by fresh taxes. Among the taxes brought forward on this occasion, was one on retail shops, which proved singularly obnoxious. As this tax was proportioned to the rent of the house, it was inevitably destined to fall, almost exclusively, upon the inhabitants of the metropolis. It was therefore with great justice denominated neither more nor less than a partial house tax; and the whole body of retail traders were universally agreed, that it was utterly impracticable to indemnify themselves, by raising the price of their different commodities upon the consumer. Struck with the force of these and other arguments, and conscious of the extreme unpopularity of the measure, Pitt, by way of recompense to the shop-keeper, proposed to revoke and take away the licence from all hawkers and pedlars, whom he styled "a pest to the community, and a nursery and medium for the preservation of illicit trade." The cause of this humble, useful, and unprotected description of men was generally and powerfully supported by Fox, Courtenay, and other gentlemen. In the result, the prohibition was changed to a very heavy duty, with a number of severe restrictions.

But the subject which chiefly engaged the attention of parliament during the present session, was the projected plan of commercial intercourse with Ireland. This new system was first introduced into the parliament of Ireland, on the seventh of February, by Orde, secretary to the lord-lieutenant, in the form of ten propositions; but by slight alterations, and a distribution of the subject of one of them into two heads, they were increased to eleven. In this state they received the final assent of the par-

liament of Ireland, on the sixteenth of February. On the twenty-second of the same month Pitt brought the subject before the British house of commons; and in the opening of this important business, he observed, "that the species of policy which had been long exercised by the English government in regard to Ireland, was calculated to do her from the enjoyment and use of her own resources, and to make her completely subservient to the interest and opulence of this country. Some relaxation of this system had taken place at an early period of the present century—more had been done in the reign of king George the second; but it was not till within a very few years that the system had been reversed. Still however the future intercourse between the two kingdoms remained for legislative wisdom to arrange; and the propositions moved by Orde in the Irish parliament, and ratified by that assembly, held out a system liberal, beneficial and permanent. If the question should be asked, whether, under the accumulation of our heavy taxes, it would be wise to equalize the duties, and to enable a country free from those taxes to meet us in their own market and in ours, he would answer, that Ireland, with an independent legislature, would no longer submit to be treated with inferiority. A great and generous effort was to be made by this country, and we were to choose between inevitable alternatives. We must calculate from general and not from partial views. Above all, we should learn not to regard Ireland with an eye of jealousy. It required little philosophy to reconcile us to a competition, which would give us a rich customer instead of a poor one. The property of the sister kingdom would be a fresh and inexhaustible source of opulence to us."

Fox remarked that they had entirely overlooked a question which appeared to him of primary importance; he meant the propriety and policy of permitting the produce of Africa and America to be brought into Great Britain through Ireland. By this means we threw down the whole fabric of our navigation laws; even with regard to the great article of tea, the period was not very distant, when the charter of the East India company would expire; and according to the tenor of the resolutions now proposed, there certainly remained no power in this country to renew it with the same, or indeed any exclusive privileges. Fox severely censured the precipitancy with which this business was urged; he asserted, that not only the manufactures, but the revenues and political existence of Britain were involved in the discussion; and he contended for the necessity of calling the merchants and manufacturers to the bar of the house, in order that the house might be fully informed in a case of this momentous nature, before they proceeded to vote a definitive resolution.

About the middle of March, the spirit of commercial jealousy appeared to be thoroughly awakened. The petitions presented against the measure amounted in the whole to upwards of sixty. They were sent up to parliament from every quarter of the kingdom, and there was scarcely a single species of manufacture or merchandise upon the subject of which the persons peculiarly interested had not conceived considerable alarm. From the sixteenth of March to the twelfth of May, the house of commons were almost incessantly employed in the hearing of council, and the examination of witnesses. In consequence of this long and able investigation, many additional lights were thrown upon the subject; and Pitt was at last reluctantly compelled to acknowledge the necessity of making some material alterations and amendments in his original plan.

Accordingly, on the twelfth of May, the minister brought forward a series of propositions, so altered, modified, and enlarged, as to exhibit in their improved form what might well be considered as a new system. On this occasion, Fox, in the language of triumph, congratulated the house on the happy escape they had made from the system proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer but two months since; all opposition to which, was then treated as the effect of faction and disappointment. "If," said Fox, "the original resolutions had passed, we should have lost for ever the monopoly of the East India trade; we must have harassed all the revenue arising from spirituous liquors; we should have sacrificed the whole of the navigation laws of this country. The just alarm of the minister on

the subject of the navigation laws, sufficiently appeared from the extraordinary remedy he had thought it expedient to adopt, which was no other than to assert, that, notwithstanding the independence of Ireland, she must still in commercial laws and external legislation be governed by Britain." Fox affirmed, that the propositions, as they were even now modified, were far too complicated and extensive to be voted by a majority of that house, on any other ground than that of confidence in the minister: and surely the right honourable gentleman had sufficiently demonstrated, that implicit confidence in him was as dangerous as it was absurd; that infallibility was no more his prerogative than that of the rest of the world. The house at length divided on the motion of adjournment, ayes one hundred and fifty-five, noes two hundred and eighty-one; and the first resolution, broken into two distinct propositions in the new arrangement, passed the house. The remaining resolutions were subsequently carried, after an obstinate and violent contest, and on the thirtieth of May were sent up to the house of lords.

Here they were again the subject of long and laborious investigation; in the course of which, various amendments were offered and received by the house. At last, on the nineteenth of July, the resolutions in their altered state were sent down from the lords to the commons; where, after much eager debate, the amendments of their lordships were agreed to by the commons; and on the twenty-eighth of July, an address was presented to the king by both houses of parliament, acquainting his majesty with the steps which had been taken in this important affair; adding, "that it remained for the parliament of Ireland to judge of the conditions according to their wisdom and discretion, as well as of every other part of the settlement proposed to be established by mutual consent." The two houses now adjourned themselves to a distant day, and on the thirtieth of September 1785, the parliament was prorogued by royal proclamation.

REFLECTIONS ON COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE.

If the original propositions adopted by the Irish legislature were rejected with indignation by the British parliament, the English series of propositions proved still more obnoxious to the general spirit of the Irish nation. To promote the mutual interest of England and Ireland, to regulate the commercial intercourse between both countries on equal principles, were the objects the original propositions professed to have in view; and the philanthropist will certainly lament, that a scheme of so liberal and generous an aspect, should be defeated by the malign spirit of mercantile jealousy. The sister kingdom, however, it must be confessed, in the rejection of the plan transmitted from England, was actuated by high and noble motives. Ireland, by a long series of virtuous and patriotic struggles, had at last established the independence of her legislature; and finding that the fourth proposition struck at that independence, the parliament, jealous of their infant liberty, and almost without glancing at the commercial features of the proffered system, preëminently rejected the whole on that ground, with just and manly indignation. Public illuminations in the populous towns of Ireland testified the general joy excited by the sudden termination of a business which was originally intended to communicate both to England and Ireland, solid and lasting advantages; but, from the issue, appears to have been destined by a singular fate to rouse commercial jealousies, to awaken national prejudices, and to disturb the public tranquillity of both kingdoms more, perhaps, than any preceding measure of that reign.

PROPOSED NEW PLAN OF FORTIFICATIONS.

1786. AFTER a tranquil interval of a few months, the parliament of Great Britain met on the twenty-fourth of January, 1786. In the speech from the throne, the king declared to the house of commons, his earnest wish to enforce economy in every department; recommending to them the maintenance of our naval strength on the most respectable footing; and above all, the establishment of a fixed plan for the reduction of the national debt. No-

thing very material occurred until near the middle of February, when the attention of parliament and the public was drawn to a plan of fortifications, originally suggested by the duke of Richmond. This design had been interrupted last session, in consequence of a suggestion of colonel Barre, "that a board of land and sea officers ought to be appointed to examine the merits of the system." This idea having been pretty generally adopted by the house, Pitt not only agreed, that no money should be then voted for the purpose, but also that the sum of fifty thousand pounds, granted in the year 1784, for that service, and not yet expended, should be reserved till the matter had undergone a complete investigation. In conformity with this agreement, a board of officers was appointed on the thirteenth of April, 1785, and on the twenty-fourth of June following, they made their report to the king.

This business was again brought before parliament, in the present session, on the tenth of February; when Pitt stated the report of the board of land and sea officers, to be in the highest degree favourable to the plan of fortification, submitted to their decision, but the report itself he declined laying before the house, as a matter of too serious and delicate a nature for public inspection. The discontent manifested when the question was last year under discussion, now rose into the warmth of indignation. "If the report, or the essentials it contained, were not to be in some mode subject to the inspection of the house, they were, it was affirmed, in exactly the same situation in which they had stood before the board was appointed. They must decide, not upon their own judgments, but in deference to the authority of the minister. But the house of commons were not justified in voting away the money of their constituents upon the grounds of passive compliance, and courtly submission. The expense attending this novel system would be enormous, and it was at least their duty before they adopted it, to be fully convinced of its necessity." General Burgoyne, who was one of the board, controverted the assertion of Pitt respecting the entire approbation expressed by them of the system in question. "It was well known," he said, "that cases hypothetically put, admitted only of a direct answer given under the admission of the hypothesis. It remained to be ascertained, whether the case thus hypothetically put, was sufficiently within the limits of probability to deserve attention. The question relative to the fortifications was beyond the reach of party. It was in his mind, the most important and the most interesting, whether considered as a question of science, of revenue, or of constitution, that was ever submitted to the decision of parliament."

Pitt waved the further discussion of the question at present, but declared his intention of bringing it again before the house in a short time, in the most specific and solemn manner. Accordingly, in about a fortnight after, he moved the following resolution; "That it appears to the house, that to provide effectually for securing the dockyards of Portsmouth and Plymouth by a permanent system of fortification, was an essential object for the safety of the state," &c. &c. On this occasion a violent debate arose, in which Sheridan eminently distinguished himself as an enemy to the measure. "When we talked of a constitutional jealousy of the military power of the crown, what was the real object," he asked, "to which we pointed our suspicion? What, but that it was in the nature of kings to love power, and in the constitution of armies to obey kings. The fact was, that these strong military holds, if maintained as they must be in peace, by full and disciplined garrisons would in truth, promise ten fold the means of curbing and subduing the country, than could arise even from doubling the present army establishment, with this extraordinary aggravation, that those very naval stores and magazines, the seeds and sources of future navies, the effectual preservation of which was the pretence for these unassailable fortresses, would, in that case, become a pledge and hostage in the hands of the crown; a circumstance which, in a country like this, must insure unconditional submission to the most extravagant claims that despotism could dictate. The minutes which contained the opinion of the naval officers, in condemnation of the plan, were wholly omitted, because they were mixed with matter of such dangerous import,

that no chemical process known in the ordnance laboratory could possibly separate them; while, on the contrary, every approving opinion, like a light, oily fluid, floated at the top, and was capable of being presented to the house, pure and untinted by a single particle of the argument and information upon which it was founded."

It was thought by many to be impossible that a man of Pitt's discernment could be the sincere and cordial advocate of so preposterous a scheme; and it was even mentioned in the house, by one of his friends, as a topic of report, that in this business he was suspected of acting against his own opinion: but, however this may be, certain it is, that he found himself on this occasion very generally deserted by the country gentlemen; and the division was rendered memorable by an exact equality of members, both the ayes and the noes amounting to one hundred and sixty-nine. The speaker, being of course compelled to give his casting vote, acquired much applause, by declaring for the rejection of this chimerical, extravagant, and dangerous system.

SINKING FUND.

THE subject which the minister seemed to intend should make the principal figure in this session of parliament, was the proposal of a sinking fund for the liquidation of the national debt. On the seventh of March, Pitt moved for the appointment, by ballot, of a select committee of nine persons, to report to the house the state of the public revenue and expenditure. The result of their inquiry was laid before the house on the twenty-first of the same month; and proved in the highest degree pleasing and satisfactory. The amount of the revenue for the current year was estimated by the committee, at fifteen millions, three hundred and ninety-seven thousand pounds. The permanent expenditure, including the civil list, and the interests payable on the different funds, amounted to ten millions five hundred and fifty-four thousand pounds. The peace establishment, allowing eighteen thousand men for the navy, and the usual complement of seventy regiments for the army, exclusive of life-guards and cavalry, was estimated at three millions nine hundred and twenty-four thousand pounds. In all, fourteen millions four hundred and seventy-eight thousand pounds; of consequence there remained a surplus of more than nine hundred thousand pounds. Pitt observed upon this report, "that though this was stated to be the annual expenditure, a considerable interval must elapse before this reduction could take place; this term he fixed at four years. The exceedings of the army, navy, and ordnance, together with the sums necessary for the indemnification of the American loyalists, he calculated, would not, during this period, fall short of three millions. There were sums appropriated, during the war, to different services, which had not been expended; four hundred and fifty thousand pounds had already been paid into the exchequer upon this account. There were moreover immense sums in the hands of former paymasters, which it was expected would soon be brought to account; these he conjecturally stated at the sum of one million. There was a balance of six hundred thousand pounds due to government from the East India company. When to these were added the improvements that might yet be made by judicious regulations in the different branches of the revenue, he was not," Pitt said, "he hoped, too sanguine in affirming, that we possessed resources equal to all our ordinary and extraordinary demands." The proposition which he now submitted to the house was, the appropriation of the annual sum of one million to be invariably applied to the liquidation of the national debt. This annual million he proposed to vest in the hands of certain commissioners, to be by them applied regularly to the purchase of stock; so that no sum should ever lie within the grasp large enough to tempt him to violate this sacred deposit. The interests annually discharged, were, conformably to this plan, to be added to, and incorporated with the original fund, so that it would operate with a determinate and accelerated velocity. This fund was also to be assisted by the annuities granted for different terms, which would from time to time fall in within the limited period of twenty-eight years, at the expiration of which, Pitt calculated that the fund would produce an income of four millions per annum. The commis-

sioners to be nominated under the act, were the chancellor of the exchequer, the speaker of the house of commons, the master of the rolls, the governor and deputy-governor of the bank of England, and the accountant-general of the high court of chancery.

The only amendment of any material consequence suggested on Pitt's plan was, in the progress of the bill, offered by Fox, "that whenever a new loan should hereafter be made, the commissioners should be empowered to accept the loan, or such proportion of it, as should be equal to the cash then in their hands; the interest and discount annexed to which should be applied to the purposes of the sinking fund." This amendment was readily and candidly accepted by Pitt, and the bill finally passed with great and deserved approbation.

CIVIL LIST IN ARREARS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the acknowledged necessity of economy in every department of government, it is truly painful to relate, that even before the sinking fund bill passed into a law, a message from the king to the house of commons was delivered by the minister, stating, "that it gave him great concern to inform them, that it had not been found possible to confine the expenses of the civil-list within the annual sum of eight hundred and fifty thousand pounds, now applicable to that purpose. A farther debt had been necessarily incurred, and the king relied on the seal and affection of his parliament to make provision for its discharge." On this occasion, Pitt stated "that under Burke's reform bill an annual reduction of fifty thousand pounds from the civil list had been set apart by parliament for the liquidation by instalments of the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, then issued in exchequer bills for the supply of former deficiencies. Of this debt, one hundred and eighty thousand pounds yet remained unpaid, and a fresh debt of thirty thousand pounds had accrued." This application was the more extraordinary, as at the opening of the session of December 1782, and when Pitt was chancellor of the exchequer, the king in his speech from the throne had said, "I have carried into strict execution the several reductions in my civil list expenses directed by an act of last session; I have introduced a farther reform in other departments, and suppressed several sinecure places in them. I have by this means so regulated my establishments, that my expenses shall not in future exceed my income." It is almost superfluous to say, that all the arguments offered on this head proved a mere waste of words, and that the money was ultimately voted.

BURKE'S CHARGES AGAINST WARREN HASTINGS.

THE remaining subject of importance that belongs to the history of this session, is the impeachment of Warren Hastings, late governor-general of Bengal. In undertaking the arduous task of public accuser against this supposed great Indian delinquent, the various difficulties to be encountered, presented such a train of formidable obstacles to the successful prosecution of the accused, as only the spirit, the perseverance, and the inflexibility of Burke could overcome. That powerful India interest which had defeated the scheme of Fox, and effected the ruin of his administration, was to be exerted in vigorous hostility to the present measure. It was also obvious that the opinions of administration were much in favour of the ex-governor. Burke, however, far from sinking under the pressure of circumstances so inauspicious to his design, resolutely persisted in his purpose; and having adopted the ancient mode of trial by impeachment, he proceeded on the fourth of April, 1780, to charge Warren Hastings, esq. before the house of commons, with high crimes and misdemeanors, exhibiting at the same time nine distinct articles of accusation, which in a few weeks were increased to the number of twenty-two.

Hastings, at his own express desire, appeared at the bar of the house of commons on the first of May, and delivered in his defence in answer to Burke's charges. The defence however was of little service to his cause, and contributed in a very slight degree to the vindication of his character. Though his assertions were bold, his arguments were weak, and the language of his defence was

beyond all example boastful and arrogant. He even called in question the authority of the house to institute a judicial inquiry into his conduct. The house, unmoved by what they had heard, proceeded in the examination of evidence: and the first article of impeachment respecting the *Bohilla* war was brought formally before the house on the first of June: after a very long debate, the question was decided in favour of Hastings, ayes for the impeachment being sixty-seven, noes one hundred and nineteen. On the thirteenth of June, the second charge relative to the *Rajah* of *Benares* being brought forward, it was resolved by the house, on a division of one hundred and nineteen to seventy-nine voices, "that this charge contained matter of impeachment against the late governor-general of Bengal." On the eleventh of July an end was put to these proceedings for the present, by a prorogation of the parliament, which was dismissed with assurances of "the particular satisfaction with which the king had observed their diligent attention to the public business, and the measures they had adopted for improving the resources of the country."

MARGARET NICHOLSON'S ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE KING.

On the second of August, after the rising of parliament, a singular incident occurred, which engrossed for a short time the attention of the public. As the king was alighting from his post chariot, at the garden entrance of St. James's palace, a woman decently dressed presented a paper to his majesty; and while he was in the act of receiving it, she struck with a concealed knife at his breast. The king happily avoided the blow by drawing back; and as she was preparing to make a second thrust, one of the yeomen caught her arm, and the weapon was wrenched out of her hand. The king, with great temper exclaimed, "I am not hurt—take care of the poor woman, do not hurt her." On examination before the privy council, it immediately appeared that the woman was insane. Being asked where she had lately resided, she answered frantically, "That she had been all abroad since that matter of the crown broke out." Being farther questioned what matter she said, "That the crown was here"; and that if she had not her right, England would be deluged in blood for a thousand generations." On being interrogated as to the nature of her right, she refused to answer, saying in the genuine style of royalty, "That her rights were a mystery." It appeared that this poor maniac, whose name was Margaret Nicholson, had presented a petition ten days before, full of wild and incoherent nonsense. Like most other petitions, it had probably never been read, or the person of the petitioner would have been secured. The idea of a judicial process was of course abandoned, and she was consigned to an apartment provided for her in Bethlehem hospital.

COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH FRANCE.

In the month of September, the king was pleased to appoint a new committee of council for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations. Of this board, Charles Jenkinson, since, for his long and faithful services, created lord Hawkebury, and constituted cancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was declared president. Under this new commission, a treaty of commerce was on September the twenty-sixth, signed between the courts of England and France. Its general principle was to admit the mutual importation and exportation of the commodities of each country at a very low *ad valorem* duty. The negotiator of this treaty was Eden, who under the coalition administration had filled the lucrative office of vice treasurer of Ireland. This was the first memorable defection from that unfortunate alliance: and it was the more remarkable, as Eden had himself been generally considered as the original projector of the coalition, or at least as the man who might contest that honour with Burke.

CONVENTION WITH SPAIN RELATIVE TO THE BAY OF HONDURAS.

ABOUT the same time a convention was signed with Spain of some importance, as it finally terminated the long subsisting disputes respecting the British settlements on the Mosquito shore and the

coast of Honduras. By the present treaty the Mosquito settlements were formally and explicitly relinquished, as they had already virtually been by the sixth article of the general treaty of 1783. In return, the boundaries of the British settlements on the coast and bay of Honduras were somewhat extended. In a political view this convention answered a valuable purpose, as it removed a probable source of national disagreement. But the claims of humanity and justice were not sufficiently attended to: for the Mosquito settlers, who had for time immemorial occupied their lands and habitations under the protection of the English government, and who amounted to many hundred families in number, were peremptorily commanded to evacuate the country without exception, in the space of eighteen months, nothing farther being stipulated in their favour, than that his catholic majesty "shall order his governors to grant to the said English, so dispersed, all possible facilities for their removal to the settlements agreed upon by the present convention." The greatest confusion, consternation, and distress among this unhappy people were the inevitable consequences of this barbarous edict of expulsion, which with the cold-blooded politicians of Europe, at the distance of three thousand miles, passed only for a regulation of commerce. An affecting representation of their distresses, and an humble petition for some sort of indemnification from the government which had thus shamefully abandoned them to their fate, was subsequently presented to the board of treasury; but it does not appear to have excited any attention.

TREATY WITH FRANCE CONSIDERED BY THE COMMONS.

1787.—THE parliament re-assembled on January the twenty-third 1787, but no subject of material import came under discussion till the twelfth of February, when the house resolved itself into a committee on the commercial treaty with France. On this occasion, Pitt entered into an able and eloquent vindication of the measure. It was ridiculous to imagine, he said, that the French would consent to yield advantages without the idea of compensation. The treaty would doubtless be a benefit to them; but he did not hesitate to say it would be a much greater benefit to us. She gained for her wines and other productions a great and opulent market. We did the same for our manufactures to a far greater degree. She procured a market of eight millions of people, we a market of twenty-four millions. Both nations were disposed and prepared for such a connection. France, by the peculiar dispensation of providence, was gifted perhaps more than any other country upon earth with what made life desirable in point of soil, climate, and natural productions, in the most fertile vineyards and the richest harvests. Britain, on the other hand, possessing these advantages in an inferior degree, had from the happy freedom of its constitution, and the equal security of its laws, risen to a state of commercial grandeur, and acquired the ability of supplying France with the requisite conveniences of life, in exchange for her natural luxuries.

The only real difficulty, respecting the execution of this treaty, arose from its inconsistency with the famous Methuen treaty, concluded with Portugal early in the present century; and in conformity to which the duties on Portuguese wines were to bear in future the proportion of only two-thirds of those imported from France and other countries. But this point being candidly conceded by France in the progress of the business, the measure received, as it well deserved, the necessary concurrence and sanction of parliament; and the whole transaction terminated greatly to the honour of the minister, and the advantage of the nation.

EMBARRASSMENTS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

THE subject which next claims our attention, will be found upon every account highly interesting. The great personage to whom it relates is the heir apparent of the British crown. In addition to the rank and character of the party, the narrative is rendered still more attractive by private anecdote, by delicacy of situation, and by a new and uncommon circumstance, that alarmed the apprehensions of many, and employed the reflections of all. When

his royal highness attained the age of majority, A. D. 1758, the sum of fifty thousand pounds per annum only was allotted to him out of the civil list revenue to defray the whole expense of his establishment. Considering the numerous salaries payable to the officers of his household, this sum was clearly inadequate to the support of his rank and situation in life; and the then ministers, Fox and Lord North, strongly insisted upon the necessity of fixing the revenue of the prince at one hundred thousand pounds per annum, which the late king had enjoyed as prince of Wales, at a period when the civil list produced two hundred thousand pounds per annum less than at present. To this the sovereign positively objected; and the prince, to prevent disagreeable consequences, generously declared that he chose to depend on the spontaneous bounty of the king. The obvious result of this miserable economy was, that the prince in the four years which were now elapsed had contracted debts to a large amount; his negligence as to pecuniary concerns being perhaps increased by the consciousness of the extreme difficulty of contracting his expenses within the narrow limits of his income. The public not sufficiently adverting to these circumstances, censured the prince with a too rigid severity for the heedlessness and prodigality of his conduct. It was however too notorious to admit of disguise or palliation, that the prince was exempt from none of those youthful indiscretions and excesses by which men of high rank in early life are for the most part so unhappily characterised.

The prince of Wales, like most other young men, had been more distinguished by a general regard to the fair sex than for any particular individual attachment. A report however of a serious nature had for some time past gained very general credit; namely, that the prince had contracted a secret marriage with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a lady of family, and justly celebrated for her personal beauty and mental accomplishments. That the prince should not be privately married, was an event particularly guarded against by the royal marriage act. By this act it was declared that the heir apparent was incapable of marrying till the age of twenty five years, without his father's consent, or in case of refusal, without the consent of both houses of parliament. The marriage therefore if it had taken place, was null in law. But this was by no means the circumstance which made the greatest impression upon the public mind. The lady was educated in the Roman catholic religion, and the act of settlement which seated the house of Brunswick on the British throne, expressly declared the prince who married a catholic to have forfeited his right of succession to the crown. To add to the difficulties of a situation in the highest degree trying and critical, the prince found his embarrassments continually increasing, and a large debt already accumulated. In the summer therefore of 1789, the prince applied to the king his father for assistance, but meeting with a peremptory refusal, he immediately adopted a resolution, which in every view reflected the highest honour on his character. Suppressing the establishment of his household, he formally vested forty thousand pounds per annum of his revenue in the hands of trustees for the liquidation of his debts. His stud of running horses, his hunters, and even his coach horses were sold by public auction. The elegant improvements and additions making to the palace of Carlton house were suddenly stopped, and the most splendid apartments shut up from use. In this manner he thought proper to retire from the splendour of his station, rather than forfeit the honour of a gentleman by practising on the credulity of his creditors.

The prince had lived in a state of retirement for near a twelvemonth, when he was persuaded to countenance a proposal for laying the state of his affairs before parliament; and on the twentieth of April, alderman Newnham, member for the city of London, gave notice that he would bring forward a motion for an address to the king, praying him to take the situation of the prince into consideration, and to grant him such relief as he in his wisdom should think fit; and pledging the house to make good the same. This gave rise to an interesting conversation; and Newnham was by the minister and many other members earnestly entreated to withdraw his motion, as fertile of inconvenience and mischief. Pitt said, "that by the perseverance of Newnham, he should be driven to the disclosure

of circumstances which he should otherwise have thought it his duty to conceal." Rolle, member for Devonshire, declared, "that the investigation of this question involved in it circumstances which tended immediately to affect the constitution in church and state." Fox, Sheridan, and other gentlemen in the confidence of the prince, declared, "that there was nothing his royal highness less feared than a full and impartial investigation of his conduct; and nothing that he would more deprecate, than a studied ambiguity or affected tenderness on the pretence of respect and indulgence." Rolle was particularly called upon, but in vain, to explain the extraordinary language he had used. The subject being in a few days resumed, Fox again called the attention of the house to the declaration of Rolle. "To what that declaration alluded (Fox said) it was impossible to ascertain, till the person who made it thought proper to explain his meaning; but he supposed it must refer to that base and malicious calumny which had been propagated without doors by the enemies of the prince with a view to depreciate his character and injure him in the esteem of his country." Fox further declared, "that the prince had authorised him to assert, that as a peer of parliament, he was ready in the other house to submit to any the most pointed questions that could be put to him upon the subject, or to afford the king or his ministers the fullest assurances of the utter falsehood of the fact in question." Rolle now thought proper to acknowledge, that the subject upon which Fox had spoken, was the matter to which he alluded as affecting both church and state. He said, "that the reports relative to this transaction had made a deep impression upon the minds of all men who loved and venerated the constitution. He knew that this thing could not have been accomplished under the formal sanction of law; but if it existed as a fact, it might be productive of the most alarming consequences, and ought to be satisfactorily cleared up." Fox replied, "that he did not deny the calumny in question merely with regard to the effect of certain existing laws, but he denied it *in toto*, in fact as well as in law. The fact not only could never have happened legally, but never did happen any way, and had from the beginning been a vile and malignant falsehood." Rolle rose again, and asked, "whether in what he now asserted Fox spoke from direct authority?" Fox said he had spoken from direct authority. In consequence of these explicit and authoritative asseverations, Rolle was loudly called upon to express his satisfaction: but this he obstinately declined, saying only "that the house would judge for themselves of what had passed." On this Sheridan was provoked to declare, "that if Rolle persisted in his refusal, or otherwise to put the matter into such a state of inquiry as should satisfy him, the house ought to come to a resolution, that it was seditious and disloyal to propagate reports injurious to the prince." Pitt now properly interposed, and protested against so flagrant an attack on the freedom of speech and deliberation in that house. And it must be confessed that Rolle was so far justified as the voice of the public could justify him, in retaining his doubts; for a general and firm persuasion still prevailed of a secret marriage between the prince and Mrs. Fitzherbert, though no one presumed to call in question the honour of Fox in the declarations made by him in the prince's name, for which he undoubtedly had, or thought he had, sufficient authority, and which operated to the perfect apparent conviction of the house of commons.

In this stage of the business an interview, at the desire of the king, took place between the prince of Wales and Pitt at Carlton house; and the prince was informed, "that if the intended motion were withdrawn, every thing might be settled to his royal highness's satisfaction." This being acceded to, a message was delivered by the minister from the king to the house, stating his majesty's great concern, "that from the accounts of the prince of Wales, it appeared that he had incurred a debt to a large amount, which, painful as it was to him to propose any addition to the burdens of his people, he was induced by his paternal affection to the prince, to desire the assistance of parliament to discharge—on the well-grounded expectation, nevertheless, that the prince would avoid contracting any debts in future; with a view to which, the king had directed a sum of ten thousand pounds to be paid

out of the civil list, in addition to his former allowance; and he had the satisfaction to observe, that the prince had given the fullest assurance of his determination to confine his future expenses within his income, and had settled a plan, and fixed an order in those expenses, which it was trusted would effect the due execution of his intentions." On the very next day after the accounts referred to in the royal message were laid before the house, and of which the dignified generosity of parliament suffered not the inspection, an address was voted to the king, to request him to direct the sum of one hundred and sixty-one thousand pounds to be paid out of the civil list for the full discharge of the debts of the prince of Wales, and the farther sum of twenty thousand pounds to complete the repairs of Carlton house.

IMPEACHMENT OF HASTINGS VOTED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE subject of Hastings' impeachment had been resumed early in the present session, and had occupied a large proportion of time and attention. The primary charge respecting the Rohilla War, brought forward towards the conclusion of the session of 1786, had made a deep impression upon the house; and although Hastings had been acquitted of the charge, it was upon grounds on which it was impossible to rest his future defence. The conduct of the minister in this business had been hitherto indecisive and mysterious; but the part taken by Jenkinson, and the party of which he was considered as the head, left no room for doubt as to the secret inclination of the court. Pitt had negatived the charge of the Rohilla war, upon the ground that Hastings had subsequent to that event received the highest certificate of legislative approbation, by being nominated by act of parliament governor-general of India: and although on the Benares charge he had voted against Hastings, he expressly declared that he did not upon that account consider himself as committed to a final vote of impeachment. The grand question therefore still remained doubtful, when on the seventh of February 1787, Sheridan opened the third charge respecting the Begum princess Oude, with an eloquence and energy which were perhaps never surpassed, and which, in their consequences, proved completely decisive. On this occasion Pitt acted a part which did him great honour. Though the wonderful speech of Sheridan had excited a spirit of enthusiasm in the house, which perhaps no degree of ministerial influence could have counteracted, it would be highly invidious and unjust to attribute the decided conduct of Pitt on this memorable night to the dread of being left in a minority, by an attempt to negative the motion. On the contrary, he appeared penetrated with a perfect conviction of the atrocity of the facts, and of the strength of the evidence by which they were supported: and the minister felt all the sympathies of humanity, all the energies of virtue awakened in his breast, and impelling him to testify, in terms the most explicit and expressive, his detestation of perfidy so vile, of cruelty so remorseless. On a division the numbers were; in favour of the motion one hundred and seventy-five, against it sixty-eight.

On the second of March Pelham opened the charge relative to the Nabob of Ferruckabad, which was affirmed by one hundred and twelve against fifty voices. On the fifteenth of March the charge upon the subject of contracts was brought forward by Sir James Erskine; and on this article, the division was ayes sixty, noes twenty-six. Upon the twenty-second of March, the charge relative to Fyzoola Khan was introduced by Windham; and was carried on a division of ninety-six against thirty-seven voices. On the second of April, Sheridan opened to the house the charge upon the subject of presents; and on this occasion he observed, "that the late governor-general had, in every part of his conduct, exhibited proofs of a wild, eccentric, and irregular mind. In pride, in passion, in all things changeable, except in corruption. His revenge was a tempest, a tornado involving all within its influence in one common destruction. But his corruption was regular and systematic, a monsoon blowing uniformly from one point of the compass, and wafting the wealth of India to the same port in one certain direction." Upon a division, the numbers appeared ayes one hundred and sixty-five

noes sixty-four. On the nineteenth of April the charge respecting the revenues was opened by Francis, who had formerly occupied, with much honour to himself, the office of member in the supreme council of India, and who had recently taken his seat as a member of the house of commons. This charge was confirmed, notwithstanding the unexpected dissent of the minister, by seventy-one to fifty-five voices.

On the ninth of May the report made by Burke from the committee, to whom it had been referred to prepare the articles of impeachment, was confirmed by the house, ayes one hundred and seventy-five, noes eighty-nine. On the following day it was voted that Hastings be impeached: and Burke accordingly, in the name of the house of commons, and of all the commons of Great Britain, repaired to the bar of the house of lords, and impeached Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors; at the same time acquainting their lordships, that the commons would with all convenient speed exhibit articles against him, and make good the same. On the fourteenth another charge respecting misdemeanours in Oude was added to the former, and voted without a division; and on the twenty first Hastings, being conducted to the bar of the house of lords by the serjeant at arms, was taken into the custody of the black rod; but on the motion of the lord chamberlain was admitted to bail—himself in twenty thousand pounds, and two sureties, Sullivan and Sumner, in ten thousand pounds each; and he was ordered to deliver in an answer to the articles of impeachment in one month from that time, or upon the second day of the next session of parliament.

On the thirtieth of May 1787, the king put an end to the present session, by a speech applauding "the measures taken by parliament respecting the reduction of the national debt, and the treaty of navigation and commerce with the most christian king. He spoke of the general tranquillity of Europe, and lamented the dissensions, which unhappily prevailed amongst the states of the united provinces."

INTERFERENCE WITH THE AFFAIRS OF HOLLAND.

DURING the recess of parliament, the attention of government was particularly attracted by the troubled state of Holland. In the autumn of the year 1787, the dissensions which had long subsisted between the stadtholder and the states of Holland, had risen to an alarming height, and the ultimate event of the contest seemed to depend greatly on the forbearance or interposition of foreign nations. The French were known to be friendly to the states of Holland, but they were too deeply engaged by their domestic situation, to be able to render them any effectual assistance. On the other hand, the cause of the stadtholder was warmly espoused by the king of Prussia, in conjunction with Great Britain. The head of the house of Nassau displayed neither the talents or the virtues which had for ages been supposed attached to that illustrious name. The princess, his consort, was said to possess a much larger share of spirit as well as under standing. In the month of June 1787, for reasons which have never perfectly transpired, her royal highness, then resident at Nimeguen, adopted the bold and hazardous resolution of proceeding in person to the Hague, where the States-general were at that time assembled, accompanied only by the baroness de Wassenaar and a few domestics. As might previously be expected, she was arrested in her progress at about a league beyond Schoonhoven, and forced back to Nimeguen. On the tenth of July a memorial was addressed by the Prussian monarch to the states of Holland, in which he affected to consider the indignity offered to the princess of Orange his sister, as a personal insult to himself. To avenge this pretended affront, the duke of Brunswick, who commanded the Prussian forces in the contiguous Dutchy of Cleves, entered Holland at the head of an army consisting of about twenty thousand men on the thirteenth of September. The march of the Prussian general bore the appearance of a triumphal procession. On the seventh day from the commencement of the invasion, the prince of Orange made his public entry into the Hague. Amsterdam only made a show of resistance; but on the tenth of October that proud capital, now

closely invested, opened its gates to the victor. To the astonishment of the world, that republic which maintained a contest of eighty years against the power of Spain; which contended for the empire of the ocean with Great Britain; which repulsed the attacks of Louis the fourteenth in the zenith of his glory; was over-run by the arms of Prussia in a single month. In the whole of this transaction Prussia acted in intimate and avowed concert with Great Britain; and it was on this occasion that the British government concluded a subsidiary treaty with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel; by which the latter engaged to furnish England with a body of twelve thousand men at four weeks notice, for thirty-six thousand pounds per annum. So late as the month of September, and just before the duke of Brunswick began his march, France tardily professed her intention of assisting the Dutch in case they were attacked by any foreign power. This circumstance animated the court of London to act with spirit and decision, and vigorous naval preparations were made to support the king of Prussia, in opposition to the menacing declarations of France. But the object of the Prussian expedition being accomplished in a much shorter space of time than could have been previously imagined, the court of Versailles found itself disengaged from all obligations.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—CONTINENTAL ENGAGEMENTS.

In consequence of these transactions, it was found necessary to assemble the parliament of Great Britain somewhat earlier than is usual in time of peace; and, the session having commenced on the twenty-seventh of November, the king, in his speech to both houses, remarked, "that at the close of the last session he had informed them of the concern with which he observed the disputes unhappily subsisting in the republic of the united provinces. Their situation soon afterwards became more critical and alarming. The king of Prussia having demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to the princess of Orange his sister, the party which had usurped the government applied to the most christian king for assistance; and that prince having notified to his majesty his intention of granting their request, the king did not hesitate to declare that he could not remain a quiet spectator, and gave immediate orders for augmenting his forces both by sea and land; and in the course of this transaction he had concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. In the mean time the rapid success of the duke of Brunswick enabled the provinces to deliver themselves from the oppression under which they laboured; and all subjects of contest being thus removed, an amicable explanation had taken place between the courts of London and Versailles."

It is worthy of transient remark that the language of the speech from the throne was that of a zealous partisan of the house of Orange. It is inconceivable how the existing government of Holland could with any colour of justice be stigmatised as an usurpation, for by the constitution of that country the prince of Orange as stadtholder was not a sovereign, but a subject possessing no share of the legislative power; and though by the formula of 1747 the office was declared hereditary, it was not on that account irrevocable any more than the hereditary office of earl marshal or great chamberlain under the English constitution. And the expressions alluded to in the speech were certainly nothing more than the usual severities inflicted upon those who presumed to resist the measures of the supreme government. It must however be confessed that the prompt and vigorous measures of the English cabinet were absolutely necessary to counteract the insidious designs of France in her projected interference in the affairs of Holland, and in this point of view their conduct was highly and deservedly applauded by the nation. The addresses in answer to the king's speech were voted with great unanimity in both houses; and the subsidy to Hesse passed without a dissentient vote.

In a short time treaties of alliance were concluded between the courts of London, Berlin, and the Hague; by which the two former guaranteed the stadtholderate in perpetuity to the serene house of Orange, as an essential part of the constitution of the united provinces. By the treaty between the

king of Great Britain and Prussia, each of the high contracting powers engaged, in case of attack to furnish the other with a succour of sixteen thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry, or an equivalent in money, within the term of two months from the date of the requisition. Thus was Britain once more fatally entangled in the intricate and inextricable toils of continental engagements.

EAST INDIA DECLARATORY ACT.

THE most considerable legislative measure of the present session, related to a controversy which had arisen between the board of control and the East India company. At the moment of the general alarm excited by the affairs of Holland, government proposed to the directors, to send out four regiments of the king's troops, as a reinforcement to the army in India, upon condition that the whole expense was defrayed by the company. This proposal was at first partly accepted, but the rumour of war having speedily subsided, the matter was reconsidered by the board of direction and finally rejected. They contended, that lord North's bill of 1781 expressly provided, that the company should pay only for such troops as by their requisition should be sent to India; and the opinion of different eminent lawyers who had been consulted on the subject, appeared perfectly to coincide with that of the directors. Part of the troops however were already prepared for embarkation, and the company refusing to admit them on board their ships, the minister, to extricate himself from this perplexing dilemma, introduced into parliament his famous declaratory act, to show that his own India bill of 1784 had vested in the board of control, and not in the directors, the supreme power of determining the propriety of every such measure. The declaratory bill met with a most formidable opposition in parliament. Colonel Barre protested that he had from the first discerned the traces of a system of Indian patronage, of which he believed the bill under discussion to be a great advance to the final completion; and if it should be suffered to pass, a fatal stab would be given to the constitution. The question of commitment was carried by a majority of fifty-seven voices only; and on being carried into the house of lords it experienced a second opposition not less violent than the first. It passed at length, accompanied with a protest signed by sixteen peers, in which the declaratory bill was repudiated as friendly to corrupt intrigue and cabal—hostile to all good government—and abhorrent to the principles of our constitution.

TRIAL OF HASTINGS.

1786. In the early part of the session, Hastings had delivered in his answer to the impeachment of the commons, who immediately appointed a committee of managers to make good the same, and the trial commenced on the fifteenth of February 1786 in Westminster hall, which was fitted up for the purpose with great magnificence. Burke was four days in making his preliminary speech, which was filled with vehement invective, with much rhetorical exaggeration, and with matter almost wholly extraneous to the subject of the impeachment. The friends of Burke extolled this speech as a more than Ciceronian effort of eloquence; but the public considered it injudicious, extravagant, and bombastical. On the twenty-second of February, the Remains charge was opened by Fox; and concluded on the twenty-fifth by Grey, member for Northumberland, a gentleman whose talents at a very early period of life attracted in an eminent degree the attention of the house. On the fifteenth of April the charge relative to the Begums of Oude was brought forward by Adam, and the evidence on this charge was summed up by Sheridan with transcendent ability.

[BILL TO REGULATE THE SLAVE TRADE.

THE last business of importance which engaged the attention of parliament, was a bill to regulate the transportation of slaves from the coast of Africa to the West Indies. This bill, which was intended merely to establish a certain reasonable proportion between the number of the slaves and tonnage of the ships, was violently and obstinately opposed by petitions from the merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the African trade. Counsel being therefore engaged and witnesses examined,

It appeared in evidence at the bar of the house, that the slaves had not, as was emphatically stated, when stowed together, so much room as a man in his coffin, either in length or breadth. They drew their breath with laborious and painful efforts, and many unable to support the struggle died of suffocation. The customary mortality of the voyage exceeded seventeen times the usual estimate of human life. A slave ship, when full fraught with this cargo of wretchedness and abomination, exhibited at once the extremes of human depravity and human misery. In reviewing this superlatively wicked and detestable traffic, Pitt with indignant eloquence declared, "that if, as had been asserted by the members of Liverpool, the trade could not be carried on in any other manner, he would retract what he had said on a former day, and waving every farther discussion, give his instant vote for the annihilation of a traffic thus shocking to humanity. He trusted that the house being now in possession of such evidence as was never before exhibited, would endeavour to extricate themselves from the guilt and remorse which every man ought to feel for having so long overlooked such cruelty and oppression." The bill was carried up June the eighteenth to the house of lords, where it was fated to encounter the determined opposition of lord Thurlow, the duke of Chandos, and lord Sidney. The bill however had a number of friends, and to the honour of parliament, the nation, and human nature, finally passed by a considerable majority.

The king put an end to the session July the eleventh, by a speech from the throne, in which he complimented the two houses on their attention and liberality. "His faithful subjects had every reason," as he affirmed, "to expect the continuance of the blessings of peace, and the engagements which he had recently formed with the king of Prussia and the States-general of the united provinces would, he trusted, promote the security and welfare of his own dominions, and contribute to the general tranquillity of Europe."

THE KING'S INDISPOSITION.

Soon after the recess of parliament, the king, who had been for some time rather indisposed, was advised by his physicians to try the mineral waters of Cheltenham. His majesty accordingly took a journey to that place. His health appeared, during his residence there, greatly re-established; but soon after his arrival at Windsor, late in the summer, his illness returned with new and alarming symptoms. By the end of October, it could no longer be concealed that the malady of the king was of a nature peculiarly afflictive and dreadful. A mental derangement had taken place, which rendered him totally incapable of public business. The parliament stood prorogued to the twentieth of November. On the fourteenth of that month circular letters were addressed to the members of the legislature, signifying that the indisposition of the sovereign rendered it doubtful whether there would be a possibility of receiving his commands for the further prorogation of parliament. If not, in that case the two houses must of necessity assemble, and the attendance of the different members was earnestly requested. Parliament being accordingly assembled, the state of the king's health was formally notified to the house of peers by the lord chancellor, and to the commons by Mr. Pitt: and as the session of parliament could not be opened in the regular mode, an adjournment of fourteen days was recommended and adopted. Upon the re-assembling of parliament, December the fourth, a report of the board of privy council was presented to the two houses, containing an examination of the royal physicians; and it was suggested, that, considering the extreme delicacy of the subject and the person concerned, parliament would do well to rest satisfied without any more direct or express information, especially as the examinations of council had been taken upon oath, which the house of commons had no power to administer: doubts, however, were started by Fox, Burke, and others of the same party, whether parliament could in this momentous case dispense with that sort of evidence on which they had been accustomed to proceed. As the minister's chief object was procrastination, the objection was too acceptable to be warmly contested, and therefore after a trifling debate, a committee of twenty-one persons was appointed in each house to examine and report the sentiments of the royal physicians. The report

of the committee was laid upon the table of the house of commons on the tenth of December, when a motion was made by Pitt, for the appointment of another committee to inspect the journals for precedents. "With respect to precedents, there were," said Fox, "notoriously none which applied to the present instance; and he affirmed, that all that was requisite to their ultimate decision had been obtained by the report now lying upon their table. By that report they had ascertained the incapacity of the sovereign; and he advanced as a proposition deducible from the principles of the constitution, and the analogy of the law of hereditary succession, that whenever the sovereign was incapable of exercising the functions of his high office, the heir apparent, if of full age and capacity, had as indisputable a claim to the exercise of the executive authority, in the name and on the behalf of the sovereign, during his incapacity, as in the case of his natural demise." Pitt immediately, with much apparent warmth, declared, "that the assertion which had been made by Fox was little short of treason against the constitution; and he pledged himself to prove, that the heir apparent in the instance in question, had no more right to the exercise of the executive power than any other person; and that it belonged entirely to the two remaining branches of the legislature, to make such a provision for supplying the temporary deficiency as they might think proper. To assert an inherent right in the prince of Wales to assume the government, was virtually to revive those exploded ideas of the divine and indefeasible authority of princes, which had so justly sunk into contempt, and almost into oblivion. Kings and princes derive their power from the people, and to the people alone, through the organ of their representatives, did it appertain to decide in cases for which the constitution had made no specific or positive provision."

Thus was this famous political question at issue between these two great political rivals; in which it was remarkable that Fox, the steady, uniform, and powerful advocate of the people, appeared to lean to prerogative; and Pitt, who had been loudly and justly accused of deserting the principles of liberty, stood forth their intrepid and zealous assertor. All those popular arguments and primary axioms of government, on which the friends of freedom delight to dwell, were upon this occasion urged by Pitt with energy and eloquence. If he was sincere on this occasion, his sentiments, as will appear in the sequel, afterwards underwent an entire revolution.

The motion of Pitt for a committee to examine precedents being carried in the commons, a similar motion was the next day made by lord Camden in the house of peers, and the doctrine of Fox reproached by his lordship with great severity. It was on the other hand defended with much ability by lord Loughborough and lord Storzmont; the latter of whom concluded his speech with recommending an immediate address to the prince of Wales, entreating him to assume the exercise of the royal authority. The discussion of the abstract question of right having afforded a great and unexpected advantage to the ministry, the duke of York, soon after this debate, in the name of the prince, expressed his wishes, "that the question might be waived. No claim of right," his highness said, "had been advanced by the prince of Wales; and he was confident that his brother too well understood the sacred principles which seated the house of Brunswick upon the throne, ever to assume or exercise any power, he his claim what it might, that was not derived from the will of the people expressed by their representatives." The duke of Gloucester commanded the declaration of the duke of York. Lord Thurlow, who had at first consented to take a part in the regency administration, in the arrangement of which the post of lord president had been assigned to him, now varying the course of his policy, spoke with great energy of his "sentiments of affection towards the king. Nothing could be more disgraceful than to desert the sovereign in his distressed and helpless situation. His own debt of gratitude for favours received was ample, when he forgot his king, might God forget him." This pathetic and loyal exclamation, not being perhaps in perfect unison with the acceptance of a place in the new administration, it was rumoured to be the result of certain intimations which his lordship recently received of the happy and not very distant prospect

of the king's recovery. This was however as yet a matter of anxious and doubtful speculation.

On the sixteenth of December, the house being in a committee on the state of the nation, Pitt moved the two following declaratory resolutions; first, the interruption of the royal authority; and, second, that it was the duty of parliament to provide the means of supplying that defect. A vehement debate ensued, in the course of which Fox declared the principles of the minister to be, that the monarchy was indeed hereditary, but that the executive power ought to be elective.—"Where," said he, "is that famous *dictum* to be found by which the crown is guarded with inviolable sanctity, while its powers are left to the mercy of every assailant? The prince, it is asserted, has no more right than another person, and at the same time it is acknowledged that parliament is not at liberty to think of any other regent; and all this paradoxical absurdity for the paltry triumph of a vote over a political antagonist." The resolution was however, on a division, carried by two hundred and sixty-eight against two hundred and four voices. This great point being gained, the ministry proceeded without delay to convert it to their own advantage.

A third resolution passed, on the twenty-third of December, empowering the chancellor of Great Britain to affix the great seal to such bill of limitations as might be necessary to restrict the power of the future regent. This mode of procedure was warmly opposed by lord North. "Gentlemen," said his lordship, "is to be set up without power or discretion, and this pageant, this fictitious being, is to give the force of a law to the decisions of the two houses. Was it ever before heard of, that there could be a power of giving assent without the power of refusing that assent? Would any man seriously maintain that the third estate, thus conjured up, is really distinct from the other two?"

1760. On the second of January 1760, to complete the singularity and perplexity of the business, died Cornwall, speaker of the house of commons; and on the fifth the vacant chair was filled by Grenville, brother to lord Temple, and though there were a striking irregularity in entering upon the duties of his office without the previous sanction of royal approbation, yet in this season of novelties, a defect of this sort was scarcely noticed, amid the pressure of affairs so much more important.

In consequence of some difference of opinion among the royal physicians respecting the state of his majesty's health, Loveden made a motion for a fresh committee to re-examine the physicians on the subject of the king's illness, and the probability of recovery. This motion having been acceded to, gave rise to a second report, which left the house, with regard to the event, as much in the dark as ever, answering no other purpose than to create delay, of which the minister well knew the value and advantage. A letter was at length written to the prince of Wales by Pitt, informing his royal highness of the plan meant to be pursued: that the care of the king's person and the disposition of the royal household should be committed to the queen, who would by this means be vested with the patronage of four hundred places, amongst which were the great offices of lord steward, lord chamberlain, and the master of the horse. That the power of the prince should not extend to the granting any office, reversion, or pension, for any other term than during the king's pleasure, nor to the conferring any peerage. The answer of the prince was firm, dignified, and temperate. He said, "It was with deep regret, that he perceived in the propositions of administration, a project for introducing weakness, disorder, and insecurity into every branch of political business:—for separating the court from the state, and depriving government of its natural and accustomed support; a scheme for disconnecting authority to command service, from the power of animating it by reward; and for allotting to him all the invidious duties of the kingly station, without the means of softening them to the public by any one act of grace, favour, or benignity." He observed, that the plea of public utility must be strong, manifest, and urgent, that could thus require the extinction or suspension of any of those essential rights in the supreme power or its representative, or which could justify the prince in consenting, that in his person an experiment should be made to ascertain with how small a portion of kingly power the executive government of this country could be

conducted. In fine, the prince declared, that his conviction of the evils which might otherwise arise, outweighed in his mind every other consideration, and would determine him to undertake the painful trust imposed upon him by that melancholy necessity, which of all the king's subjects he deplored the most.

KING'S RECOVERY.

THE bill intended to carry into effect this wild and dangerous project, the offspring of party interest, and personal ambition, was brought into the house on the sixteenth of January 1760. Long and violent debates ensued; and in the house of lords, it was accompanied by a protest, signed by the duke of York, at the head of the princes of the blood, and fifty-five other peers, expressive of their highest indignation at the restrictions thus arbitrarily imposed on the executive authority. These extraordinary and unprecedented proceedings were at length, happily for the public, arrested in their progress by an intimation from the chancellor, that the king was declared by his physicians to be in a state of convalescence. This was followed by a declaration on the tenth of March, that his majesty being perfectly recovered from his indisposition, had ordered a commission to be issued for holding the parliament in the usual manner. The tidings of the king's recovery diffused the most general and heartfelt satisfaction. A national thanksgiving was appointed, and the king himself went in solemn procession to the cathedral of St. Paul's, to offer up to the Almighty his grateful devotions on this event. His recovery was also celebrated throughout the kingdom by splendid illuminations, and all the other accustomed demonstrations of joy.

PARLIAMENT REGULARLY OPENED.

IN the speech delivered by the chancellor in the name of the king to the two houses, his majesty conveyed to them his warmest acknowledgments for the additional proofs they had given of attachment to his person, of their concern for the honour and interests of his crown, and the security and good government of his dominions. It very soon appeared that the last proceedings of the ministry in the regency business were highly agreeable to the sovereign. A number of persons holding posts under the government, who had concurred in the measures of opposition, were unceremoniously dismissed from their offices.

SHOP TAX REPEALED—TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS.

ONE of the earliest topics that engaged the attention of parliament was the unpopular shop tax. Fox renewed his annual motion for its repeal, to which Pitt did not choose any longer to withhold his assent, though at the same time he affirmed he had heard nothing in the shape of argument which induced him to change his original opinion. Encouraged by the success of this application, Dampier immediately moved for the repeal of the hawk-er's and pedlar's tax. This, however, could not be obtained; but a bill passed to explain and amend the act, by which the more oppressive clauses were mitigated, and that friendless and injured class of persons restored in some measure to their civil and commercial rights.

On the eighth of May, Beaumont introduced the motion which he had two years before submitted to the house, for the repeal of the corporation and test acts. Fox supported the motion with uncommon force of argument. He laid it down as a primary axiom of policy, "that no human government had jurisdiction over opinions as such, and more particularly over religious opinions. It had no right to presume that it knew them, and much less to act upon that presumption. When opinions were productive of acts injurious to society, the law knew how and where to apply the remedy. If the reverse of this doctrine were adopted, if the actions of men were to be prejudged from their opinions, it would sow the seeds of everlasting jealousy and distrust; it would give the most unlimited scope to the malignant passions; it would incite each man to divine the opinions of his neighbour, to deduce mischievous consequences from them, and then to prove that he ought to incur disabilities, to be fettered with restrictions, to be harassed with penalties. From this intolerant principle had flowed every species of party zeal, every system of political per-

secution, every extravagance of religious hate. There were many men not of the establishment, to whose services their country had a claim. Surely a citizen of this description might be permitted without danger or absurdity to say—though I dissent from the church, I am a friend to the constitution; and on religious subjects I am entitled to think and act as I please. Ought the country to be deprived of the benefit she might derive from the talents of such men, and his majesty be prevented from dispensing the favours of the crown except to one description of his subjects? The test and corporation acts had subsisted, it was contended, for more than a century. True; but how had they subsisted? by repeated suspensions. For the indemnity bills were, literally speaking, annual acts. Where then would be the impropriety of suspending them for ever by an act of perpetual operation? Let not Great Britain be the last to avail herself of the general improvement of the human understanding. Indulgence to other sects, a candid respect for their opinions, a desire to promote charity and good will, were the best proofs that any religion could give of its divine origin." Pitt in an artificial harangue delivered with a great external show of candour, and decorated with a speciousness of language, opposed the motion. On a division this important question was lost by a majority of only twenty voices.

MOTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

WILBERFORCE, at an advanced period of the session, brought forward his long expected motion, relating to the abolition of the African slave trade, which was now become the theme of public exclamation. Lord Penryn asserted, in the course of this debate, "that to his knowledge, the planters were now willing to assent to any regulation of the trade, short of its abolition." In reply to this remark, Fox, with great animation declared, "that he knew of no such thing, as a 'regulation of robbery, and restriction of murder.' There was no medium: the legislature must either abolish the trade, or plead guilty to all the iniquity with which it was attended. This was a traffic which no government could authorise, without participation in the infamy." Evidence being heard at the bar of the house for several successive weeks, it was at length on the twenty-third of June, moved by alderman Newnham, "that the farther consideration of the subject be deferred to the next session," which was accordingly carried.

The session was terminated August the eleventh 1789, by a speech from the lord chancellor in the name of the sovereign.

CHAPTER XXI.

Meeting of Parliament—Burke's first Philippic against France—The Sentiments of Fox and Sheridan on the same Subject—Opposition to the Motion for Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts—A Reform in Parliament moved by Mr. Flood—and withdrawn—State of Settlements in India—Ragul Message announces a Rupture with Spain—The Dispute settled, and a Convention signed—War commenced in India—To defray the Expenses of the Spanish Armament the Minister proposes seizing the unclaimed Dividends in the Bank—Violently opposed—Compromised—Question whether Impeachments abate or not by a Dissolution of Parliament—Bill in Favour of the Catholics passed—Bill for settling the Rights of Juries in Cases of Libel—The Slave Trade—The Establishment of the Sierra Leona Company—Bill for the better Government of Canada—Burke's Inveective against the French Revolution—Answered by Fox—Terminates in a Breach of Friendship—Rupture with Russia—Grounds of the Quarrel—The French Revolution divides the Nation into Parties—Birmingham thrown into a Ferment by an inflammatory and seditious Hand-bill—Dr. Priestley's House, &c. destroyed.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—BURKE'S PHILIPPIC AGAINST FRANCE.

WHILE the summer of the year 1789 passed away in England without producing any memorable transaction, it proved a period fruitful of commotion on the continent, and will be distinguished to the latest posterity as the epoch of the French revolution.

1789. The parliament blest in 1784, met for its last session on the twenty first of January 1790. In the speech from the throne, his majesty slightly glanced at the affairs of France, by observing, that "the internal situation of the different parts of Europe had been productive of events which had engaged his most serious attention." Lord Vasselott, in moving the address, took occasion to contrast the tranquil and prosperous situation of England with the anarchy and licentiousness of France, and to stigmatize the revolution in that country as an event the most disastrous and fatal to the interests of the French which had ever taken place since the foundation of their monarchy. This language was highly applauded by the old prerogative phalanx, and was a tolerable indication of the light in which the recent transactions in France were viewed by the British court. The subject was resumed upon the debate which took place on February the ninth relative to the army estimates. Mr. Burke observed, "that on a review of all Europe, he did not find that politically we stood in the smallest degree of danger from any one state or kingdom it contained, nor that any foreign power, but our own allies, were likely to gain a preponderance in the scale. The French had shown themselves the ablest architects of ruin that had hitherto appeared in the world. In one short summer they had completely pulled down their monarchy, their church, their nobility, their law, their army, and their revenue. Were we absolute conquerors, and France to be prostrate at our feet, we should blush to impose upon them terms so destructive to all their consequence as a nation, as the durance they had imposed upon themselves. Our present danger, from the example of a people whose character knows no medium, is, with regard to government, a danger from licentious violence—a danger of being led from admiration to imitation of the excesses of an unprincipled, plundering, ferocious, bloody, and tyrannical democracy—of a people whose government is anarchy, and whose religion is atheism. He declared he felt great concern that this strange thing, called a revolution in France, should be compared with the glorious event commonly called the revolution in England. In truth, the circumstances of our revolution, as it is called, and that of France, are just the reverse of each other in almost every particular,

and in the whole spirit of the transaction. What we did was, in truth and substance, not a revolution made, but prevented. We took solid securities; we settled doubtful questions; we corrected anomalies in our law. In the stable fundamental parts of our constitution we made no revolution;—no, nor any alteration at all. We did not impair the monarchy. The nation kept the same ranks, the same subordinations, the same franchises; the same order in the law, the revenue, and the magistracy; the same lords, the same commons, the same corporations, the same electors. The church was not impaired. Her estates, her majesty, her splendour, her orders and gradations continued the same. She was preserved in her full efficiency, and cleared only of that intolerance which was her weakness and disgrace. Was little done then, because a revolution was not made in her constitution? No—every thing was done; because we commenced with reparation, not with ruin. The state flourished; Great Britain rose above the standard of her former self. All the energies of the country were awakened, and a new era of prosperity commenced, which still continues, not only unimpaired, but receiving growth and improvement under the wasting hand of time."

SENTIMENTS OF FOX AND SHERIDAN.

Mr. Fox, notwithstanding his personal regard and friendship for Burke, thought it necessary, in justice to the rectitude and dignity of his own character, to declare "his total dissent from opinions so hostile to the general principles of liberty; and which he was grieved to hear from the lips of a man whom he loved and revered—by whose precepts he had been taught, by whose example he had been animated to engage in their defence." He vindicated the conduct of the French army, in refusing to act against their fellow citizens from the aspersions of Burke, who had charged them with abetting an abominable sedition by mutiny and desertion; declaring, that if he could view a standing military force with less constitutional jealousy than before, it was owing to the noble spirit manifested by the French army; who on becoming soldiers, had proved that they did not forfeit their character as citizens, and would not act as the mere instruments of a despot. The scenes of bloodshed and cruelty that had been acted in France, no man," said Fox, "could hear of without lamenting. But when the grievous tyranny that the people had so long groined under was considered, the excesses they had committed in their efforts to shake off the yoke could not excite our astonishment so much as our regret. And as to the contrast Burke had exhibited, respecting the mode in which the two revolutions of England and France were conducted, it must be remembered, that the situation of the

two kingdoms was totally different. In France, a new constitution was to be created. In England, it wanted only to be secured. If the fabric of government in England suffered less alteration, it was because it required less alteration. If a general destruction of the ancient constitution had taken place in France, it was because the whole system was radically hostile to liberty, and that every part of it breathed the direful spirit of despotism." Sheridan, with still less reserve and attention to personal respect, reprobated the political sentiments which had been advanced by Burke. "The people of France," said Sheridan, "it is true, have committed acts of barbarity and bloodshed which have justly excited indignation and abhorrence. He was as ready as Burke to detest the cruelties that had been committed; but what was the striking lesson, the awful moral, that those outrages taught? A deeper abhorrence of that system of despotic government, which had so deformed and corrupted human nature; of a species of government, that trampled upon the property, the liberty and lives of its subjects; that dealt in extortions, dungeons, and torture; and that prepared before hand a day of sanguinary vengeance, when the irritated populace should possess themselves of power. The people, unhappily misguided, as they doubtless were, in particular instances, had however acted rightly in their great object. They had placed the supreme authority of the community in those hands by whom alone it could be justly exercised, and had reduced their sovereign to the rank which properly belonged to kings—that of administrator of the laws established by the free consent of the community."

This being the first time that the French revolution became a subject of parliamentary investigation, the house appeared, during a long and most interesting discussion, greatly agitated by the shock and conflict of clashing opinions: but Pitt preserved a cautious and politic silence as to the merits of the revolution, contenting himself for the present, with lavishly applauding Burke for the zealous and reasonable attachment he had displayed to the principles of the British constitution.

OPPOSITION TO A REPEAL OF THE TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS.

THE spirit, however, by which the government was now actuated, appeared with less reserve in their conduct towards the dissenters. Since the very favourable and flattering decision of the last session, relative to the repeal of the test and corporation acts, the dissenters had made the most strenuous and unremitting efforts to increase their parliamentary friends. They had held provincial meetings in every part of the kingdom, and in their public resolutions, not only gave the most unequivocal proofs of their joy at the late events in France, but in contemplation of the approaching general election, recommended a preference in favour of such members as had shown themselves friends and advocates of equal and universal liberty. In the stead of Beaufoy, a friend and partisan of the minister, Fox was now solicited to move the repeal of the acts in question, to which he gave a ready and generous assent. On the other hand, the clergy of the church of England were not idle. Jealous of every appearance of encroachment on their exclusive privileges, and alarmed at the precipitate downfall of the Gallican church, they revived with incredible success the obsolete and senseless clamour, that the church was in danger. Counter-meetings of the friends of the church were also every where convened, in which the repeal of the test was deprecated as fatal to its security and existence. Such were the steps taken by the adverse parties, to impress the nation at large with an idea of the magnitude and importance of a question, which they had hitherto regarded with cool indifference.

On the second of March, Fox brought forward his motion of repeal, which he supported with a wonderful display of ability.

Mr. Pitt, who had opposed the former applications with temper and moderation, now indulged some expressions of asperity. "Neither the merits nor demerits of individuals ought," he said, "to have any influence in the discussion of the present question; yet was the conduct of the dissenters liable to just reprehension, who, at the very moment they were reprobating the test laws, discovered an in-

tention of forming associations through the country for the purpose of imposing a test upon the members of that house, and judging of their fitness to discharge their parliamentary duty from their votes upon this single occasion. To toleration the dissenters were undoubtedly entitled: They had a right to enjoy their liberty and their property, to entertain their own speculative opinions, and to educate their offspring in such religious sentiments as themselves approved. But the indispensable necessity of a permanent church establishment for the good of the state, required that toleration should not be extended to equality; if it were, there would be an end for ever to the wise policy of prevention, and a door would be opened to the absolute ruin of the constitution." Burke seconded the minister in a speech of far more virulence, and in present circumstances therefore of far more efficacy. He astonished and alarmed the house with reading several passages from the writings of dissenting divines on the subject of ecclesiastical establishments, expressed with the usual acrimony and violence of theological polemics. From these testimonies Burke inferred the inveterate enmity of the dissenters to the church, and he adjured the house to suffer the fatal incidents which had taken place in France, and the sudden ruin of the Gallican church, to awaken their zeal for the preservation of our present happy and excellent establishment." On the division the numbers were, ayes one hundred and five, noes two hundred and ninety-four; so that the majority against the repeal had increased since the last session from twenty to one hundred and eighty-nine voices.

MOTION BY MR. FLOOD FOR PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Two days after the decision of the house upon this business, Flood, so long celebrated as a patriot and orator in the Irish house of commons, and who had sat some years almost undistinguished in the British senate, moved for leave to bring in a bill upon the subject of a more equal representation of the people in parliament. Mr. Flood's proposition was, that one hundred members should be added to the present house of commons, in a proportional ratio to the population of each county, by the election of the resident householders only. This was a simple and eligible plan of reform, and it was supported by the mover in a very able and eloquent speech. He observed, "that he felt it necessary to state a bold truth, which, but from a confidence in the virtue of the house," as he said, "he should not have dared to have uttered—that they were not the adequate representatives of the people. That they were the legal representatives he freely admitted; nay, he would go farther, and say, that they were a highly useful and honourable council; a council, which, in any other government of Europe, would be a great acquisition. But, to the honour of our country be it spoken, the British constitution entitled us to something better. Representation," Flood said, "was the great arcanum and wise mystery of our government, by which it excelled all the states of antiquity. Now, in what did representation consist? In this, that as by the general law of political society the majority was to decide for the whole, the representative must be chosen by a body of constituents who were themselves a clear majority of the people. He admitted, that property to a certain degree was a necessary requisite to the elective power: that is to say, that franchise ought not to go beyond property, but at the same time it ought to be extended farther than at present. By the existing system these principles were grossly violated. The freeholders, who originally included the whole property of the kingdom, now constituted only a small part of it. What was worse, the majority of the representatives, who decided for the whole, and acted for eight millions of people, were chosen by a number of electors not exceeding six or eight thousand. A new body of constituents was therefore wanting, and in their appointment two things were to be considered; one, that they should be numerous enough, because numbers were necessary to the spirit of liberty: the other, that they should have a competent share of property, because property was conducive to the spirit of order. But he was told this was not the time for a reform. And why? because there were disturbances in France. It was for want of a timely aid

temperate reform that these evils had fallen on France. Mr. Flood was no friend to revolutions, because they were an evil; he was a friend to timely reform, which rendered revolutions unnecessary. Those who opposed such a reform might be enemies to revolution in their hearts, but were friends to it by their folly. Let the representative be chosen as he ought to be by the people, and continue to walk worthy of that choice, and Britain would have nothing to dread from the example of France.

This motion was vehemently opposed by Windham, the disciple of Burke. "At the close of the American war," Windham said, "a deluge of opinions had been let loose, a clamour had been raised, and a parliamentary reform demanded, as a remedy for the evils we felt from it. Happily those wild notions had long since subsided; the danger, however, was now breaking out afresh; and were he otherwise a friend to the proposition, he should have objected to it on account of the time at which it was introduced. Where was the man who would be mad enough to advise them to repair their house in the hurricane season?" Pitt entirely coincided in these reasonings of Windham, and declared, "that were the motion before them the precise proposition he himself had formerly offered, he should now vote against it from a complete conviction of its actual impropriety. But at a more seasonable opportunity he would most certainly again submit his ideas upon the subject to the consideration of the house." Fox declared he saw no reason why we should be struck with a panic on account of the situation of affairs in France; and in allusion to Windham's metaphorical argument, he affirmed, that no season could be more proper to begin a repair than when a hurricane was near, and ready to burst forth. Flood perceiving the general sense of the house, even of those members who had formerly favoured the idea of a parliamentary reform, to be adverse to his motion, at length assented to withdraw it.

STATE OF INDIA.

DUNDAS, on the thirty first of March 1790, brought forward his annual statement of the debts and revenues of the East India company. He described, as usual, their situation to be in the highest degree prosperous and flourishing, and offered to the house a new proof of the truth of his assertions, by concluding his eulogium, without asking a loan to enable them to avoid the horrors of insolvency. Through the wise and equitable administration of lord Cornwallis, the revenues of Bengal had been advanced during the last year, without the aid of any new imposition, from one million eight hundred thousand pounds to two millions one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. One of the first and most important measures of the new governor general was to lease the lands in perpetuity at an equal valuation to the actual occupants; and in alluding to this part of his conduct, his lordship thus forcibly expresses himself to the directors. "The security of property, and the certainty which each individual will now feel of being allowed to enjoy the fruits of his labours, must operate uniformly as incitements to labour and industry."

RUPTURE WITH SPAIN

On the nineteenth of April, Pitt presented to the house his annual statement of the national revenue and expenditure. He expressed a peculiar degree of pleasure in being able to announce, that the receipt of the exchequer had surpassed that of the year preceding in the sum of half a million; and he rejoiced, that, from the prospect of an uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of peace, still greater accessions might reasonably be hoped. Before however the public had time to partake of the minister's joy, from the consolatory intimations of national peace and prosperity, he was commissioned to deliver to the house, May fifth, a royal message of a very different import, and which excited inexpressible astonishment, by announcing a state of things which bore the aspect of war. To elucidate this matter, it is necessary to mention that the celebrated circumnavigator Cook, in his last voyage of discovery, touching at different ports on the Western coast of North America, purchased from the natives a number of valuable furs bearing a high price in the Chinese market. In consequence of its being likely to prove a lucrative

branch of commerce, a small association of British merchants, resident in the East Indies, formed the project of opening a trade to this part of the world for the purpose of supplying the Chinese with furs. Accordingly, in the year 1789, a spot of ground was procured from the Indians, and a regular settlement, defended by a slight fortification, established at Nootka Sound, situated about the fiftieth degree of latitude. This being regarded by the Spaniards as a flagrant encroachment on their exclusive rights of sovereignty, the *Princesa*, a Spanish frigate of twenty-six guns, was despatched by the viceroy of Mexico, and in May 1789, sailed upon the fort, and captured the *Ipigenia*, and *Argonaut*, two English vessels then trading on the coast. At the same time, the Spanish commandant, hoisting the national standard, declared that the whole line of coast from Cape Horn to the sixtieth degree of latitude belonged to the king of Spain. After some delay and considerable loss to the proprietors, the captured vessels were restored by order of the viceroy, on the supposition, as he stated, "that nothing but ignorance of the rights of Spain could have induced the merchants in question to attempt an establishment on that coast." This transaction was notified to the court of London so long since as the tenth of February by the Spanish ambassador; and his excellency at the same time requested, "that measures might be taken for preventing his Britannic majesty's subjects from frequenting those coasts, and from carrying on their fisheries in the seas contiguous to the Spanish continent, as derogatory to the incontestable rights of the crown of Spain."

The English minister did not receive this communication in a manner that indicated any disposition to comply with the terms it contained. On the contrary, a demand was immediately advanced on their part, that the vessels seized should be restored and adequate satisfaction granted previous to any other discussion. The claims of Spain, in relation to her rights of dominion and sovereignty in America, were doubtless in the highest degree chimerical; and could perhaps only be equalled in extravagance by the claims of Great Britain. By the treaty of 1763, the river Mississippi, flowing in a direct course of fifteen hundred miles, was made the perpetual boundary of the two empires, and the whole country to the West of that vast river belonging to his catholic majesty, by just as valid a tenure as the country eastward of the river to the king of England. Exclusive of this recent and decisive line of demarkation, by which the relative and political rights of both nations were clearly ascertained, the Spanish court referred to ancient treaties, by which the rights of the crown of Spain were acknowledged in their full extent by Great Britain. Charles the third, king of Spain, died December 1788, and his son Charles the fourth, confiding in the justice of his claims, offered with dignified candour to submit the decision of this question to any one of the kings of Europe, leaving the choice wholly to his Britannic majesty.

The royal message presented a statement of the facts relative to this business, and the house unanimously joined in an address to the king, assuring his majesty of "the determination of his faithful commons to afford his majesty the most zealous and affectionate support, in such measures as may become requisite for maintaining the dignity of his majesty's crown, and the essential interests of his dominions." A vote of credit passed the house for the sum of one million, and vigorous military and naval preparations were made in both kingdoms, in the contemplation of an immediate declaration of war.—It must be acknowledged that the hostile procedure of Spain had reduced the English ministry to a difficult dilemma. But in consequence of the rash step taken by Spain, the national honour was now at stake. Grey, in moving for papers relative to this transaction, justly observed "that national honour was not, as some represented it, a visionary thing: a nation without honour was a nation without power. In losing this inestimable attribute, it inevitably lost the genuine spring of its spirit, energy, and action." Burke, however, whose antipathies extended not to Spain, was on this occasion particularly anxious for the preservation of peace. "He hoped," he said, "that the national honour would not be found incompatible with the means of amicable accommodation. As we never ought to go to war for a profitable wrong, so we ought

never to go to war for an unprofitable right. He therefore trusted that the intended armament would be considered not as a measure calculated to terminate the war happily, but carry on the negotiation vigorously. He wished the war might be avoided. He had seen three wars, and we were gainers by none of them. Our abilities and resources were doubtless great; but then did a country prove its magnanimity most clearly, when she manifested her moderation to be proportionate to her power.

On the tenth of June 1790, the king terminated the session, and in his speech signified the probability of a speedy dissolution of the present parliament, assuring them in the warmest terms of "the deep and grateful sense which he entertained of that affectionate and unshaken loyalty, that uniform and zealous regard for the true principles of the constitution, that unremitting attention to the public happiness and prosperity, which had invariably directed all their proceedings;" and on the day following the parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

Spain, sensible of her inability to contend alone with England, had, in an early stage of the negotiation, applied to the court of France, to know how far she could depend upon the fulfilment of the conditions of the family compact, in case of a rupture with Great Britain. The Spanish memorial upon this subject was, by order of the king, laid before the national assembly, and gave rise to a very interesting report from the diplomatic committee, presented by the count-de Mirabeau. After paying high compliments to the English nation, the report comes to the conclusion, "that it would not be just or honourable to annul the solemn engagements subsisting between France and Spain, at an instant when Spain is threatened with the same dangers which she had repeatedly warded off from them." An ardent wish for the establishment of permanent peace and cordial amity with England is notwithstanding the predominant sentiment in this celebrated report. "Perhaps," say they, "the moment is fast approaching, when Liberty, triumphant in both hemispheres, shall accomplish the wish of philosophy, by delivering the human species from the necessity of war."

THE DISPUTE SETTLED.

ALTHOUGH the national assembly voted an immediate augmentation of the naval force, the court of Madrid plainly perceived the reluctance of the French nation to engage in a war with England, and yielding therefore to necessity, complied first with the harsh demand of previous restitution and indemnification, and at length, on the second of October 1790, a convention was signed at the Escorial, by which every point in dispute was conceded by Spain. By this convention the restoration of the buildings and vessels, and the reparation of the losses sustained by British subjects were secured; the right of navigation and fishery was equally conceded to both nations; illicit commerce with the Spanish settlements prohibited; and the British fishing vessels and others were restricted to ten leagues' distance from the Spanish coast, unaccompanied however by any formal renunciation of sovereignty on the part of Spain. And the two powers were, on the other hand, equally restrained from attempting any settlement nearer to Cape Horn than the most southerly of the settlements actually formed by Spain. Thus ended a dispute, frivolous indeed in its origin, but which seemed in its progress to threaten very serious consequences, and which cost Great Britain the sum of three millions in warlike preparations; though this expense might have been, with great advantage to the interests of England, avoided, by submitting the whole of the dispute, in the mode proposed by Spain, to amicable arbitration.

WAR IN INDIA.

BUT though Great Britain was thus happily rescued from the horrors of war in this quarter of the globe, accident or ambition had at the same time involved our Indian possessions in a state of hostility and blood.—The usurpation by Hyder Ally, of the sovereignty of Mysore, and the military prowess of his son and successor Tippoo Sultan, are facts already too fully stated to require any repetition. Of all the native princes of India, Tippoo was the most formidable to the British government, and the most active to disturb its

authority, and counteract its interest. The peace of Mangalore in 1764 had, it was supposed, secured his fidelity by very feeble ties; and the splendid embassy which soon after that event he despatched to France, afforded just reason to suspect that some plan was concerted between the old French government and the tyrant of Mysore, for the annoyance of the British settlements in India: but this plan was happily defeated by the same cause which prevented a war with Spain—the French revolution. The increasing power of Tippoo was not less formidable to the Dutch than to the English; and the vicinity of Cochin, their most flourishing settlement on the continent of India, to the territories of that restless despot, allied them with alarming apprehensions for its safety. But the Dutch, fully sensible of the perilous situation of Cochin, had got possession of two other forts, situated between that place and Mysore, to protect their favourite settlement. The forts of Cranganore and Acotiah were however still objects of Tippoo's ambition; and notwithstanding his father had ceded the former by agreement to the Dutch, he marched a formidable force in June 1789, towards Cranganore, with an avowed design of dispossessing the Dutch, and asserting a claim of right founded on the transactions just related. Unable to retain the forts, and apprehensive for the fate of Cochin itself, the Dutch readily entered into a negotiation with the rajah of Travancore for the purchase of them. Tippoo, on being informed of this circumstance, offered a larger sum than the rajah; but as the latter was the ally of Great Britain, who was consequently bound by treaty to assist him, the Dutch plainly perceived, that by placing them in his hands, they erected a most powerful barrier against the encroachments of a turbulent and ambitious neighbour. The imprudence of the rajah in entering upon such a purchase while the title was disputed, drew down upon him the heaviest censures from the government of Madras; and he was repeatedly cautioned by Sir Archibald Campbell and Mr. Holland his successor, not to proceed in the negotiation. Such however was the ardour and temerity of the rajah in making this acquisition, that he not only concluded the purchase with the Dutch, but even treated with the rajah of Cochin, without the privity of Tippoo, to whom the latter was an acknowledged tributary. The bargain was concluded in July 1789, though it was not till the fourth of August that the rajah informed the Madras government, through their resident Mr. Powney, that he "was on the point of making the purchase." It was not to be expected that Tippoo would remain an idle spectator of these transactions.—He insisted on the claim which he retained over these forts, on the ground of their being conquered by his father, and in consequence of the subsequent compromise, he asserted, and with some plausibility, that in virtue of the feudal laws, no transfer of them could be made without his consent as sovereign of Mysore; and he also alleged, as a further cause of complaint against the rajah, that he had given protection to a number of his rebel subjects. Accordingly, on the twenty-ninth of December, Tippoo made a direct attack upon the lines of Travancore; but receiving a remonstrance from the British government of Fort St. George, he desisted from farther hostilities, and even apologized for his recent conduct, by affirming, "that the attack was occasioned by the rajah's people having first fired on his troops; that notwithstanding this, he immediately ordered his troops to discontinue the attack, and sent back the people whom they had captured." From the twenty-ninth of December to the first of March 1790, Tippoo Sultan remained perfectly quiet, still however asserting his claims to the feudal sovereignty of the forts, but at the same time offering to submit the object in dispute to the decision of any impartial arbitration. The rajah, who appears all along confident of being supported by the British arms, ventured on the first of March to make an offensive attack on Tippoo's lines. For this extraordinary step, the rajah alleged in excuse the hostile preparations of Tippoo in the erection of batteries, &c. &c. An engagement took place; and war being thus commenced, the British government conceived themselves bound to take an active part in favour of the rajah their ally. Though the justice of the war may be fairly questioned, yet as the favourite object of the English had long been the humbling of Tippoo, it

must be confessed there was at least much policy in selecting the present period for the accomplishment of such a purpose.—With all the other native powers of India we were not only at peace, but treaties of alliance existed between Great Britain and the two most powerful states in that quarter, the Nizam and the Marhattas, both of whom declared themselves in perfect readiness to exert their utmost force to crush the rising power of Mysore. Unfortunately for Tippeco, while he was thus exposed to the vengeance of a powerful confederacy, the distracted state of France cut off all hopes of assistance from his once great and formidable ally. Such was the situation of affairs in the east, previous to the meeting of parliament, which appeared of sufficient importance to induce the ministry of Great Britain to involve the nation in the expenses and calamities of war.

The new parliament assembled on the twenty-fifth of November 1790. In the speech from the throne his majesty signified "his satisfaction that the differences with Spain were brought to an amicable termination." He observed, "that since the last session of parliament a foundation had been laid for a pacification between Austria and the Porte—that a separate peace had actually taken place between Russia and Sweden; but that the war between Russia and the Porte still continued. The principles on which I have hitherto acted," said his majesty, "will make me always desirous of employing the weight and influence of this country in contributing to the restoration of general tranquillity. He observed with concern the war in India, occasioned," he said, "by an unprovoked attack on an ally of the British nation; but which, from the state of our forces in India, and the consideration which the native powers had in the British name, there was a favourable prospect of bringing to a speedy and successful conclusion."

On the third of December the chancellor of the exchequer presented to the house, a copy of the convention with Spain, the terms of which were ratified by both houses, but not unanimously: for the documents relative to the negotiation being partially withheld, Grey moved for the production of such papers as contained the regulations made by ministers to the court of Spain; declaring, "that it was utterly impossible to decide upon the policy of the late measures without sufficient documents, as the house could not at present determine, whether we might not have gained all the boasted advantages of the convention at a much less expense than had been incurred; or, whether the late disputes were owing to the restless ambition and unjust claims of Spain, or to the rashness, presumption, and ignorance of his majesty's ministers." Fox affirmed, "that by this convention our rights were greatly curtailed." Thus it was evident that the treaty was a treaty of concessions instead of provisions; and we had given up what was of infinite value to Spain, and retained what could never be of much to ourselves.

In the house of lords, the convention was repudiated by the marquis of Lansdowne, in a speech replete with diplomatic information. His lordship took an extensive review of the politics of Europe from the peace of 1763. He said, "the basis of our politics at that period was a permanent pacific system for Europe. This principle we had pursued with respect to France, in extinguishing all false ideas of rivalry, in leaving nothing undefined, nothing to commissioners, nothing to foreign interference. With respect to Spain, the view was to give the most of what was conceded to the weakest power; and this was done with the more propriety, as American possessions were no longer the same object with England as formerly. As to Holland, the design was to stipulate in favour of the general freedom and extension of trade, and to counteract the spirit of commercial monopoly which had long distinguished that power. In pursuance of this system of politics, the commercial treaty with France had been concluded, as well as the convention with Spain respecting the Spanish American trade in 1763. At this period the king of Prussia died, and then commenced an entire new system of English politics. We had neither secured France nor Spain, nor any other power. By the convention, the fishery was defined to our disadvantage, being limited to ten leagues from the shore. As to the right of trading, that was asserted even in the time of Elizabeth, by the treaty of 1670, and after-

wards acknowledged in 1740. But this proceeding at Nootka endangered the whole advantages of our commercial treaty with Spain. We were doing the work of other nations, and North America in particular. He should vote," his lordship said, "for the previous question: first, to show the Spaniards the true temper of the nation, that we were not restless or insolent, as our enemies represent us; secondly, to preserve our reputation in Europe; and thirdly, to deter future ministers from a similar proceeding."

PROPOSAL TO SEIZE UNCLAIMED DIVIDENDS, TO DEFRAY THE COST OF THE SPANISH ARMAMENT.

WHATEVER truth there may be in the observation of the marquis of Lansdowne, relative to other nations enjoying the exclusive benefits of the late armament, it is most certain that England was called upon to defray its expense, amounting to three millions. That expense Pitt proposed to meet by temporary taxes, with the assistance of five hundred thousand pounds, which he had it in contemplation to take from the unclaimed dividends lying in the bank of England, the amount of which he estimated at six hundred and sixty thousand pounds. This latter proposition excited a just alarm in all the great chartered companies, and in the commercial and mercantile world in general. It was urged, "that agreeably to the terms of the original contract between the government and the public creditors, the directors of the bank are constituted trustees for the public. When the money is once paid into the bank, it ceases to be public money, and is instantly converted into private property, which must there remain a sacred deposit till it is claimed by the private individuals to whom it appertains. Under the term unclaimed dividends is indeed veiled a gross fallacy. Exclusive of the dividends of the last three years, which are not properly unclaimed but merely unreceived dividends, the balance amounts scarcely to a fifth part of the sum which the minister proposes to seize." This was a bold and daring attempt of the minister, but he soon found that it was one of those measures to which the usual complaisance of the house would not be extended, and therefore he consented, by way of compromise, to accept of a loan of five hundred thousand pounds from the bank without interest, so long as a floating balance to that amount should remain in the hands of the cashier.

WHETHER THE DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT AFFECTS IMPEACHMENTS.

A SUBJECT of considerable importance came next under the cognizance of parliament. The question in debate was, in substance, whether a resolution by impeachment of the commons, does, or does not, abate by the dissolution of parliament? Burke introduced the discussion on the seventeenth of December, by moving, "that the house do resolve itself into a committee, to take into consideration the state of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, Esq." This, after some opposition, being carried, he made a second motion, "that an impeachment by this house in the name of the commons of Great Britain, against Warren Hastings, Esq. for high crimes and misdemeanors is still pending." The negative of this proposition was supported by the entire corps of lawyers in the house almost without an exception. Upon this great question, in the decision of which the honour, the dignity, and the authority of the house were so deeply involved, the speaker with peculiar propriety rose and delivered his opinion. "If," said he, "the maxim laid down by the lawyers were admitted to be just, the consequence was obvious. The impeachment of a profligate or corrupt minister might, by the insidious intervention of the prerogative, at any time be rendered nugatory and abortive. In the view of the constitution, and even by the forms of parliament, the impeachment is preferred not by the house of commons merely, but by all the commons of England; and the house can be considered, in relation to the prosecution, as no more than the agents and attorneys of the people at large. A second house of commons therefore, though certainly possessing a discretionary power of dropping the prosecution, if upon due consideration they are of opinion it does not rest

upon a just foundation, are as certainly at full liberty to proceed in it, if in their judgment conducive to the safety or interests of the state. In an impeachment of the nature of the present, it would scarcely be imagined that twenty-two complex articles could by any mode of investigation be decided upon in a single session. If then, agreeably to the genius of the ancient constitution, parliaments themselves were to be made annual, the labour would be truly Sympson, as such a trial never could arrive at a legal termination. Such were the plain dictates of common sense; but in resorting to rules of law, and precedents of parliament, doubts and difficulties presented themselves." Upon a general review of facts and precedents, the speaker gave it as his deliberate and decided judgment, that the impeachment was still legally pending. In this opinion Pitt, Fox, and the most eminent parliamentary authorities on both sides concurred; and the motion was put and carried without a division.

1791. This great question, which involved the most important right of the commons, being thus disposed of by the house, Burke on the fourteenth of February brought forward a motion for the purpose of shortening the trial of Mr. Hastings. "He acknowledged," he said, "that a trial of three years was a hardship upon an individual, but it was upon an individual largely salaried to bear the responsibility annexed to a high situation." Even this hardship might be salutary, as it might teach persons in office not only to shun guilt, but suspicion. In the fixed and unalterable course of human affairs, it has pleased God to decree that justice should be rapid, and justice slow; yet he was determined to the utmost of his power to remove every just cause of complaint in the future prosecution of the impeachment." He therefore moved, "that the managers be instructed to proceed to no other parts of the impeachment, excepting such as relate to contracts, pensions, and allowances;" which was carried with trivial opposition.

The resolution of the commons of the twenty-third of December, which decided that an impeachment did not abate by a dissolution of parliament, was strongly contested in the house of lords. On a message from the commons, that they were ready to proceed in their evidence, their lordships appointed a committee to search into precedents, which occasioned a suspension of the business till nearly the conclusion of the session. At length the report being made, lord Porchester moved, May the sixteenth, "that their lordships now proceed in the trial." On the division the motion of lord Porchester was carried by a great and decisive majority. Thus was this interesting question finally settled to the satisfaction of the public; and their lordships acquitted the house of commons by message, that they were now ready to proceed in the trial. But very little progress was made in it during the short remainder of the session.

BILL IN FAVOUR OF THE CATHOLICS.

THE boundaries of religious toleration were this year extended. It is a truth not very flattering to national liberality, that, notwithstanding the boasted radical freedom of our constitution, no country in Europe has been more jealous of their church establishment. Scarcely have the Roman catholic states themselves loaded with a more oppressive weight of civil penalties those who dissented in religious opinion. A reform in the penal statutes was at this time peculiarly called for, since in the year 1790, a large body of catholic dissenters had formally protested against the temporal power of the pope, against his assumed authority of releasing men from their civil obligations, or dispensing with the sacredness of oaths. It was upon this principle that Mitford moved on the twenty-first of February for a committee of the whole house, to enable him "to bring in a bill to relieve, upon certain conditions and under restrictions, persons called protestant catholic dissenters, from certain penalties, to which papists are by law subject." When the bill was presented Fox objected to it, not for what it did, but for what it did not contain. He contended for the bill being made general. "Let the statute-book," said this great statesman, "be revised, and strike out all those laws which attach penalties to mere opinions. He reprobated the absurdity and iniquity of those statutes which condemn every man who worships God in his own way, as guilty of treason

against the state." This liberal amendment not proving satisfactory to the house the bill passed in its original shape.

RIGHTS OF JURIES IN LIBEL CASES.

THE cause of liberty was less successful in another instance. The rights of juries had long been in an indefinite and indeterminate state, particularly in the case of libels; and disputes disgraceful in themselves, and injurious to the administration of justice, had frequently arisen between the court and the jury, between the judges and the counsel. Fox, ever active in the defence of popular rights, moved for a bill to ascertain the authority of juries in the matter of libel. With respect to the pretended distinction between law and fact, Fox observed, that when a man was accused of murder, a crime consisting of law and fact, the jury every day found a verdict of guilty; and this was also the case in felony and every other criminal indictment. Libels were the only exception, the single anomaly. He contended, that if the jury had no jurisdiction over libels, the counsel who addressed them on either side, as to the criminality of the publication, were guilty of a gross and insolent sarcasm. Fox put this matter in a strong point of view, by advertising to the law of treason. It was admitted on all hands, that a writing might be an overt act of treason. In this case, if the court of king's bench were to say to the jury, "consider only whether the criminal published the paper—do not consider the nature of it—do not consider whether it correspond to the definition of treason or not"—would Englishmen endure that death should be inflicted without a jury having had an opportunity of delivering their sentiments whether the individual was or was not guilty of the crime with which he was charged? Having shown that the law of libels was contrary to the original principles of law, Fox said, that if the committee were clear as to this point, their wisest and most proper measure would be to enact a declaratory law respecting it; but if they were of opinion that high authorities on the other side made the law doubtful, they might settle the law for the future without any reference to what it had been in times past. Pitt agreed with the principles stated by Fox, but instead of a committee of justice, recommended the bringing in a bill "to remove all doubts respecting the rights and functions of juries in criminal cases." The bill was accordingly introduced, and passed the commons, but on its transmission to the house of lords, it was opposed on the second reading by the lord chancellor, on pretence of its being too late in the session to discuss a measure of such importance. The principle of the bill was ably defended by the law lords, Camden and Loughborough, with whom lord Grenville concurred; but the bill was finally postponed.

THE SLAVE TRADE—SETTLEMENT AT SIERRA LEONA.

THE evidence on the slave trade being at length closed, Mr. Wilberforce, on the eighteenth of April 1791, brought forward his long expected motion to prevent the further importation of African negroes into the British colonies, which he introduced with a copious and convincing display of the arguments in favour of that measure, grounded upon the obvious principles of justice, humanity, and Christianity. But his motion was negatived by a majority of seventy-five voices; however, the advocates for ameliorating the condition of that unhappy race, completed at this time the establishment of the Sierra Leona Company, by which they proposed to introduce free labour and the Christian religion into Africa.

GOVERNMENT OF CANADA.

UPON the fourth of March, Pitt brought in a bill for regulating the government of Canada, by which that territory would be divided into two districts or provinces, with a separate legislature; to consist of a council and house of assembly for each province; the assembly to be chosen by freeholders and occupiers of houses of a certain value, and the council to hold their seats for life, with a power in the crown to annex to certain honours an hereditary right of sitting in the council; besides other salutary provisions for personal liberty, for the protestant clergy, for the administration of jus-

tion, and for limiting taxation to those duties necessary for regulating trade and commerce.

Fox opposed the bill, contending that the people should be fully and fairly represented; but that, in limiting the assembly of one province to sixteen, and the other to thirty persons, parliament would delude the Canadians by a mockery of representation. He also reprobated the election of the representatives for seven years, contending that in Canada there could be no solid objection to annual, or, at most, triennial elections. He objected that the councils were to be unlimited as to members by any restriction but the pleasure of the king; and as to hereditary honours, he did not think it wise to destroy them where they existed; but to create them where they did not exist, he thought very unwise. He could not account for it, unless it was intended to revive in the west that spirit of chivalry which had fallen into disgrace in a neighbouring country.

BURKE'S SECOND INVECTIVE ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION—BREACH OF HIS FRIENDSHIP WITH FOX.

BURKE took occasion, on the re-commitment of the bill, to consider the competency of the house to pass it, with reference to the Rights of Man, lately imported from that neighbouring kingdom. If this code were admitted, the house should call the inhabitants of Canada together to choose a constitution for themselves. The practical effects of that system might be seen in St. Domingo, where hell itself seemed to yawn, and every demon of mischief to overpass the country. Fox defended his former opinions upon the French revolution, as being upon the whole one of the most glorious events in the history of mankind. He spoke of the revolution, not of the constitution, which still remained to be improved by experience. The rights of man were the basis of the British constitution. Our statute book recognises the inherent rights of the people as men. These had once been the principles of his right honourable friend, from whom he had learned them. Having been taught by him that no revolt of a nation was caused without provocation, he rejoiced at the success of a revolution resting on the same basis with our own—the rights of man. Burke said "that he had differed on many occasions from Fox, and there had been no loss of friendship between them. But there was something in the accursed French constitution that envenomed every thing." Fox, on hearing this, interrupted him, saying "there was no loss of friendship." Burke replied "there was: he knew the price of his conduct; he had done his duty, and their friendship was at an end." Fox, on whom the attention of the house was now eagerly fixed, rose to reply; but his feelings were too powerful for utterance. All the ideas so long cherished of gratitude, esteem, and affection, rushed upon his generous and susceptible mind; and involuntary tears were observed to steal down his cheek. A profound and expressive silence pervaded the house. At length Fox, recovering himself, said, "that however events might have altered the mind of his right honourable friend, for such he must still call him, he could not easily consent to relinquish and dissolve that intimate connection which had for twenty-five years subsisted between them. He hoped that Burke would think on past times, and whatever expressions of his had caused the offence, that he would at least believe such was not his intention." The concessions of Fox made no visible impression on the haughty and unbending temper of Burke; and from this day a schism took place in the politics of the opposition party, which has been productive of very important consequences.

RUPTURE WITH RUSSIA.

THE only remaining transaction which fell under the notice of parliament this session, was the business of our interference between the Porte and Russia in favour of the former power. The just grounds of the quarrel can only be understood by adverting to the actual situation of affairs on the continent. Leopold, king of Hungary, had no sooner assumed the Austrian sceptre, than he resolved on terminating the war with Turkey; and under the powerful mediation of England and Prussia, a convention was concluded August 1790, at Reichenbach, after a negotiation of some months, protracted in the unavailing hope of retaining possession of

the important fortress of Belgrade, which, fifty years before, England had exerted her utmost influence to secure to the house of Austria. But now, swayed by Prussian counsels, and eagerly solicitous to advance the interests of that upstart and insolent power, in contra-distinction to those of Austria, the ancient and genuine ally of Britain, she harshly and peremptorily insisted on its restitution, in common with all the other Austrian conquests, to the Ottoman Porte. In return, the Austrian Netherlands were guaranteed to the house of Austria, and the possession of the imperial crown eventually ensured to his Hungarian majesty. The Flemings refusing, notwithstanding their distressful condition, to return to the Austrian dominion, a great military force was sent into the country in the autumn of 1790, under the command of marshal Bender, which quickly effected their total reduction; and on the first of January 1791, a solemn *Te Deum* was sung at Brussels in celebration of that happy event. Sweden also, disappointed in her views and projects of ambition, thought proper to sign a separate peace with Russia, August 1790, on the basis of the former treaties of Abo and Nystadt. The courts of London and Berlin, elated with the success of their mediation at Reichenbach, now in high and arrogant language signified to the empress of Russia their pleasure, that peace should be restored between the Ottoman and Russian empires, on the terms of a general restitution of conquests. The empress replied with equal haughtiness, "that she would make peace and war with whom she pleased, without the intervention of any foreign power." Not however choosing too far to provoke the resentment of these formidable and self-created arbiters, she secretly intimated her willingness to conclude a peace with Turkey, on the condition of retaining the country eastward to the Niester, as a reasonable indemnification for the expenses of the war. This was a waste and desert tract of territory, valuable only for the security it afforded to her former acquisitions, and for including within its limits the strong and important fortress of Orskow. This being peremptorily refused, the conference broke off, and the empress determined to support her claims by the sword.

Pitt therefore, on the twenty-eighth of March, delivered a message to the house of commons from his majesty, importing, "that the endeavours which he had used in conjunction with his allies to effect a pacification not having proved successful, his majesty judged it requisite, in order to add weight to his representations, to make some further augmentation of his naval force." This message being taken into consideration, Pitt enlarged much on the necessity of attending to the preservation of the balance of power in Europe. "The influence of the Turkish empire," he said, "was of great effect in the general scale. Its present situation was such as to afford just cause of apprehension to other powers; and to Prussia in particular it must be highly injurious, to suffer the Turkish empire to be diminished in force and consequence. He therefore moved an address, assuring his majesty that his faithful commons would make good such expenses as may be found necessary."

SECOND DISCUSSION OF QUARREL WITH RUSSIA—MINISTER COMPELLED TO GIVE IN.

THE prospect of a war with Russia on these frivolous grounds, astonished every thinking individual, alarmed the public, and was opposed in the house with the whole strength and talents of opposition. Fox said, "the right honourable mover of the address had enveloped himself in mystery and importance, but explained nothing. When the balance of power was mentioned as a reason for arming, it ought to be shown how it was endangered. We had no quarrel with the empress of Russia: we had no alliance with Turkey. But by the absurd pride of interfering in the affairs of every sovereign state, we involved ourselves in continual expense, and were exposed to the perpetual hazard of war. It was to second the ambitious policy of Prussia, and not for any interests of our own, that we were now called upon to arm. The Osarina, it was well known, had offered to give up all her conquests but a barren district, unprofitable and worthless, except for a single place contained in it, which place was Orskow. But would any one seriously pretend that

the balance of Europe depended on the trivial circumstance, whether Oczakow should in future belong to the empire of Russia or of Turkey? That this was even with ministers themselves a novel idea, was plain; for Oczakow had been taken in 1789, and in 1790 his majesty had assured the parliament and the nation, that the situation of affairs was such as promised us a continuance of peace." The question was however carried in favour of the address by two hundred and twenty-eight to one hundred and thirty-five.

It has been said, and with great truth, that this decision of itself was sufficient to demonstrate the necessity of a parliamentary reform: for when the representatives voted for a Russian war, they were so far from speaking the sentiments of the nation, that the people every where execrated the measure. Sensible that this was the prevailing opinion of the country, Grey, on the twelfth of April, brought the business once more before the house, by moving a series of resolutions expressive of the impolicy, inexpediency, and folly of the measure. On the part of the ministry nothing satisfactory was offered. The importance of Oczakow was magnified to a most ridiculous excess. The success of the ministry in former negotiations was triumphantly dwelt upon, and the confidence of the house challenged in terms unusually strong and pointed. Sheridan, with sarcastic keenness, asked the minister "on what basis this confidence was to rest. Did he recollect the different prospect to which we had been directed to turn our eyes in this year? Did he recollect that this was the promised millennium, that halcyon year in which we had been flattered, instead of fresh burdens, with a reduction of expense, and a *clear surplus* for the extinction of the national debt? The system we had adopted in concert with Prussia, was," he said, "a system of ambition, of vainglory and intrigue, and it fastened upon us a concern of all others the most pernicious—that of English interference with German politics. As to the doctrine of confidence in ministers, he totally abjured it. The more constitutional doctrine was that of suspicion and watchfulness. The minister had indeed risen wonderfully in his demands. He recollected the time when he had contented himself with asking only for a guarded and rational confidence; and it was at last grown into a blind and implicit confidence. It appeared that the degree of confidence required, rose in an exact ratio to the absurdity of the measure to be adopted." On the division, the opposition appeared greatly increased, the numbers being, ayes one hundred and seventy-nine, noes two hundred and fifty-nine.

To enter into a war in the face of such a minority, and in defiance of the opinion of the public was an undertaking which the minister, with all his acknowledged courage, did not choose to attempt; and therefore, after all the bustling, threatening, and dreadful preparation, the point in dispute was suddenly and wisely given up, and Oczakow remained in the possession of Russia. The session of parliament terminated June the tenth, 1791. His majesty expressed his perfect satisfaction at the seal with which the two houses had applied themselves to the consideration of the different objects which he had recommended to their attention.

DISGRACEFUL RIOTS AT BIRMINGHAM.

Soon after the rising of parliament the nation was disgraced by a wanton and unprovoked series of tumults and outrages, which, for the space of four days, spread terror and alarm through the populous town of Birmingham and the adjacent country. It has been already seen that a difference of sentiment on the character of the French revolution gave rise to a heated and violent discussion in parliament,—all according with the dignity of a legislative assembly. But this cause of discord was not confined to the higher orders of society: it also pervaded the inferior classes; and considerable pains were taken by ministerial journalists to in-

flame the passions of the populace against the assertors of Gallic liberty. On the other hand the whig party and the friends of freedom in Great Britain rejoiced in the emancipation of a neighbouring nation, and flattered themselves that they saw in the success of the French revolution, not only the annihilation of despotism in that country, but the commencement of a new system of politics in Europe, the basis of which was peace, happiness, and mutual concord.

In most of the larger towns of Great Britain, associations were formed for the celebration of the French revolution on the fourteenth of July: but the opposite party were not indifferent spectators of these proceedings: the most scandalous and inflammatory insinuations were conveyed in newspapers and pamphlets, stigmatising the friends of freedom as determined republicans, and representing the act of joining in a convivial meeting on the odious fourteenth of July, as an attempt to overturn the British constitution in church and state.

A few days previous to the meeting in commemoration of the French revolution at Birmingham, six copies of the most inflammatory and seditious hand bill, proposing the French revolution as a model to the English, and exciting them to rebellion, were left in a public house by some person unknown. As the contents of this hand bill found a quick and general circulation, they occasioned a ferment in the town. The magistrates offered a reward of one hundred guineas for discovering the author, printer, or publisher of the obnoxious paper; and the friends of the meeting intended for the fourteenth, published at the same time an advertisement explicitly denying the sentiments and doctrines of the seditious hand bill, and disavowing all connection with its author or publisher.

The views and intentions of the meeting having, however, been grossly misrepresented, and the gentlemen concerned suspecting the seditious hand bill to be an artifice projected by their adversaries, thought it most advisable to relinquish the scheme; and accordingly notice was given to that effect: but, at the pressing instance of several persons dissatisfied with this determination, the intention was revived, and the company met at the appointed time to the number of between eighty and ninety. The ingenious Keir, well known for his great attainments in chemistry and other branches of philosophy, and a member of the established church, was placed in the chair. The gentlemen had scarcely met before the house was surrounded by a tumultuous crowd, who testified their disapprobation by hisses and groans, and by the shout of *Church and King*, which became the watch word on this occasion. At five o'clock the company dispersed, and soon afterwards the windows in front of the hotel were demolished, and the house otherwise injured; and notwithstanding the appearance of the magistrates, the mob ferociously entered and searched the house in quest of the guests, but fortunately found none of them remaining.

The mob immediately after set on fire and destroyed two meeting-houses of the dissenters, and from thence proceeded to the house of Dr. Priestley, a dissenting minister, which, with his library and valuable philosophical apparatus, manuscripts and papers, the mob entirely destroyed; and in like manner they continued for three ensuing days to burn the houses and valuable effects of many others of the dissenters who resided near Birmingham. It was in vain that the magistrates swore in an additional number of constables, as the mob baffled all attempts to disperse them, and compelled the constables to retire, many of whom were wounded. On the evening of the third and morning of the fourth day, however, several troops of dragoons arrived and restored tranquillity. Of these infuriated rioters seventeen were tried and five were found guilty; one of whom was reprieved and four executed: thus terminated a scene that dishonoured the national history.

CHAPTER XXII.

Meeting of Parliament—Flattering Picture of the Finances of the Country—Marriage of the Duke of York—Motion for Abolition of the Slave Trade—Gradual Abolition carried in the House of Commons—Opposed and delayed in the House of Lords—Westminster Police Bill passes—New Forest Bill, introduced by the Ministry, rejected—Mr. Roebuck charged with Malpractice in Office, acquitted—Libel Bill passes—Bill in Favour of the Scottish Episcopates, passes—The London Corresponding Society, and the Society of the Friends of the People instituted, to obtain a Parliamentary Reform—Notice of a Motion for a Reform in the Representation, alarms Ministers—Royal Proclamation against Seditious Writings—Statement of the Revenue of India—Indian War against Tippoo Saib—Sues for Peace—Granted—Terms.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—FLATTERING STATE OF FINANCES.

THE latter months of the year 1791 passed over in gloomy silence. The parliament was not convened till the thirty-first of January 1792. The king announced in his speech "the marriage of his son the duke of York with the princess Frederica, daughter of his good brother and ally the king of Prussia. He informed the two houses that a treaty had been concluded, under his mediation and that of his allies, between the emperor and the Ottoman Porte, and that in consequence of their intervention, preliminaries had been agreed upon between the latter of those powers and Russia. The general state of affairs in Europe promised a continuance of peace, and he was induced to hope for an immediate reduction of the naval and military establishments." The address of thanks moved by Charles Yorke, and seconded by Sir James Murray, excited some severe animadversions from Fox, who, in allusion to the cessation of Otsakow to Russia, observed, "that it required no moderate share of assurance for ministers to say to gentlemen who had supported their measures as wise and necessary, 'That which you last session contended for as of the utmost importance, we have now abandoned as of none. Will you have the goodness to move an address approving of what we have done?' Fox thought it extraordinary that, in mentioning the inestimable blessings of peace and order, no notice was taken of the violent interruption of order which had occurred in the course of the summer. At the close of the eighteenth century we had seen the revival of the spirit and practice of the darkest ages. It would have been well if his majesty had spoken of those riots in the terms they merited. They were not riots for bread—they were not riots in the cause of liberty, which, however highly to be reprobated, had yet some excuse in their principle; they were riots of men neither aggrieved nor complaining—of men who had set on foot an indiscriminate persecution of an entire description of their fellow-citizens, including persons as eminent for their ability as blameless in their conduct, and as faithful in their allegiance as this or any country could boast."

Pitt deprecated with warmth the invidious revival of a subject so unpleasant and unprofitable, and wished rather to call the attention of the house to the flourishing condition of the commerce and finances of the nation, of which in a short time he proposed submitting to the house a correct statement. Accordingly, in a few days after, the minister brought this subject regularly forward; and in the course of an eloquent and animated speech, delineated a picture of national prosperity more flattering than even the most glowing imagin-

ation had ventured to suggest. "The amount of the permanent revenue, with the land and malt duties annexed, from January 1791 to January 1792, he estimated at sixteen millions, seven hundred and thirty thousand pounds, being three hundred thousand pounds more than the aggregate of the preceding year. The permanent expenditure, including the interest of the debt, the annual million applied towards its extinction, the civil list, and the military and naval establishments, he calculated at fifteen millions, eight hundred and ten thousand pounds, leaving a clear surplus of more than nine hundred thousand pounds. In this state of things, he thought himself authorised to propose a repeal of a part of the more burdensome taxes, to the amount of about two hundred thousand pounds per annum; and at the same time apply the sum of four hundred thousand pounds, to the reduction of the national debt, in aid of the annual million appropriated by parliament. In consequence of the general improvement of credit, the three per cents would soon rise so high as to enable parliament to effect a reduction of the four, and, as soon as by law redeemable, of the five per cents, which would add the sum of seven hundred thousand pounds, or little less, to the sinking fund. The indefinite additions which might be expected from the increasing produce of the existing taxes, the result of our rapidly increasing commerce, must mock all calculation. Our exports had risen one third in value since the year 1783, and our internal trade had increased in at least an equal proportion. On the continuance of our present prosperity it is indeed impossible to count with certainty; but unquestionably there never was a time when, from the situation of Europe, we might more reasonably expect a durable peace than at the present moment. "From the result of the whole I trust I am entitled to infer, that the scene which we are now contemplating is not the transient effect of accident, not the short-lived prosperity of a day, but the genuine and natural result of regular and permanent causes. We may yet indeed be subject to those fluctuations which often happen in the affairs of a great nation, and which it is impossible to calculate or foresee; but as far as there can be reliance on human speculations, we have the best ground from the experience of the past to look with satisfaction to the present, and with confidence to the future." Such were the brilliant hopes which in this moment of ministerial exultation the people were taught to indulge, and with such dawning but deceptive splendour rose the morn of a year destined to set in darkness, calamity and blood.

MARRIAGE OF THE DUKE OF YORK.

On the seventeenth of February, Pitt presented a copy of the treaty between his majesty and the king of Prussia on the marriage of his

royal highness the duke of York with the princess Frederica Charlotte Ulrique Catharina of Prussia.

On the seventh of March the house of commons resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration an establishment for their royal highnesses the duke and dutchess of York. Sir James Johnstone mentioned Osnaburgh, "which from the best information he had obtained, produced," he said, "thirty-five thousand pounds per annum; he wished therefore to know from authority exactly how much it was worth?" He was answered, "that such a question was totally unparliamentary, as that house never considered any thing belonging to princes out of the kingdom. Not a word was ever said of his majesty's revenue from Hanover; it was not even thought of in the discussion of his majesty's revenue, on his different applications to parliament for support." Mr. Burden had no hesitation in saying, though it would no doubt have been extremely unparliamentary to mention it, it is highly probable that an alliance of this sort with the Prussian monarch's family was not considered as an event very auspicious to the peace and prosperity of Great Britain. After much desultory conversation, the resolutions passed the house; by which these kingdoms stand pledged to grant an allowance of thirty thousand pounds per annum to their royal highnesses.

THE SLAVE TRADE—ITS GRADUAL ABOLITION CARRIED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On the second of April, the house resolved itself into a committee to consider of the state of the African slave trade. From the decision on Wilberforce's motion last session, it appeared that the enthusiasm of parliament for the abolition had greatly abated; while on the other hand that of the public in general had increased. The table of the house of commons was now covered with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, imploring in earnest language the abolition of that infamous and inhuman traffic. Wilberforce declared, "that from his exertions in this cause he had found happiness, though not hitherto success. It enlivened his waking and soothed his evening hours, and he could not recollect without singular satisfaction, that he had demanded justice for millions who could not ask it for themselves." He concluded an able and eloquent speech, by moving the question of abolition. Wilberforce was powerfully supported by many of the most respectable members of the house; amongst whom Mr. Whitebread particularly distinguished himself by the energy and animation of his remarks. He observed, "that a fatality attended the arguments of those who defended this detestable and shocking trade. In an account of selling the stock of a plantation, one of the evidences in favour of the slave merchants said, 'that the slaves fetched less than the common price, because they were damaged.' Damaged!" exclaimed Mr. Whitebread, "what is this, but an acknowledgment that they were worn down by labour, sickened, by every species of ill treatment. A trade attended with such dreadful evils ought not to be thought of—cannot be mentioned without horror, nor continued without violating every moral and religious obligation."

In consequence of the ardour displayed by the nation at large in this business, it was at length determined to concede, what it was now become difficult perhaps dangerous to withhold. Dundas, advanced to the dignity of secretary of state by the resignation of the duke of Leeds, and the organ of the interior cabinet in the house of commons, now recommended to the house, the adoption of a middle and moderate plan, such as would reconcile the interests of the West India islands with the eventual abolition of the trade; and concluded by moving "that the word gradual might be inserted before abolition." Pitt, declared his decided disapprobation of the amendment; and in a speech fraught with argument and eloquence, conjured the house not to postpone even for an hour the great and necessary work of abolition. "Reflect," said Pitt, "on the eighty thousand persons annually torn from their native land on the connections which are broken on the friendships, attachments, and relationships that are burst asunder! There is something in the horror of it that surpasses all the bounds of imagination. How shall we repair the

mischiefs we have brought upon that continent? If, knowing the miseries we have caused, we refuse even now to put a stop to them, how greatly aggravated will be the guilt of Britain! Shall we not rather combat the days and hours that are suffered to intervene, than to delay the accomplishment of such a work." Fox supported the same side, with a force of argument and energy of expression, equally impressive and convincing. "The honourable gentleman who had proposed the amendment called himself," Fox said, "a moderate man; but he neither felt, nor wished to feel any thing like moderation on the subject. The question before the house was simply this; whether they should authorise by law the commission of crimes in Africa, which in this country would incur the severest penalties, and even an ignominious death! Regulations, in this case, would be as disgraceful as they would be impotent. One gentleman had proposed a premium for the transportation of females. What!" exclaimed Fox, "is the kidnapper then to be encouraged by the British legislature to lay a snare for the harmless maid—to snatch her from the arms of her lover or her parents—or to separate the wife from her husband and children? He should like," he said, "to see the clause by which this inhuman measure was to be presented to the parliament of England; he should like to see the man capable of conceiving words to frame such a clause—was there a gentleman in the house bold enough to support it?" The amendment proposed by Dundas was nevertheless carried on the division by a majority of sixty-eight voices. Accordingly he afterwards moved "that the importation of negroes into the British colonies should cease on the first of January 1806." This, on the motion of lord Mornington, was after great difficulty and debate altered to January the first 1796. A series of resolutions founded on this basis were then agreed to, and sent up to the lords for their concurrence.

DELAYED BY THE LORDS.

In the upper house these resolutions were fated to meet a very cold reception; and from a large proportion of their lordships a most determined opposition. As this was a favourite measure with the nation, and had indeed been supported in a peculiar manner by the voice of the people, they were highly offended to see the duke of Clarence, third son of the king, commence his public career with a violent declamation against the abolition, and invective against its advocates; whom he declared to be actuated by the spirit of political and religious fanaticism. With a view to protract, and if possible to dismiss the business, the lord chancellor moved, "that evidence be heard, not before a select committee, according to the proposition of lord Grenville, but at the bar of the house." This was seconded by lord Hawkesbury, the well known and inveterate enemy of the abolition. The motion being carried, the business lay over during the remainder of the session.

WESTMINSTER POLICE BILL PASSED.

THE next affair of importance that came under the consideration of parliament, was the establishment of a new police for the city and liberty of Westminster. The outline of the plan was, to establish five principal offices, to be always open for the administration of that branch of justice which falls within the jurisdiction of the justices of the peace. To each office three justices were to be appointed, with a salary of three hundred pounds each per annum. The fees paid into all the offices were to be consolidated into one fund, which was to be applied towards the discharge of the salaries; and in order completely to annihilate the odious name and functions of a trading justice, no person in the commission of the peace was to be permitted to receive fees. To unite personal security with general liberty; to preserve inviolate the rights of property; to repress the efforts of violence without establishing a system of tyrannical coercion, is among the most arduous labours of government and legislation. That the established system required some alteration, no person acquainted with the shameful prostitution of justice which prevailed, could possibly doubt; yet the friends of freedom saw in the new system of regulation, principles deeply hostile to the general liberties of the nation; and they saw in one particular clause a deviation

from that rule of justice, which for centuries had been esteemed the palladium of our constitution. By this clause, the constables were empowered to apprehend such persons as could not give a good account of themselves, and the magistrates to commit them as incorrigible rogues and vagabonds. As the professed design of this clause was to facilitate the discovery of a new species of criminals called reputed thieves, it was pointedly asked, what was the definition of a reputed thief? To punish men for acts which they had not committed, but for crimes which they intended to commit, was a new and dangerous principle in English law. Such a system was only calculated to protect the rich—to procure ease to their pleasures, and to guard the entrance to opera and play-houses. Besides this, the bill referred to another act, as the rule of punishment: the vagrant act was the statute alluded to, a statute sufficiently objectionable, both on account of its undefined extent, and the extreme severity of the punishments it inflicts. It was true there was an appeal allowed by this act to the quarter sessions, and the persons apprehended under the present clause might there be acquitted. But still the punishment they had suffered in the first instance could not be done away, nor the evils that resulted from their imprisonment remedied. The general principle of the bill was also arraigned in strong terms. It was said, that the system of our constitution required, that justice should be administered throughout the kingdom gratuitously; that the discretionary powers granted to justices of the peace were in many cases exorbitant, and were only endured in consideration of the persons on whom they were conferred.—Was it fit then to grant not only all these, but additional powers, to a new description of magistrates appointed by and receiving salaries from the crown? In a word, instead of a system of police, the present measure was considered as a system of influence: but it finally passed into a law.

NEW FOREST BILL REJECTED.

A BILL was about this period introduced into parliament for inclosing certain parts of the New Forest, under pretence of promoting the growth of timber. In the house of lords, this scheme met with unqualified censure from both parties. The lord chancellor condemned it in the strongest terms: he said, "his majesty had been imposed on in the business; and that it was a precedent deeply affecting the constitutional situation of the crown." The ministry grounded their defence on a report of the commissioners of the land revenue, who had recommended an attention to the growth of timber in the kingdom. The bill was however withdrawn, though lord Grenville intimated that something of the kind would be introduced in the succeeding session.

MR. ROSE TRIED AND ACQUITTED.

IN the course of the last summer a trial at bar had taken place between a publican of the name of Smith, and Rose the secretary of the treasury. The facts and circumstances ascertained by the evidence given on that trial were so daringly unconstitutional, that Thompson on the thirteenth of March brought the business regularly before the house of commons. The substance of the evidence on the trial went to charge Rose with having interfered in the Westminster election in an unwarrantable manner. It appeared that Smith had some time before been convicted in a penalty of fifty pounds, for an offence against the excise laws; and that afterwards, in consequence of services performed by Smith in the course of the election, at the request of Rose, a part of the fine was remitted to him. "There could not possibly exist a doubt about Rose having employed Smith in the election, as the jury had given a verdict in favour of the latter for the full amount of his bill." Thompson pressed the object of his motion upon the feelings of the house; and conjured them to reflect on the consequences of permitting a secretary of the treasury to employ the money of the public in supporting the election of a member of that house; and on the probable effects of suffering the people to understand that their money was corruptly expended in procuring seats for the friends of the minister; and concluded by moving for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the abuses complained of. Lambton

seconded the motion, and in support of the inquiry stated another fact of a similar nature with that mentioned by the mover. "In the year 1788," he said, "one Hoskins being at that time in prison, at the suit of the solicitor to the lottery for certain penalties incurred by offences against the lottery act, wrote to the solicitor informing him that he could procure fifty or sixty votes for lord Hood at the Westminster election, provided he could be admitted to bail, and that such bail as he could offer would not be objected to. The solicitor said, he could not do this on his own accord, but must have authority from a higher quarter. The man was afterwards admitted to bail, and his bail were the most miserable wretches that ever offered to commit a perjury; indeed, so wretched were they, that when they came to take the necessary oaths before the judge at his chambers, though they brought a note from the solicitor signifying his consent, they were actually refused. The fact, however, in conclusion was, that their bail was taken, and Hoskins agreeable to his engagement polled sixty votes for lord Hood; since when, neither he nor his bail had ever been heard of. Lambton having stated this fact, observed, "that the public had paid seven hundred pounds out of their pockets to procure votes for lord Hood; and if ministers could, as it suited their own convenience, suspend the operation of some laws, and remit the consequences of others, the freedom of the country was a shadow and not a substance." Rose, in his defence stated, "that the penalty in which Smith had been convicted was for brewing beer at home, and it appeared that this beer was small beer for the use of his own family. That one third of the penalty went to the poor of St. Martin's parish; the rest to the king; that the vestry of that parish had declared their willingness to remit their part of the penalty; that he had only referred Smith's petition to the board of excise to whose cognisance it properly belonged." He confessed, that during the time of the last general election, Smith came to him, and made a proposition for opening his house, and declared he could detect a number of bad votes which had been given for lord John Townshend; when he answered—"do so if you can, it will be doing a good thing." Smith found the bad votes he had promised, and at length applied to him to be paid. His answer was, "go to lord Hood's committee, they will pay you." Smith, however, again demanded payment, commenced an action, and obtained a verdict.—With regard to the other charge respecting the admission of Hoskins to bail, by sham bail; Rose protested, "he had never before that day heard of the man's name." Grey contended, that there was ample ground for inquiry, notwithstanding the right honourable gentleman's defence. Rose paid declared that he only transmitted Smith's petition to the board of excise, and protested he had no otherwise interfered. On the contrary, a letter from Rose to Smith was produced, inviting him to meet Vivian the solicitor to the excise, on this business, at his own house. With respect to Hoskins, whatever the right honourable gentleman might protest, the following facts were unquestionably established:—1. That Hoskins was under arrest for penalties incurred under the lottery act to the amount of seven hundred pounds, and that during the election he offered to bring sixty votes, provided he was suffered to escape:—2. That the solicitor to the lottery, who was also agent for lord Hood, said he must consult higher authority:—3. That Hoskins was suffered to escape by two bails being accepted, who were not worth a shilling:—and 4. That lord Hood had since paid his agent's bill, in which there is this curious charge, "to the expense of finding bail for the action against Hoskins, who engaged to bring up sixty votes, three pounds three shillings." Never, perhaps, were the present ministry reduced to a more perplexing dilemma than on this occasion. If, on the one hand, they granted the inquiry, it would lead to the discovery of scenes disgraceful to their reputation; and must have terminated in the conviction of Rose: and, on the other hand, to refuse an inquiry in the face of facts so completely substantiated, would amount to a tacit acknowledgment of the indefensibility of their cause. Perceiving, therefore, that the powers of eloquence would weigh little against the argument of facts, Pitt contented himself with saying, that he should oppose the inquiry "because there was no

one public officer against whom in this business a direct charge could be fixed," and, to the astonishment of the whole nation, the minister, by resorting to the unanswerable logic of numbers, was able, in a full house, to dismiss the motion by a division of two hundred and twenty-one against eighty-four voices.

The ease with which the minister was able to command so large a majority, in a case which the public deemed completely desperate, proved to a demonstration, that an influence existed somewhere, totally incompatible with the purity of representation, and that called loudly for a reform in the commons house of parliament.

LIBEL BILL PASSES.

THE libel bill introduced in the last session by Fox, and which was lost in the house of lords, was this session triumphantly carried through both houses, and passed into a law, notwithstanding the violent opposition of the law lords Thurlow, Kenyon, and Bathurst. The marquis of Lansdowne said, "that the act which declared the judges independent of the crown, would, in fact, be found to render them totally independent of the people, and more than ever dependent on the crown. Before the revolution the judges took no part in politics, or in the debates of that house; now they were of great weight in every discussion, and occupied so much of the time, that noble lords could hardly obtain an opportunity of speaking. For what they know, they might have a chief justice at the head of a party in that house, going down, reeking with party rage to preside on a trial for a libel published against himself by some political adversary. For his own part, his lordship declared, he could not frame to his mind a case in which juries did not appear as fully competent to decide conscientiously on the law and the fact blended, as the twelve judges." The law lords joined in a protest against the bill, which will remain as a perpetual monument of the triumph of equity and common sense, over professional subtlety.

BILL IN FAVOUR OF SCOTTISH EPISCOPALIANIS.

ANOTHER point was also gained during this session in favour of the general system of freedom, by a bill introduced into the house of peers by lord Elgin, to relieve the Scottish episcopalianes from the heavy penalties to which they had been long subject. Their warm attachment to the Stuart family rendered them notoriously disaffected to the revolution settlement: but now that the pretender was dead, they found no more difficulty than other high-flying jacobinical Tories of excelling even the loyal in loyalty. An objection, however, was started by the lord chancellor, whether, according to a clause in the present bill, specifying the description of persons to be relieved, the state could with propriety recognise the validity of ordination by bishops exercising their functions independent of the state. And in his profound knowledge in ecclesiastical antiquity, his lordship ventured even to intimate his doubts, whether bishops could exist in any christian country not authorized by the state. But his lordship being assured by the bishop of St. David's, who spoke in favour of this "afflicted part of the church of Christ," that christian bishops existed three hundred years before the happy alliance between church and state took place, under the emperor Constantine the Great, his lordship was pleased to declare himself satisfied, and the bill passed without any further opposition.

LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY, AND FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE.

THOUGH the various attempts made in the house of commons to obtain a parliamentary reform, had uniformly proved unsuccessful, they were yet far from being unproductive of effects, as they provoked discussions tending to make these very evils more apparent, which the legislature peremptorily refused to remedy. From this source, and from the knowledge conveyed through a number of popular tracts on the subject, the public mind was at this period completely informed of the effects of our representative system. In consequence of this general diffusion of knowledge, a number of political societies were formed for the purpose of procuring

a reform in parliament. One of these societies, composed chiefly of tradesmen, assumed the title of the London Corresponding Society, and adopted in its full extent the celebrated system of reform recommended by the duke of Richmond, resting on the basis of universal suffrage and annual parliaments. But though the fate of this society is destined to occupy a conspicuous part in the subsequent history of England, there was another formed at this time, which, of all others, attracted most the attention both of government and the nation. The society alluded to, known by the name of the Friends of the People, adopted those principles of reform which Pitt had once supported, and which had been sanctioned by the approbation of the most distinguished advocates for constitutional liberty. About thirty members of parliament entered their names as members of this association, which also comprehended many of the most eminent characters in the kingdom, whether in respect of political or literary ability. After publishing a manly declaration of their sentiments, the society came to the resolution, that early in the next session a motion of reform should be brought forward in parliament, and that the conduct of the business in the house of commons should be committed to Grey and Erskine, both of whom were members.

MOTION FOR REFORM IN PARLIAMENT.

IN conformity with the views of this society, Grey, on the thirtieth of April, gave notice of his intention to move, in the course of the ensuing session, for an inquiry into the state of the representation. He had scarcely concluded this intimation, when Pitt rose with unusual vehemence, to reprobate the measure. "Nothing could," he said, "be whispered on this subject which did not involve questions of the most extensive, the most serious, the most lasting importance to the people of this country, to the very being of the state. He would confess, that, in one respect, he had changed his opinion upon this subject, and he was not ashamed to own it. He retained his opinion of the propriety of a parliamentary reform, if it could be obtained by a general concurrence, pointing harmlessly at its object. But he was afraid, at this moment, that if agreed to by that house, the security of all the blessings we enjoyed would be shaken to the foundation. The present, he asserted, was not a time to make hazardous experiments. Could we forget what lessons had been given to the world within a few years? Could it be supposed that men felt the situation this country, as contrasted with that of others, to be deplorable? He then noticed the association of the friends of the people, and its advertisements, inviting the public to join the standard of reform. He saw with concern the gentlemen to whom he alluded united with others, who professed not reform only, but direct hostility to the very form of our government, who threatened the extinction of monarchy, hereditary succession, and every thing which promoted order and subordination in a state. To his last hour he would resist every attempt of this nature, and if he was called upon either to hear this, or for ever abandon all hopes of reform, he would say he had no hesitation in preferring the latter alternative." The moderation of Fox's language on this occasion, afforded a striking contrast to the vehemence of the minister. He reminded the house, "that he had never professed to be as sanguine on this subject as the right honourable gentleman; but although less sanguine, he happened to be a little more consistent—for he had early in public life formed an opinion of the necessity of a parliamentary reform, and remained to this hour convinced of that necessity, and the obvious reason was, that the proceedings of the house were sometimes at variance with the opinion of the public. Of the truth and justice of this sentiment, he said it was only necessary to refer to a recent instance, the Russian armament. The declaration of that house was, that we should proceed to hostilities. The declaration of the people was, that we should not: and so strong was that declaration, that it silenced and awed the minister with his triumphant majority. What was the consequence? That the people of England were at this moment paying the expense of an armament for which they never gave their consent; and as far as that goes, they pay their money for not being represented, and because their sentiments were not spoken within the walls of that house. It was the doctrine of implicit con-

dence in the minister, that disgusted the people; a confidence not given to him from the experience of his probity and talents, but merely because he was minister: and whatever calamities he may bring upon the country, no inquiry into his conduct will be granted. Sheridan, among other arguments in favour of reform, observed, "that sixty or seventy peerages had been created under the present administration, for no distinguished abilities, for no public services, but merely for their interest in returning members to parliament. Here peerages had been bestowed for election interest; in the sister kingdom they had been all but proved to have been put up to auction for money. The minister falling in his proposition of adding one hundred members to the house of commons, had almost added as many to the house of peers. Sheridan remarked, "that an honourable gentleman (Powe) had called upon all who thought as he did to protest against the measure. In this he had done wisely; for to protest was easier than to argue."

ROYAL PROCLAMATION AGAINST SEDITIOUS WRITINGS.

THE consternation of the ministers evidently appeared by a royal proclamation almost immediately issued against the public dispersion of all seditious writings, and against all illegal correspondences, exhorting the magistrates to vigilance, and the people to submission and obedience. This proclamation being laid before the house, May the twenty-fifth, and an address moved of approbation and support, it was warmly opposed by Grey, and the proclamation itself condemned in severe terms, as an insidious and pernicious measure. Grey declared "that he scarcely knew how to express himself upon it; because he hardly could distinguish whether the sentiments which gave birth to it were more impotent or malicious. He mentioned the association of the Friends of the People, and complained that the minister, apprehensive of its effects, had concerted this measure, with an insidious view of separating those who had been long connected.—No man was ever more delighted with these minister practices than the right honourable gentleman—he whose whole political life was a constant tissue of inconsistency, of assertion and retraction—he, who never proposed a measure without intending to delude his hearers; who promised every thing and performed nothing; who never kept his word with the public; who studied all the parts of captivating popularity, without even intending to deserve it; and who, from the first step of his political life, was a complete public apostate. He remarked, as one of the effects of this proclamation, "that the king's officers, his commissioners of the peace, and his magistrates were to make diligent inquiry in order to discover the authors and publishers of wicked and seditious writings. In other words, a system of espionage was to take place by order of the crown. The very idea was surprising as well as odious, that a proclamation should issue from the sovereign of a free people, commanding such a system to be supported by spies and informers."

Pitt expressed his respect for many of the members of the association in question, declaring, "that he differed from them only in regard to the time and mode which they had adopted for the attainment of their object. The association of the friends of the people," he said "did not come within the scope and purview of the proclamation, which was levelled against the daring and seditious principles which had been so insidiously propagated amongst the people, under the plausible and delusive appellation of the rights of man." The address was finally carried without a division, and receiving the concurrence of the upper house, was presented in form to the king. It was followed by addresses from all parts of the kingdom; and the ministry, finding their strength, commenced prosecutions against a vast number of offenders, amongst whom Thomas Paine stood most conspicuous, and was found guilty of the charge; but foreseeing the probability of this event, he had previously absconded to France.

STATEMENT OF THE REVENUES OF INDIA.

On the fifth of June, Dundas brought forward his statement of the revenue and finances of India; and by an intricate deduction of figures, he attempted

to prove the surplus of the Bengal revenue for the preceding year to be no less than eleven hundred thousand pounds. The flourishing state of the revenue was, however, remarked by Francis to be not precisely the same thing with the flourishing state of the country, which might be ill able to bear the weight of these impositions. The seizures for non-payment of the land revenue were, he said, most alarmingly notorious; and he held in his hand, at that moment, two Bengal advertisements, the one announcing the sale of seventeen villages, the other of forty-two. The rest of the debate consisted chiefly in desultory conversation concerning the Indian war. As that subject, however, soon afterwards assumed a new aspect, by the fortunate termination effected by Lord Cornwallis, a detail of the principal events of the war, from its commencement to the peace concluded in March 1792, has therefore a strong claim on attention.

WAR WITH TIPPOO SAIB.

THE actual commencement of hostilities may be dated from the engagement between the troops of the rajah of Travancore, stationed at Cranganore for the defence of that fortress, with those of Tippoo Sultan, on the first of May 1792. This event, which was expected by our government, and probably concerted with them, was the signal for a most vigorous preparation for war on the part of the British. The grand Carnatic army assembled immediately in the southern provinces. The general plan of the campaign was to reduce the Colimbettore country, and all the adjacent territory which lay below the Gants, or narrow passes between the mountains, and to advance by the Gajelhetty Pass to the siege of Seringapatam, the metropolis of Mysore. While such were to be the operations of the grand army under general Meadows, the Bombay army, under general Abercrombie, was to undertake the reduction of the country lying to the west of the Gants, and afterwards to co-operate with the main army, as circumstances might direct. In the mean time, the safety of the Carnatic was secured by a force under colonel Kelly, and styled, from its position, the centre army, being stationed in the line between Madras and the passes leading to Mysore. The Poonah Mahrattas and the Nizam, were respectively to penetrate the enemy's territory in the quarter bordering upon theirs; and Seringapatam was established as the common centre, where the whole force was to appear in a collective body.

The reduction of Cannanore was general Abercrombie's first object; and that having been effected, he entered the kingdom of Mysore—which, notwithstanding the pretended oppression of the government, exhibited every where marks of the highest cultivation and prosperity. The sultan defending himself with great resolution, and no mean display of military skill, general Meadows found himself under the necessity of retreating to the vicinity of Madras; where, in the month of December 1790, Lord Cornwallis assumed the command of the army in person.

The plan of the war was now considerably changed, and a grand effort resolved on, to force a passage to Seringapatam through the country lying directly westward of Madras. On the twenty-second of February, the army had marched beyond the Pass of Muglee without interruption; and on the twenty-fourth, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Bangalore. After three days march, some parties of the enemy's horse were discovered, which increased as the army advanced; and before the British reached within eighteen miles of Bangalore, they burnt all the adjacent villages, and destroyed the forage. When advanced within ten miles, the sultan's army appeared in excellent order, and having taken possession of the heights, cannonaded the British rear, while his cavalry made an unsuccessful attempt on the baggage. The British general encamped before Bangalore on the fifth of March. On the same day colonel Floyd, being despatched with part of the cavalry to reconnoitre, was tempted to attack Tippoo's rear, which at first appeared to give way, but being quickly reinforced, the enemy soon rallied, and compelled the colonel to retreat. On the following day the Peta, or town, was stormed and taken, with the loss of one hundred men. On the twelfth, three batteries were opened on the fort, but they were too distant to effect a breach; on the sixteenth, therefore, a new battery of nine guns was opened at five hundred and fifty

yards from the works. On the twenty-first the fort was stormed and taken, with little loss to the British, but with a dreadful carnage of the unresisting garrison: not less than one thousand were massacred with the bayonet, and three hundred, mostly wounded, were taken prisoners.

On the thirteenth of May, the army, by extraordinary exertions, arrived in view of the superb capital of Mysore, defended by the sultan in person: such were the rapid movements of lord Cornwallis, that Tippeco had only reached the place four days before his lordship came in sight. On the next day an action took place, in which Tippeco was said to be defeated; though he does not appear to have sustained any very considerable loss. The swelling of the river Cavery, which surrounds Seringapatam, together with the want of provisions, compelled lord Cornwallis to begin his retreat to Bangalore, almost before his victory could be announced. General Abercrombie, who had advanced through the Gants on the opposite side, with a view to form a junction with lord Cornwallis, was now also obliged to lead back his army, fatigued, harassed, and disappointed, over the mountains they had so lately, and with such difficulty passed. During these transactions, the troops of the Nizam and the Maharrats kept distinctly aloof, leaving the burden of the war almost entirely to the British. While the army lay encamped near Seringapatam, a present of fruit was sent from Tippeco to lord Cornwallis, and some overtures for a separate peace: the present was however returned, with an assurance to the sultan, that no peace could be accepted that did not include the allies. Notwithstanding this disappointment, so solicitous was Tippeco for peace, that lord Cornwallis had scarcely reached Bangalore, when a vakeel arrived with full powers to treat; but owing, it is said, to some informality in point of etiquette, rather than to any dislike of the object of his mission, all negotiation was suspended.

Though this campaign was not attended with the success expected, the next, for which lord Cornwallis made unremitting preparations, opened under more favourable auspices. Early in February, 1792, the eastern and western armies, resuming their former plan of operations, effected a junction under the walls of Seringapatam: the forces of the Peshwa and of the Nizam encamping also at a small distance, and furnishing to the British army a plentiful supply of stores and provisions. The sultan was strongly posted to receive them: his front line, or fortified camp, which was situated on the north side of the Cavery, behind a strong bound hedge, was defended by heavy cannon in the redoubts, and by his field train and army stationed to the best advantage. In the front there appeared at least a hundred pieces of cannon, and in the fort and island, which formed his second line, there were three times that number.

The British commander did not suffer his troops to enjoy a long repose in this station; for, on the sixth of February, general orders were issued, directing an attack upon the enemy's camp and lines that evening at seven o'clock. The right division, consisting of three thousand three hundred infantry, was commanded by general Meadows; the centre, consisting of three thousand seven hundred, by lord Cornwallis in person; and the left, which only amounted to one thousand seven hundred, by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell. At eight o'clock the whole body was under arms; the evening was calm and serene; and the troops moved on by the light of the moon in awful silence. Between the hours of ten and eleven at night, the centre column, within a mile of the bound hedge, met the enemy's grand guard, or body of cavalry, who were coming with rockets, &c. to disturb the British camp. Perceiving themselves now completely discovered, the column advanced with uncommon rapidity, and entered the lines in less than a quarter of an hour after the intelligence could have reached the enemy. The right column met with greater obstructions; for being led to a more distant point than was intended by lord Cornwallis, it was considerably later in reaching the hedge than the centre column. The battle, however, became general throughout the enemy's lines about eleven, and continued till day-break, when the British had completely disconcerted the sultan's position, and

obtained other signal advantages. The battle was continued in different parts during the whole of the seventh. The most desperate conflict took place at the sultan's redoubt, which was defended by a small party of British under major Kelly, against three vigorous attacks, seconded by a heavy cannonading from the forts. The enemy having quitted every post on the north side of the river, the camp was advanced on the succeeding days as near to the bound hedge as the guns of the fort would permit, and a chain of connecting posts along the northern and eastern sides of the fort was formed, and thus the capital of Mysore was completely invested on its two principal points.

TIPPEO SUES FOR PEACE—GRANTED—TERMS.

Thus pressed in every quarter—his palace and beautiful gardens in possession of the enemy—his whole power reduced within the narrow limits of a citadel, the defence of which was even doubtful—the hitherto unsubdued spirit of the sultan seems to have given way with his tottering fortunes, and peace, upon almost any terms, was become a desirable object. As a preliminary step towards an accommodation, he released lieutenants Chalmers and Nash, who had been taken prisoners, and on their departure presented them with two shawls and five hundred rupees. Soon after he despatched a vakeel to the camp of lord Cornwallis to sue for peace; which the British general at last granted upon the severe terms, 1. Of his ceding one half of his dominions to the allied powers: 2. Of paying three crores and thirty lacks of rupees, as an indemnification for the expenses of the war: 3. The release of all prisoners: and 4. The delivery of two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of the treaty.

On the twenty-sixth of February the two princes, each mounted on an elephant, richly caparisoned, proceeded from the fort to lord Cornwallis's camp, where they were received by his lordship with his staff. The eldest, Abul Kalik, was about ten, the youngest, Moosa-ud-Deen, about eight years of age. The princes were attired in white muslin robes, with red turbans richly adorned with pearls. Educated from infancy with the utmost care, the spectators were astonished to behold in these children all the reserve, the politeness, and attention of maturer years. The kindness with which they were received by the British commander, appeared to afford them the highest satisfaction. Some presents were exchanged on both sides, and the whole transaction exhibited a scene at once peculiarly novel, pleasing, and interesting. On the nineteenth of March, 1792, the definitive treaty, signed by the sultan, was delivered by the young princes, with great solemnity, into the hands of lord Cornwallis; but the sums specified in the second article not being actually paid, the princes remained for some time longer under the safe guard and custody of his lordship.

Thus, fortunately for Britain, terminated a war, which, perhaps, had neither solid justice for its foundation, nor sound policy for its object. The benefits we may yet communicate to the natives of India, remain for time to discover; but certain it is, the past history of that country but too fully proves, that in those regions the British name has been too often dishonoured, and our footsteps too often marked with blood. If an influx of wealth is the sole advantage to be reaped from the extent and security of our eastern dominions, the views of the Statesman will be probably answered. If our power is made subservient to the civilization and intellectual improvement of the natives, the Philosopher will exult in our conquests. If a renovation in the moral and religious condition of the people is produced, even the Christian will rejoice in our victories. Let us then hope that a system of Indian politics, founded on justice and equity, will be adopted and pursued, till science has illumined the inhabitants of those delightful climates; till freedom has erected her standard on the ruins of despotism; and till the affection of the people for the British name supercedes the use of arms, and the havoc, ruin, and calamities of war.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Dr. Price's Sermon on the Love of our Country, before the Revolution Society.—Address of Congratulation to the National Assembly of France from the Society.—Burke's celebrated Pamphlet well received by the Tory Faction.—Answered by Thomas Paine.—Effects produced by the publication of the Rights of Man.—Official Complaint by the French Ambassador.—The King of the French solicits the friendly Offices of his Britannic Majesty to preserve the Peace of Europe.—Declined by the British Cabinet.—Manifestos against France.—Deposition of the King of the French.—The British Ambassador leaves Paris.—Multitudes of French Priests arrive in England.—National Convention of France constituted.—Dr. Priestly and Thomas Paine chosen Members.—Address of English Society at Paris to the National Convention.—The Convention pass the famous Decree of Fraternization.—The English Government offers Assistance to Holland.—Refused.—Artifices used to inflame the Passions of the People against the French.—Proclamations for calling out the Militia, and for assembling Parliament.

DR. PRICE'S SERMON ON THE LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY.

AS we are now approaching a calamitous period, when England was destined to interfere in the affairs of France; and from an honourable and prosperous neutrality, to become the principal in a war which has deluged the continent in blood; this is perhaps the most proper place to review the causes which eventually involved this nation in the contest.

In order to trace to their source the troubles and dissensions which convulsed this country in the latter months of 1793, it is necessary to revert to the anniversary meeting of the revolution society held in the metropolis on the fifth of November, 1789. On that day, a sermon was preached before the members, by Dr. Price, on "the love of our country." In this discourse, the primary principles of government were stated in a mode which the sanction of a century had rendered familiar to Englishmen; and the great doctrines of liberty inculcated. "The improvement of the world depended," as the preacher affirmed, "on the attention given by men to this topic. Nor will mankind be ever as virtuous and happy as they are capable of being, till the attention to it becomes universal and efficacious. If we forget it, we shall be in danger of an idolatry as gross and stupid, as that of the ancient heathens, who, after fabricating blocks of wood or stone, fell down and worshipped them." At the conclusion of this discourse, in expatiating on the friendly aspect of the present times to all exertions in the cause of liberty, he broke out into the following eloquent exclamation. "What an eventful period is this! I am thankful that I have lived to it; and I could almost say, 'Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation.' I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge which has undermined superstition and error: I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever, and nations panting for liberty which seemed to have lost the idea of it. I have lived to see thirty millions of people indignantly and resolutely spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects. After sharing in the benefits of one revolution, I have been spared to be a witness to two other revolutions, both glorious; and now methinks I see the ardour for liberty catching and spreading, and a general amendment beginning in human affairs—the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the domination of priests, giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience. Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence! The

times are auspicious. Your labours have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms admonished by you, starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors! Behold the light you have struck out, after setting America free, reflected to France, and there kindled into a blaze, that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates Europe!"

ADDRESS OF CONGRATULATION TO THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

IMPRESSED with these sentiments, the society whose numbers on this occasion far exceeded those of any former anniversary, unanimously resolved, on the motion of Dr. Price, to offer, in a formal address, "their congratulations to the national assembly, on the event of the late glorious revolution in France." This being transmitted by their chairman, lord Stanhope, to the duke de la Rochefoucault, and laid by that distinguished nobleman before the assembly, was received with loud acclamations. "It belonged," said the duke de la Rochefoucault, in his reply, "to Dr. Price, the apostle of liberty, to propose a motion tending to pay to liberty the fairest homage—that of national prejudices. In that address is seen the dawn of a glorious day, in which two adverse nations shall contract an intimate union, founded on the similarity of their opinions, and their common enthusiasm for liberty." Also the archbishop of Aix, president of the national assembly, transmitted to lord Stanhope, in a manner the most polite and flattering, the vote of the assembly, relative to the address, stating "that the assembly was deeply affected with the extraordinary proof of esteem, and directing the president to express to the revolution society, the lively sensibility with which the national assembly had received an address, breathing those sentiments of humanity and universal benevolence, that ought to unite together in all countries of the world the true friends of liberty, and the happiness of mankind."

BURKE'S CELEBRATED PAMPHLET.

In the month of February following, Burke uttered his first furious invective against the French revolution in the house of commons, and, transported with rage and rancour at the high degree of prosperity it had now attained, published, a few months after this memorable speech, a book entitled "Reflections on the French Revolution," written with great force of eloquence and energy of declamation. The object of this elaborate treatise was two-fold—1. To expose to the public resentment and indignation, those persons who had in this country manifested their approbation of the revolu-

tion in France; and, 2. To place that revolution itself in an odious and execrable light, as an event to be deplored, detested, and deprecated. With the most atrocious and unexampled malignity, he invites and exhorts all christian princes (in the appendix to this work) to make, what he styles, "a common cause with a just prince; detested by rebels and traitors." The deluded people of France, to be rescued from the evils they had brought upon themselves, must, as he affirmed, be subdued: and he intimates that this war, or crusade, is to be conducted on principles different from any former one. "The mode of civilized war," says he, "will not be practised; they must look for no modified hostility; all which is not battle will be military execution." The members of the revolution society, and the other commemorators of the French revolution, he inveighs against in terms of the most unqualified abuse; and he charges Dr. Price, in particular, with having fulminated in his revolution sermon, principles little short of treason and rebellion. "His doctrines," says Burke, "affect our constitution in its vital parts. Nothing can be more untrue, than that the crown of this realm is held by his majesty by the choice of the people. Whilst the legal conditions of the compact of sovereignty are performed, he holds his crown in contempt of their choice. According to this novel and extraordinary mode of reasoning, in conforming his conduct to the conditions of the national choice, he reigns in actual contempt of their choice.

From the date of the fatal publication of Burke, who seemed ambitious to signalize himself by setting not merely a kingdom but the world itself on fire, the nation was divided into two violent and openly hostile parties. The Tory faction, which had hitherto scarcely dared to whisper their dislike, now under the sanction of Burke's authority, became bold and clamorous in their vociferations. The principles advanced by Burke, ever grateful to the ear of princes, at once obliterated all his past offences, and placed him in the foremost rank of favourites and courtiers. It is true, that the approbation of the minister and his intimate adherents, was at first cautiously bestowed on Burke's novel and daring doctrines; but as the crisis approached when the public mind was better prepared for the declaration of their sentiments, they were more open and unequivocal in this encouragement of the anti-gallican orator.

ANSWERED BY THOMAS PAINE—EFFECTS PRODUCED BY HIS RIGHTS OF MAN.

THIS extraordinary production gave rise to numerous replies, of which by far the most memorable was that written by Thomas Paine, the author of the famous pamphlet styled *Common Sense*, which by its effect on the minds of the people of America, at a most important crisis, prepared the way for the declaration of independency. His present work, *Rights of Man*, was written with no less power of intellect and force of language. Not content with pointing out and exposing the absurdities, paradoxes, and misrepresentations of Burke—not content with painting in striking colours the abuses and corruptions of the existing government; he with daring and unhalloved hand attacked the principles of the constitution itself—describing it as radically vicious and tyrannical; and reproaching the introduction of aristocracy or monarchy, under whatever modifications, into any form of government, as a flagrant usurpation and invasion of the unalienable rights of man. "When we survey," says this writer, "the wretched condition of man under the monarchical and hereditary systems of government, dragged from his home by one power, or driven by another, and impoverished by taxes more than by enemies; it becomes evident that those systems are bad, and that a general revolution in the principle and construction of governments is necessary." Paine shortly after produced a second part, combining principle and practice, in which the vices, defects, and imperfections of the British government are examined with a still more critical severity, and the constitution attacked and ridiculed with redoubled virulence.

These works unfortunately appearing at a time, when a large proportion of the community, and those too the most zealously attached to liberty, were, from causes already specified, in a state of

great irritation and discontent; and the books, notwithstanding their absurd and mischievous political positions, being written in a style and manner which "came home to men's business and bosoms," innumerable converts were made to their general system; and such were the pains taken to circulate them amongst the body of the people, that fifty thousand copies were in a short time sold. Political associations were also instituted in every part of the kingdom, professing to have in view the reform of the constitution, many of which were, not without reason, suspected of carrying their views much farther. Such were the lamentable consequences resulting from the rashness and folly of Burke, whose boasted *panaceas* operated upon the body politic as a most deadly poison; and served to prove that learning and eloquence may subsist in the highest perfection, without being accompanied with a single particle of wisdom.

Though the immense circulation of Paine's books was a matter of public notoriety, yet, such was the inattention of government, that for upwards of a year not a single process had been instituted against publisher, printer, or seller of these alarming and libellous doctrines. At length however, when they had operated their full mischief, and the fervour of the first proselytism had abated, the attorney general filed an information against Thomas Paine in the Easter term of 1792.

OFFICIAL COMPLAINT BY THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR.

THE proclamation against the publication and sale of seditious writings, having intimated a belief, that "correspondencies had been entered into with sundry persons in foreign parts," obviously alluding to France; Chauvelin, who had but a few weeks before arrived here in the capacity of French ambassador, presented immediately an official declaration to lord Grenville, in which he complained that certain expressions in the proclamation appeared to give credit to the erroneous opinions propagated by the enemies of France, both as to the hostile intentions of Great Britain towards France, and the treacherous designs of France to promote sedition and confusion in the kingdom of Great Britain: it was expressive of the most pacific and honourable dispositions of France towards this country, and produced an answer from lord Grenville, that breathed the strongest sentiments of peace and amity, with an unequivocal engagement from our king, directly and positively to maintain the treaty of navigation and commerce existing between the two nations. As it was generally suspected in France, that the king of Great Britain had entered into the league of Pillnitz, and was in secret alliance with the courts of Vienna and Berlin, the answer of lord Grenville, when read in the national assembly, was received with boundless applause, as a reasonable pledge of peace, at a time when strong fears were entertained of the hostile intentions of our court.

FRANCE SOLICITS THE OFFICES OF BRITAIN IN PRESERVING PEACE—DECLINED.

FRANCE had on every occasion, since the commencement of her revolution up to this period, expressed a constant and anxious solicitude to preserve a good understanding with this country. Nothing can be more emphatically expressive of these sentiments, than the note which M. de Chauvelin presented upon this subject to lord Grenville, in which, for the preservation of the peace of Europe, the king of the French urges his Britannic majesty zealously to employ his good offices with his allies, to prevent them from granting to the enemies of France, directly or indirectly, any assistance.

The evasive answer of lord Grenville to this official note, sufficiently bespeaks the approbation with which the English government viewed the measures of its allies against France. The answer states, "That the same sentiments which engaged his Britannic majesty not to interfere with the internal affairs of France, equally tended to induce him to respect the rights and independence of other sovereigns, and particularly those of his allies." The slightest observer will perceive an obvious and important difference between the interference with

the internal affairs of an independent state, and the intermediation of a third power to conciliate a quarrel, or prevent a rupture between contending sovereigns. The former encroaches upon the rights and independence of other powers,—the latter admits and recognizes both. If any doubt should remain of the truth of this observation, it will be completely removed by the subsequent conduct of the British court.

MANIFESTOS AGAINST FRANCE.

THE emperor Leopold finished his short reign by a sudden death on the first of March 1792. This event happened at a most critical moment. Strong suspicions were entertained of French poison, which were soon removed by the publication of an authentic narrative of his case. He was succeeded by his son Francis II. who was proclaimed emperor at Frankfurt on the fifth of July. The first act of his reign was to declare his cordial accession to the treaty of Pilnitz; and from henceforth the courts of Vienna and Berlin joined in public hostilities against France. The court of Vienna published a declaration or manifesto of the reasons which induced her to take up arms against France:—That it depended on those who reign at present over France to make this concert cease immediately, by respecting the tranquillity and rights of other powers, and to guarantee the essential basis of the French monarchical form of government against the infringements of violence and anarchy.

The king of Prussia published a similar declaration. His manifesto, however, was more diffuse than that of Austria. These manifestos of the allied powers produced a violent fermentation at Paris. The country was publicly declared to be in danger, and the most vigorous measures were immediately adopted to recruit the army and strengthen the frontiers. A royal proclamation was published, setting forth in a strong light the dangers to which France was exposed. In consequence of this and other steps taken by the French government, a profusion of volunteers of all ages immediately poured down upon the frontiers with the ardour of the most frantic enthusiasm.

Coblentz was at this time the general rendezvous of the French emigrants. Here they had assembled to the number of near twenty thousand; and the king of Prussia, on his arrival, was received as the illustrious chief, under whose auspices they expected the complete restoration of the ancient order of things. The reigning duke of Brunswick had the command of the combined armies which were destined for the great enterprise of invading France. But before he began his march from Coblentz, in order that the whole world might fully know the views and spirit of his glorious mission, he published a manifesto in his own name, in which, to a general recapitulation of the reasons assigned by the emperor and the king of Prussia, for combining their forces against France, he subjoins; "To these high interests, is added another important object, and which both sovereigns have most cordially in view, which is to put an end to that anarchy which prevails in the interior parts of France; to put a stop to the attacks made on the throne and the altar, and restore to the king his legitimate power," &c. Then, as commander in chief of the two armies, he disavows any pretence to enrich themselves by conquest; and disclaims any intention to meddle with the internal government of France. But in case of their making any resistance when summoned to surrender, or when attacked; or of their not preventing confiscations, murders, and pillage; or of their removing the king and royal family from Paris; or of their attempting to force or insult the palace of the Tuilleries; or of their offering the least violence or outrage to their majesties or the royal family: then does he denounce his maledictions upon the devoted land; he denounces instant death to the rebels taken in arms; decapitation and confiscation to the members of the departments, districts, and municipalities; military execution to the members of the national assembly, magistrates, and all the inhabitants of Paris; and total destruction to their guilty city. Though this threatening menace seemed to threaten vengeance awfully compendious, yet the duke of Brunswick was still reproached with some afflicting qualms of lenity; and, in less than forty eight hours, he sent

forth a second manifesto, to confirm and heighten the terror of the first, declaring, "that if, contrary to all expectation, by the pidity or baseness of some inhabitants of Paris, the king, the queen, or any other person of the royal family should be carried off from that city, all the places and towns whatsoever which shall not have opposed their passage, and shall not have stopped their proceedings, shall incur the same punishments as those inflicted on the inhabitants of Paris, and their route shall be marked with a series of exemplary punishments justly due to the authors and abettors of crimes for which there is no remission."

However carefully the different parties to the convention of Pilnitz concealed their secret stipulations from the eyes of curiosity and of interest; yet, the faithful historian will not lose sight of the principles upon which they professed to have entered into the confederacy, and upon which they succeeded in engaging this country, as well as most other powers of Europe in the fatal alliance. All parties disavowed the right, and disclaimed the intention of interfering with the internal government of France; and in the same breath they insisted upon the abolition of that change in their internal government which the nation had called for, and which the king himself had accepted and confirmed by oath.

The fatal folly of the combined powers, who in their proclamations had asserted, that the king was not sincere in his acceptance of the constitution, sufficed for the Jacobins, to hold him out to the nation as combining with foreign powers to reduce France by force of arms, either to a strange yoke, or to a worse than their ancient slavery. Whatever party in France might have still wished for the re-establishment of the ancient unqualified power of the crown, could not avow themselves abettors of the cause of enemies, who were marching into the kingdom in open war. All those who had sworn to support the constitution, were by their oath committed to defend it, against those who were by force attempting to destroy it. Thus by this ill judged and fatal declaration, the real cause of royalty in France was irretrievably deprived of the possibility of any open or efficient support.

DEPOSITION OF THE FRENCH KING—THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR LEAVES PARIS.

THE grand and fatal question of deposition or forfeiture stood for the tenth of August: but the extreme agitation of the public mind would not permit the subject to be fairly discussed in the assembly. A detail of the awful and terrific scenes of the tenth is foreign from the design of English history, and therefore, it is only necessary to state, that in consequence of the dread transactions of that memorable day, and the virtual deposition of the French monarch, Lord Gower, the English ambassador at Paris, received orders from the court of London to quit the kingdom immediately, on the slight and frivolous pretext, that the functions of royalty being suspended, his mission was at an end. This recel was considered by the leading men in France as an ominous and certain indication of the enmity of the British court: nevertheless, as a demonstration of their moderation, and solicitude for peace, Chasvelin the French ambassador still remained in London, though from this period unacknowledged in any public or authorised capacity. The recel of the English ambassador at this critical moment, on the ground stated by the English court, seemed to imply that appointments of this nature are a mere matter of form and compliment between sovereigns; but if ambassadors are considered in a higher and juster light, as the necessary means of intercourse between nation and nation, never could the recel of an ambassador take place at a period when his presence and services were more indispensable.

MULTITUDES OF FRENCH PRIESTS ARRIVE IN ENGLAND.

THE execution of the decree for banishing all the nonjuring clergymen to Guiana, who should not have quitted the kingdom in fourteen days from its passing, poured thousands of these unfortunate exiles from Normandy, Picardy, and Brittany upon our coasts of Kent and Sussex. Misery

and distress are at all times a sufficient passport to English humanity; and this amiable characteristic of our countrymen was on this occasion most eminently displayed. Wherever these sufferers appeared, they were welcomed, relieved, and comforted. The old rivalry of the two nations was forgotten, and our difference from that very religion for which they were persecuted, was swallowed up in a generous feeling for their unfortunate and hapless condition. Never was an opportunity of exercising heroic charity more eagerly embraced, nor benevolence conferred with more glowing sensibility.

NATIONAL CONVENTION OF FRANCE CONSTITUTED—DR. PRIESTLEY AND THOMAS PAINE DECLARED MEMBERS.

On the twenty-first of September, 1793, the national convention was formally declared to be constituted, and the second national assembly was of course dissolved. "Thus ended," says Brissot, "after a year's existence, that stormy legislature under which the public spirit made such a rapid progress, and the French nation marched with giant strides towards a republic." From this period commenced what the French term the reign of liberty and equality; but what their enemies, in derision, call that of anarchy and tyranny. It has been the boast of the French, to have collected from every region into the national convention, whatever talent and spirit could be found to enlighten the people, to establish the freedom, and ensure the happiness of mankind. From this country, they selected Dr. Priestley and Thomas Paine: the former declined, the latter accepted the nomination. If Paine had been thought guilty of seditious or treasonable practices against the state; and if government had been desirous of checking the progress of those evils, of which they so loudly complained in their late proclamation; they might certainly with ease have prevented the avowed fomentor of the mischief from quitting the kingdom. His election for the department of Calais, was so well known in England, that the custom-house officers had received early information of his departure for France, and examined his baggage, with that of Frost, for prohibited articles, immediately on their arrival at Dover. This ceremony was performed by the collectors in a manner totally unknown before in this country. They examined all their papers, sealed and unsealed; and upon their urging the illegality of custom-house officers selling private papers, which were not things under their cognisance, they replied, that they were authorised to do it by the late proclamation.

ADDRESS OF THE ENGLISH SOCIETY AT PARIS TO THE CONVENTION.

If the French were opposed by numerous and powerful enemies, they had the consolation to know that the friends of liberty in every quarter of the world rejoiced in the success of their revolution. Englishmen in particular, ever alive to the blessings of freedom themselves, took a distinguished and sympathetic part in the struggles of France. There had long existed in Paris a society of British subjects, who, upon receiving the news of the conquest of Brabant, celebrated the joyful event in a general and magnificent festival, and afterwards addressed the convention upon the subject. Some other addresses from our countrymen were presented to the convention in congratulation of their successes. One from the constitutional society of London, was presented by their deputies, Joel Barlow and John Frost, who at the same time intreated their acceptance of one thousand pair of shoes, as a patriotic offering to the brave soldiers of liberty. As the high flown terms of applause and admiration contained in this last address, will be repeatedly referred to in the sequel, the insertion of it in this place, will assist the reader in forming a just opinion of a subsequent and important transaction. "Whilst foreign plunders ravage your territories," say these English addressers, "an oppressed part of mankind, forgetting their own evils, are sensible only of yours, and address their fervent prayers to the God of the universe, that he may be favourable to your cause, with which their's is so intimately connected. Degraded by an op-

pressive system of inquisition, the inescapable but continual encroachments of which quickly deprived this nation of its liberty, and reduced it almost to that abject state of slavery from which you have so gloriously emancipated yourselves, five thousand English citizens, fired with indignation, have the courage to step forward to rescue their country from that opprobrium, which has been thrown on it by the base conduct of those who are invested with power. We see with concern that the elector of Hanover unites his troops to those of traitors and robbers: but the king of England will do well to remember that England is not Hanover. Should he forget this, we will not forget it." The president of the convention, in answer to this address, used expressions full of respect and complacency. "The sentiments of five thousand Britons," said he, "devoted openly to the cause of mankind, exist without doubt, in the hearts of all the freemen in England." Copies of the address were ordered to be sent to all the armies and departments of the republic.

DECREE OF FRATERNIZATION.

The national convention was now so elated with the amazing progress of their arms, and so confident of the propriety and rectitude of every measure proposed for their adoption, that they seem to have thought deliberation a dragdory, and reflection superfluous. In this spirit a decree was passed by acclamation in the assembly, November the nineteenth, 1793, in the following terms:—"The national convention declare, in the name of the French nation, that they will grant fraternity and assistance to all those people who wish to procure liberty. And they charge the executive power to send orders to the generals to give assistance to such people, and to defend citizens who have suffered and are now suffering in the cause of liberty." This famous decree, which deserved to be considered in no other light than as a magnificent and empty vaunt, was productive of very serious and important consequences. Two other decrees of the assembly also demand a specific notice: the one erecting the dutchy of Savoy into an eighty-fourth department of the French republic, contrary to a fundamental article of the constitution, by which she renounced all foreign conquest: the other, on the capture of Antwerp, declaratory of the freedom of navigation on the river Scheld.

THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT OFFERS ASSISTANCE TO HOLLAND—REFUSED.

It was now that the English government began to discover their alarm at the rapidity and extent of the French conquests. Brabant, Flanders, and Liege had been subdued, and seemed perfectly disposed to fraternize with their conquerors. It was well known that in Holland a very considerable party of mal-contented sought an opportunity of declaring themselves openly against the prince of Orange. Lord Auckland, the English ambassador, was therefore directed to assure their high mightnesses, "that as the theatre of war was brought so near to the confines of their republic, his Britannic majesty was both ready and determined to execute with the utmost good faith the treaty of 1793." The states, in their answer to this declaration, professed the strongest belief, "that no hostile intentions were conceived by any of the belligerent powers against them." The native phlegm of the Hollander began, in the more peaceful and steady, an aversion to bustle and activity: and a rooted hatred of the court party induced numbers to dissemble the expectation of what they most ardently wished. Hence the frequent and just observation, that we had officially forced their high mightnesses even into a war of defence against their obvious interest or inclination.

ARTIFICES OF MINISTERS TO INFLAME THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE FRENCH.

THE period was now arrived, when our cabinet was determined to suppress no longer their approbation of the principles of the grand confederacy. But it was first requisite to dispose the nation to a proper acquiescence in their measures. The multitude in all countries act more from feeling than judgment. Whom they hate or fear they eagerly persecute, and are seldom delicate in the means,

when they find the opportunity of satiating their vengeance. A supreme abhorrence of the French government had been two years since, by Burke, wickedly, but successfully, excited in this country. The cause of the deposition of the French monarch, and the nature of the provocations and injuries which preceded and produced that event, not being sufficiently understood in England, contributed also to make an impression very unfavourable on the minds of the generality of the people : and the horrid massacre of September completely alienated their minds from the revolution, although these shocking enormities could not in any rational sense be said to originate in the revolution, but merely and solely in the opposition made to its establishment. Artful advantage was taken of this disposition ; every wish, every word, and every action, that was disagreeable to ministers, was construed into a dislike of the British constitution, and held to be an almost unequivocal proof of republican and revolutionary sentiments. The press teemed with inflammatory productions, and the pulpit rung with anathemas against republicans and levellers. Every measure directed against the French, or their admirers, however oppressive and illegal, now became sanctioned in the object of its direction. The nation was on a sudden struck with terror at the idea of political innovation of any kind, and the very name of reform became the subject of violent and indiscriminate reprobation. Under the impression of this furious prejudice, an association openly countenanced by government was formed in London for the protection of liberty and property against republicans and levellers ; and an innumerable multitude of pamphlets, in the popular form of letters, dialogues, and narratives, admirably fitted to inflame the passions, were by this means circulated throughout the kingdom, inculcating an unreserved submission to government, on the old exploded principles of Toryism and high churchism. In one of the most notorious of these tracts, it was urged, in favour of monarchy, " that the king is in scripture called the Lord's anointed, but who, say these profound politicians, ever heard of an anointed republic ? " The rage of associating spread rapidly through the kingdom ; and in every county, and almost every town, resolutions were subscribed strongly expressive of loyalty and attachment to the king and constitution, and abhorrence of all levelling and republican doctrines. The populace entering with violence into these sentiments, and their passions being, by the methods now put in practice, dangerously excited, the cry of church and king was vociferated with tremendous clamours from the Tamar to the Tweed ; from the cliffs of Dover to the hills of Cheviot.

After the British cabinet had made such recent and repeated avowals of the right of France to form, alter, and model its internal government without foreign interference—after such unequivocal declarations of continued neutrality, and the warmest professions of amity and good understanding—it was undoubtedly a task of no small ingenuity to give a plausible colour to their rash and sudden accession to the armed combination of despots. Such a war was not to be undertaken upon open principle : it could not be supported by reason, but what was wanting in solid argument, was abundantly supplied by stratagem and artifice. At this gloomy period, appeals were only made to the passions—the understanding was never consulted. The pathetic case of an unfortunate monarch, contrasted with the ferocious cruelties of a licentious and frantic populace, had successfully seized the feelings of a great portion of the British public : and where the mind is pre-occupied by animated passion, the voice of cool and sober reason sounds in vain. This disposition is in nature, and the nation was prepared for it by the eloquence and example of Burke. " We are so

made," says he, " as to be affected at such spectacles with melancholy sentiments upon the unstable condition of mortal prosperity, and the tremendous uncertainty of human greatness : because in those natural feelings we learn great lessons ; because in events like these our passions instruct our reason ; when kings are hurled from their thrones by the supreme director of this great drama, and become the objects of insult to the base, and pity to the good." The prejudices of the people being thus excited, and " their reason subjected to the instruction of their passions," the nation was brought to concur in a destructive war.

THE MILITIA CALLED OUT, AND PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

As the war however could not be supported upon any political justice, as it held out no prospect of interest, nor could be undertaken without at least the appearance of violating our solemn engagements ; it became necessary to devise some domestic urgency to render the intended measures of government completely palatable to the nation. His majesty was accordingly advised to issue another proclamation, December the first 1792, announcing the alarming intelligence, " that notwithstanding the late proclamation of the twenty-first of May, the utmost industry was still employed by evil-disposed persons within this kingdom, acting in concert with persons in foreign parts, with a view to subvert the laws and established constitution of this realm ; and to destroy all order and government therein ; and that a spirit of tumult and disorder thereby excited had lately shown itself in acts of riot and insurrection.—And that these causes moving him thereto, his majesty had resolved forthwith to embody part of the militia of the kingdom." On the same day, another proclamation was issued for convening the parliament (which stood prorogued to the third of January) on the thirteenth of December ; the law requiring, that if the militia be drawn out during the recess of parliament, and this it can only be in case of invasion or actual insurrection, parliament shall be assembled in the space of fourteen days. If credit be given to the language of these proclamations, the political state of the kingdom, which depended upon the wisdom, vigilance, and energy of government, was at this time in the convulsed agonies of a mortal disease. Without any external hostilities either to make or resist—without the conviction or even accusation of one individual, for attempting to excite sedition or insurrection—without the example of one pain, penalty or punishment having been inflicted upon a person guilty of turbulence or rebellion—his majesty's ministers thought themselves warranted to take these bold and daring measures. Bounties were now offered to landmen and seamen ; naval armaments were put into preparation in all the dockyards : the army was drawn into a focus near the metropolis : and the tower was put into a posture of defence. The public alarm caused by these proceedings was inexpressible. Those who were convinced of the existence of a plot, thought it so much the more terrible, from its being invisible and incomprehensible. At this period of infatuation and terror, the nation was convulsed from the extremities to the centre. Every man looked on his neighbour with an eye of sullen suspicion. Jealousy sat on every countenance, and banished from the cheerful and domestic circles of life, all the pleasures of social and friendly intercourse. In a word, the mind were agitated with fearful apprehensions—the licentious and disorderly exulted in the prospect of approaching commotions—but the reflecting few saw through the artifice, and sighed in solitude over the misfortunes of their country.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Meeting of Parliament—Fox in Opposition to the Address—Burke for it—Opposition reduced by Desertion—Motions for adjusting Differences with France by Negotiation, and for sending a Minister to Paris—The French Ambassador's Memorial on the relative Situation of France and England—Answered by Lord Grenville—Memorial of the Executive Council of France—Lord Grenville's Reply—French Ambassador ordered to leave the Kingdom—Message from his Majesty to the Commons on French Affairs—Pitt's Speech on moving the Address—Opposed by Lord Wycombe—by Whitbread—and by Fox—The French declare War against England and Holland.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

ON the meeting of parliament, which took place on the thirteenth of December, 1792, the expressions of the first proclamation were repeated in his majesty's speech; towards the conclusion of which the real views of the court became sufficiently manifest. It was intimated in the speech, "that his majesty had judged it necessary to embody a part of the militia, and to call the parliament together within the time limited for that purpose." It stated, as the grounds of these strong measures, "the seditious practices which had been discovered, and the spirit of tumult and disorder shown in acts of riot and insurrection, which required the interposition of a military force in support of the civil magistrate. The industry," it asserted "employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, appeared to proceed from a design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government; and that this design had evidently been pursued in connection and concert with persons in foreign countries. I have," said his majesty, "carefully observed a strict neutrality in the present war on the continent, and have uniformly abstained from any interference with respect to the internal government of France; but it is impossible for me to see without the most serious uneasiness the strong and increasing indications which have appeared there, of an intention to excite disturbances in other countries, to disregard the rights of neutral nations, and pursue views of conquest and aggrandisement, as well as to adopt towards my allies, the states-general, measures which are neither conformable to the law of nations, nor to the positive stipulations of existing treaties. Under these circumstances his majesty thought it right to have recourse to those means of prevention and internal defence with which he was entrusted by law, and to make some augmentation of his naval and military force."

FOX IN OPPOSITION TO THE ADDRESS.

ON moving the address, in answer to the speech, a memorable debate arose. Never did the strength and superiority of Fox's genius appear perhaps so conspicuous as in this moment of national infatuation. He began by observing, "that his majesty's speech contains a variety of assertions of the most extraordinary nature. It was the duty of that house to inquire into the truth of these assertions, and in discharging this part of his duty, he should consider the speech from the throne as the speech of the minister, which his majesty's confidential servants had advised him to deliver; and as they were responsible for that advice, to them every observation of his should be addressed. I state it therefore," said Fox, "to be my firm opinion and belief, that there is not one fact asserted in his majesty's speech which is not false—not one assertion or insinuation which is not unfounded. Nay, I cannot be so uncandid as to believe, that minis-

ters themselves think them true. The leading and prominent feature of the speech is a wanton and base calumny on the people of Great Britain; an insinuation of so black a nature that it demands the most rigorous inquiry, and the most severe punishment. The next assertion is, that there exists at this moment an insurrection in this kingdom. An insurrection!—where is it? where has it reared its head? Good God! an insurrection in Great Britain? The speech goes on in the same strain of falsehood and calumny, and says, 'the industry employed to excite discontent on various pretexts, and in different parts of the kingdom, has appeared to proceed from a design to attempt the destruction of our happy constitution, and the subversion of all order and government.' I desire gentlemen to consider these words, and I demand of their honour and truth if they believe this assertion to be founded in fact. There have been, as I understand, and as every one must have heard, some slight riots in different parts. I have heard of a tumult at Shields; of another at Leith; of some riot at Yarmouth, and of something of the same nature at Perth and Dundee. I ask gentlemen if they believe that in each of these places the avowed object of the complaints of the people was not the real one—that the sailors at Shields, Yarmouth, &c. did not really want some increase of their wages, but were actuated by a design of overthrowing the constitution? Is there a man in England who believes this insinuation to be true?" Fox next adverted to an expression of Wallace, who, in seconding the motion of address, adduced as a proof that there existed in this country a dangerous spirit, 'the drooping and dejected aspect of many persons, when the tidings of Dumourier's surrender arrived in England,' said—"Admitting the fact in its utmost extent, could any man who loves the constitution of England, who feels its principles in his heart, wish success to the duke of Brunswick, after reading a manifesto which violated every doctrine that Englishmen hold sacred; which trampled under foot every principle of justice, humanity, and true government? It is rather extraordinary, that they should think it right to abuse republics, at the very moment we are called upon to protect the republic of Holland; to spread the doctrine that kings only have divine right, may indispose your allies to receive your proposed succour. They may not choose to receive into their country your admirals and generals, who being appointed by this king, in divine right, must partake of the same anger, and be sworn enemies to all forms of government not so sanctified.—Surely, independent of the falsehood and the danger at home of such doctrines, it is the height of impolicy at this time to hold them in regard even to our neighbours. His majesty, in the next passage of his speech," continued Fox, "brings us to the apprehension of a war. I shall refrain at this time from saying all that occurs to me on this subject, because I wish to keep precisely to the immediate subject: but never surely had this country so much reason to wish for

peace; never was a period so little favourable to a rupture with France, or with any power. I am not ready to subscribe exactly to the propriety of a resolution never to go to war unless we are attacked; but I wish that a motion was proposed by some person to express our disapprobation of entering upon any war, if we can by any honourable means avoid it. Let no man be deterred by the dread of being in a minority. A minority saved this country from a war against Russia. And surely it is our duty, as it is true policy, to exert every means to avert that greatest of national calamities. In 1780 we all must remember that Spain provoked this country by an insult, which is a real aggression; we were all agreed on the necessity of the case, but did we go headlong to war? No, we determined with becoming fortitude on an armed negotiation. We did negotiate, and we avoided a war. But now we decline to negotiate. Why? Because we have no minister at Paris. Why have we no minister there? Because France is a republic! And so we are to pay in the blood and treasure of the people for a punctilio! If there are discontents in the kingdom, sir, this is the way to inflame them. It is of no consequence to any people what is the form of government with which they may have to treat. It is with the governors, whatever may be the form, that in common sense and policy they can have to do, and if they should change their form and change their governors, their course would remain the same. Having no legitimate concern with the internal state of any independent people, the road of common sense is simple and direct. That of pride and punctilio is as tangled as it is serpentine. Is the pretext the opening of the Scheldt? I cannot believe that such an object can be the real cause. I doubt, even if a war on this pretext would be undertaken with the approbation of the Dutch. What was the conduct of the French themselves under their depraved old system, when the good of the people never entered into the contemplation of the cabinet? The emperor threatened to open the Scheldt in 1786. Did the French go to war with him instantly to prevent it? No, they opened a negotiation, and prevented it by interfering with their good offices. Why have not we so interfered? Because, smooth, France is an uninvited republic! Oh! miserable, infatuated Frenchmen! Oh! lame and inconsiderate politicians! Why, instead of breaking the holy vial of Rheims, why did you not pour some of the sacred oil on the heads of your executive council, that the pride of states might not be forced to plunge themselves and you into the horrors of war, rather than be contaminated by your acquaintance! The people will not be cheated. They will look round and demand where this danger is to be seen. Is it in England? they see it overflowing in expressions of loyalty, and yet they libel it with imputations of insurrection. In Ireland you know there is danger, and dare not own it; though you know that there a most respectable and formidable convention (I call it formidable, because I know nothing so formidable as reason, truth, and justice) will oblige you by the most cogent reasons to give way to demands which the magnanimity of the nation ought to have anticipated—in justice to subjects as attached to their king, as abundantly endowed with every manly virtue, as any part of the united kingdom. And while the claims of generous and ill-treated millions are thus preteracted, there is a miserable mockery held out of alarms in England which have no existence, but which are made the pretext of assembling the parliament in an extraordinary way, in order to reality to engage you in a foreign contest. What must be the fatal consequence when a well-judging people shall decide, what I sincerely believe, that the whole of this business is a ministerial manoeuvre! A noble lord says he will move for a suspension of the *habeas corpus* act. I hope not. I have a high respect for the noble lord; but no motive of personal respect shall make me inattentive to my duty. Come from whom it may, I shall, with my most determined powers, oppose so dreadful a measure. What, it may be asked, would I propose to do in hours of agitation like the present? I will answer openly. If there is a tendency in the dissenters to discontent, because they conceive themselves unjustly suspected and cruelly calumniated, what should I do? I would instantly repeal the test and corporation acts, and take from them thereby all cause of complaint. If

there were any persons tainted with a republican spirit, because they thought that the representative government was more perfect in a republic, I would endeavour to amend the representation of the commons, and to prove that the house of commons, though not chosen by all, should have no other interest than to prove itself the representative of all. If there were men dissatisfied in Scotland, or Ireland, or elsewhere, on account of disabilities and exemptions, of unjust prejudices, and of cruel restrictions, I would repeal the penal statutes, which are a disgrace to our law book. If there were other complaints of grievances, I would redress them where they were really proved; but above all, I would constantly, cheerfully, patiently listen—I would make it known, that if any man felt, or thought he felt, a grievance, he might come freely to the bar of this house and bring his proofs. And it should be made manifest to all the world, that where they did exist they should be redressed; where they did not, that it should be made manifest. If I were to issue a proclamation, this should be my proclamation.—If any man has a grievance, let him bring it to the bar of the commons' house of parliament, with the firm persuasion of having it honestly investigated. These are the subsidies that I would grant to government. What instead of this is done? Suppress the complaint—check the circulation of knowledge—command that no man shall read—or, that as no man under one hundred pounds a year can kill a partridge, that no man under twenty pounds or thirty pounds shall dare to read or think! I love the constitution," said Fox, "as it is established: it has grown up with me as a prejudice and as a habit, as well as from conviction. I know that it is calculated for the happiness of man, and that its constituent branches of king, lords, and commons could not be altered or impaired, without entailing on this country the most dreadful miseries. It is the best adapted to England, because, as the noble earl truly said, the people of England think it the best; and the safest course is to consult the judgment and gratify the predilections of a country. Heartily convinced as I am, however, that to secure the peace, strength, and happiness of the country, we must maintain the constitution against all innovation, yet I do not think so highly and superstitiously of any human institution as to believe it is incapable of being perverted; on the contrary, I believe that it requires an increasing vigilance on the part of the people to prevent the decay and dilapidations to which every edifice is subject. I think too that we may be laid asleep to our real danger by these perpetual alarms to loyalty, which, in my opinion, are daily sapping the constitution. Under the pretext of guarding it from the assaults of republicans and levellers, we run the hazard of leaving it open on the other and more feeble side. We are led insensibly to the opposite danger, that of increasing the power of the crown, and of degrading the influence of the house of commons. Let us only look back to the whole course of the present administration, and we shall see that from their outset to the present day, it has been their invariable object to degrade the house of commons in the eyes of the people, and to diminish its power and influence in every possible way. It was not merely in the outset of their career, when they stood up against the declared voice of the house of commons, that this spirit was manifested, but uniformly, progressively through their whole ministry, the same disposition has been shown, until at last it came to its full undisguised demonstration on the question of the Russian war, when the house of commons was degraded to the lowest state of insignificance and contempt, in being made to retract its own words, and to acknowledge that it was of no consequence or avail what were its sentiments on any one measure. The minister has regularly acted upon this sort of principle, to the vilification of the popular branch of the constitution. What is this but to make it appear that the house of commons is in reality what Thomas Paine, and writers like him, say it is, namely, that it is not the true representative and organ of the people. Is it not wonderful, that all the true constitutional watchfulness of England should be dead to the only true danger that the day exhibits, and that they should be roused only by the idiotic clamour of republican phrenzy and of popular insurrection which do not exist? Sir," concluded Fox, "I have done my duty. I have

with the certainty of opposing myself to the furor of the day, delivered my opinion at more length than I intended, and perhaps I have intruded too long on the indulgence of the house. I have endeavoured to persuade you against the indecent haste of committing yourselves to these assertions of an existing insurrection, until you shall make a rigorous inquiry where it is to be found—to avoid involving the people in the calamity of a war, without at least ascertaining the internal state of the kingdom, and prevent us from falling into the disgrace of being, as heretofore, obliged perhaps in a week to retract every syllable that we are now called upon to say." To carry this into effect, he concluded with moving an amendment, simply pledging the house, "that inquiry should be made into the facts stated in his majesty's speech."

BURKE IN FAVOUR OF IT.

BURKE said, "that this was indeed a day of trial of the constitution. He agreed with an honourable gentleman in regarding the present as a most momentous crisis, but for different reasons from those which he had assigned. He was sensible how closely liberty and monarchy were connected in this country, that they were never to be found asunder; that they had flourished together a thousand years; and from this union resulted the glory and prosperity of the nation. What he dreaded, should French principles be introduced into this country, was the destruction of the whole order of civil life. He would affirm, that there was a faction in this country, who wished to submit it to France, in order that our government might be reformed upon the French system. He would likewise affirm, that the French cherished views upon this country; that they encouraged this faction, and were disposed to aid them in their views of overturning our constitution. As a proof of this, he should translate from their own gazette the following account of their proceedings.

"The president.—You decreed, yesterday, that two deputies of Englishmen should be admitted to the bar. I am going to order it to be opened for them.—The first deputation being admitted, the spokesman addressed the convention.—The president answered the deputation as republicans.—He said, 'royalty in Europe was in the agonies of death; that the declaration of right, now placed by the side of thrones, was a fire which in the end would consume them; and he even hoped that the time was not far distant when France, England, Scotland, and Ireland—all Europe! all mankind! would form but one peaceful family.—These proceedings,' he said, 'had taken place on the same day in which there had been a discussion in the convention respecting the union of Savoy to France. On that occasion the president had observed, that 'nature pointed out this union; that France and Savoy were already connected by physical and moral ties.' This gentle people, in adding the country of their neighbours to their own dominions, only follow the mild laws of nature; whenever they have a mind to make an acquisition of territory, they discover their claim to it to be established by physical and moral ties: no doubt they will soon find out this physical and moral connection subsisting between them and this country, though we unfortunately have been separated from them by a violent convulsion. If Englishmen," he remarked, "had applied to Louis XVI. to reform our government, and had been favourably received by him, would not this have been considered as an aggression by this country? It was indeed a portent and prodigy that Englishmen should not be able to find liberty at home, and should be obliged to seek it elsewhere. What rendered the factious of this country particularly dangerous, was their connection with the band of French robbers and assassins. The French had declared war against all kings, and of consequence against this country, if it had a king.—The question now was not whether we should make an address to the throne, but whether we should have a throne at all? He concluded with recommending the unanimity so desirable upon this occasion, and with representing the danger which might arise from the progress of the French arms, if not speedily resisted; their power had already become formidable to the whole of Europe, and if we would not have Europe gone from us, it was necessary that we should interpose by the most effectual means to stop their further

career." After a debate of many hours, the house divided, for the amendment fifty, against it two hundred and ninety!

OPPOSITION REDUCED BY DESERTION.

In the house of lords the address was carried without a division, but not without a powerful opposition from the duke of Norfolk, and the lords Lansdowne, Bexford, and Stanhope. In consequence of the late alarms created by the dreadful apprehension of plots and insurrections, the opposition or whig-party had, as it now appeared, suffered a great and melancholy defection. At the head of the seceders in the upper house, were the prince of Wales, the duke of Portland, lords Pitt-Williams, Spencer, Mansfield, and Loughborough, the last of whom, on the resignation of lord Thurlow, at this period was advanced to the chancellorship. And in the lower house, Burke, Windham, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Anstruther, &c. who acquired by this means the popular appellation of Alistriests.

MOTIONS FOR NEGOTIATION WITH FRANCE—AND FOR SENDING A MINISTER TO PARIS.

On the bringing up the report, on the succeeding day in the house of commons, the debate was resumed with fresh vehemence. Fox most severely censured the ministers for not having interposed the mediation of Great Britain, in order to preserve the peace of Europe. Had we protested against the project concerted at Pilnitz, and armed to prevent the execution of it, England must have acquired such an ascendancy in the councils of France as would have completely obviated all the subsequent causes of dissatisfaction. "If," said Fox, "there exists a discontented or dissatisfied party in the kingdom, what can so much add to their numbers, or their influence, as a war, which, by increasing the public burdens till they become intolerable, will give proportionable weight to their complaints? He wished therefore that war should be avoided, if possible—that negotiation should precede hostility. He was fully aware of the arrogant notions of ministers, who perhaps would not condescend to receive a minister from the French republic. If this were the case, let ministers fairly avow it—that the people of England might know how far the essential interests of the nation were sacrificed to a punctilio. Gentlemen should recollect that it was once fashionable to talk of 'a vagrant congress,' of 'one Hancock,' and 'one Adams,' and 'their crew.' But surely the folly of this language had been sufficiently proved." He then moved an amendment, "beseeching his majesty to employ every means of honourable negotiation, for the purpose of preventing a war with France." The motion was opposed by Burke in a frantic speech, in which he affirmed, "that to send an ambassador to France would be the prelude to the murder of our sovereign." Pitt was at this time not a member of the house, having vacated his seat by the acceptance of the lucrative sinecure of the Cinque ports, void by the death of the earl of Guildford, once so famous under the title of lord North. In the absence of the minister, Secretary Dundas entered into a long and elaborate vindication of the measures of administration; and he concluded with a confident prediction, that "if we were forced into a war, it must prove successful and glorious." The amendment was negatived without a division.

Not discouraged at the ill success of these attempts, Fox, on the fifteenth of December, moved, at the close of a speech which only served to demonstrate how incompetent are the utmost efforts of human wisdom to work conviction on minds distempered by prejudice and passion, "that a minister be sent to Paris to treat with those persons who exercise provisionally the executive government of France." "This," he said, "implied neither approbation nor disapprobation of the conduct of the existing French government. It was the policy and practice of every nation to treat with the existing government of every other nation with which it had relative interests, without inquiring how that government was constituted, or by what means it acquired possession of power. Was the existing government of Morocco more respectable than that of France? Yet we had more than once sent embassies thither, to men reeking

from the blood through which they had waded to their thrones. We had ministers at the German courts at the time of the infamous partition of Poland. We had a minister at Versailles when Corsica was bought and enslaved.—But in none of these instances was any sanction given directly or indirectly by Great Britain to these nefarious transactions."

In answer to the absurd and puerile objection, that if we agreed to a negotiation, we should not know with whom to negotiate, Whitbread asked, with energetic animation, "If we knew with whom we were going to war! If there was no difficulty in deciding upon that point, how could we pretend to be at a loss to know with whom we were to make peace? Doubtless with that assembly, truly described by his majesty as exercising the powers of government in France."

Windham had laid it down as an axiom of policy, "that to be justified in negotiating with France, it should be a matter of necessity, not of choice." "Happy, dignified opportunity to treat!" exclaimed Sheridan, "when necessity—a necessity arising from defeat and discomfiture, from shame and disgrace—shall compel us to negotiate on terms which would leave us completely at their mercy! How consolatory, to be able to boast that we are at the same time justified and undone! But we are told," continued Sheridan, "that to treat with France would give offence to the allied powers, with whom we are eventually to co-operate. Are we then prepared to make a common cause on the principles and for the purposes for which those despots have associated? Are the freemen of England ready to subscribe to the manifesto of the duke of Brunswick!—that detestable outrage on the rights and feelings of humanity!—that impotent and wretched tissue of pride, folly, and cruelty, which had steeled the heart and maddened the brain of all France! The question is not merely whether we shall go to war or not! but on what principle should it be conducted, and to what end directed? To restore the ancient despotism of France? Impossible! Disputes and causes of complaint existing, how were they to be terminated but by some sort of negotiation? But we were told that the dignity of the nation forbade a public and avowed communication with the present ruling powers in France. Was the dignity of the nation better consulted by the mean subterfuge of an indirect and underhand intercourse? Was it sacrificed by a magnanimous frankness, and sustained only by dark and insidious disguise? Far from recalling the ambassador of England from Paris at the late perilous crisis, a statesman-like administration would have regarded the post of minister at Paris as the situation which demanded the first and ablest talents of the country. It was a situation which afforded scope and interest for the noblest mind that ever warmed a human bosom. The French had been uniformly partial, and even prejudiced in favour of the English. What manly sense and generous feeling, and above all, what fair truth and plain dealing might have effected, it was difficult to calculate. But the policy which discarded these, and which substituted in their stead a hollow neutrality, was an error, fatal in its consequences, and for ever to be lamented." The motion was in the end negatively without a division.

The desertion of the friends of opposition, far from dispiriting the faithful few that remained, seemed to animate them to still higher and more ardent exertions of patriotic zeal. The popular odium incurred at this time by the leaders of opposition, particularly by Fox, in consequence of their generous endeavours to rescue their country from the gulph of ruin into which it was with such blind and rash precipitancy about to plunge, will appear to posterity scarcely credible. Neither professing a contempt for the public judgment, nor on the other hand yielding for a moment to the tide of popular opinion, Fox published at this period a very animated and dignified address to his constituents, the electors of Westminster; stating, with admirable force and perspicuity of argument, his reasons for his late parliamentary conduct. The conclusion of this celebrated address is peculiarly striking. "Let us not," says he, "attempt to deceive ourselves. Whatever possibility, or even probability there may be of a counter-revolution from internal agitation and discord, the means of producing such an event by external force can be

no other than the conquest of France.—The conquest of France! O calumniated crusaders, how rational and moderate were your objects! O much injured Louis XIV. upon what slight grounds have you been accused of restless and immoderate ambition! O tame and feeble Cervantes, with what a timid pencil and faint colours have you painted the phre-trait of a disordered imagination!"—And yet this irrational and romantic conquest has been since effected.

THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR'S MEMORIAL ON THE SITUATIONS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

ALTHOUGH the determination of the British court was from the first sufficiently manifest, the government of France left no means unassayed to accomplish an accommodation. On the seventeenth of December, a memorial was presented by Chauvelin to lord Grenville, in which he informs his lordship that the executive council of the French republic, thinking it a duty which they owe to the French nation, not to leave it in the state of suspense into which it has been thrown by the late measures of the British government, have authorised him to demand with openness whether France ought to consider England, as a neutral or hostile power; at the same time being solicitous, that not the smallest doubt should exist respecting the disposition of France towards England, and of its desire to remain in peace. In allusion to the decree of the nineteenth of November, Chauvelin says, "that the French nation absolutely reject that false interpretation, by which it might be supposed that the French republic should favour insurrections, or excite disturbance in any neutral or friendly country whatever. In particular, they declare in the most solemn manner, that France will not attack Holland so long as that power adheres to the principles of her neutrality." As to the navigation of the Scheldt, Chauvelin affirms it to be a question of too little importance to be made the sole cause of a war; and that is could only be used as a pretext for a premeditated aggression. "On this fatal supposition," he says, "the French nation will accept war: but such a war would be the war not of the British nation, but of the British ministry against the French republic; and of this he conjures them well to consider the terrible responsibility."

ANSWERED BY LORD GRENVILLE.

To this communication lord Grenville returned a most arrogant and provoking answer. His lordship acknowledged the receipt of a note from Chauvelin, *styling himself* minister plenipotentiary of France. He reminds him that the king, since the unhappy events of the tenth of August, had suspended all official communication with France; and informs him that he cannot be treated with, in the quality and under the form stated in his note. Nevertheless, "under a form neither regular nor official," his lordship condescends to reply, but in a mode which could only tend to inflame the differences subsisting between the two nations, and which, far from accepting the concessions and explanations made by France, sought only to discover new pretences of cavil and quarrel. In a tone of the most decided and lofty superiority, his lordship says, "If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, she must show herself disposed to renounce her views of aggression and aggrandizement, and to confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, without disturbing their tranquillity, without violating their rights." The relinquishment of her recent conquests being thus haughtily demanded of France as a preliminary of peace, it might be well supposed that negotiation was at an end. But the government of France, in the midst of their triumphs, discovered a degree of temper and moderation in their intercourse with England as surprising as it was laudable.

MEMORIAL OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF FRANCE.

1793.—In answer to the letter of lord Grenville, a memorial was transmitted from le Brun, minister of foreign affairs, in the name of the executive council, dated January the fourth 1793, framed in terms of singular wisdom and ability, and forming

a striking contrast to the pride, petulance, and folly displayed in the communication of the English minister. They begin with repeating "the assurances of their sincere desire to maintain peace and harmony between France and England. It is with great reluctance," say they, "that the republic would see itself forced to a rupture much more contrary to its inclination than its interest." In reference to lord Grenville's refusal to acknowledge Chauvelin in his diplomatic capacity, the council remark, "that in the negotiations now carrying on at Madrid, the principal minister of his catholic majesty did not hesitate to address M. Burgoin, the ambassador of the republic at that court, by the title of minister plenipotentiary of France. But that a defect in point of form might not impede a negotiation, on the success of which depended the tranquillity of two great nations, they had sent credential letters to Chauvelin, enable him to treat according to the severity of diplomatic forms. The council repeat, that the decree of the nineteenth of November had been misunderstood, and that it was far from being intended to favour sedition, being merely applicable to the single case where the general will of a nation, clearly and unequivocally expressed, should call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation. Sedition can never exist in the expression of the general will. The Dutch were certainly not seditious when they formed the generous resolution of throwing off the Spanish yoke; nor was it accounted as a crime to Henry IV. or to queen Elizabeth, that they listened to their solicitations of assistance. As to the right of navigation on the Scheldt, the council affirm, that it is a question of absolute indifference to England, little interesting even to Holland, but of great importance to the Belgians, who were not parties to the treaty of Westphalia, by which they were divested of that right; but when that nation shall find itself in full possession of its liberty, and from any motive whatever shall consent to deprive themselves of the navigation of the Scheldt, France will not oppose it. With respect to the charge of aggrandisement, France, they say, has renounced and still renounces all conquest; and its occupying the Netherlands will continue no longer than the war.—If those explanations appear insufficient, after having done every thing in our power to maintain peace, we will prepare for war. We shall combat with regret the English, whom we esteem, but we shall combat them without fear."

LORD GRENVILLE'S REPLY.

THE reply of lord Grenville to this memorial was couched in terms still more extraordinary and irritating than the first. His lordship declares, "that he finds nothing satisfactory in the result of it. Instead of reparation and retraction, his lordship complains, that nothing more is offered than an illusory negotiation,"—as if England had a right to expect that France would give up every point in dispute previous to any negotiation; or as if the offer of evacuating the Netherlands at the termination of the war, and of leaving the Belgians to settle the question relative to the Scheldt, together with the positive disavowal of the offensive meaning ascribed to the decree of November the nineteenth, did not form a proper and sufficient basis of negotiation. In fact, by these great concessions, every rational object of negotiation was accomplished; nevertheless, lord Grenville goes on to say, "that these explanations are not considered sufficient, and that all the motives which gave rise to the preparations still continue. If however, under this *caveat official* form you have any further explanations to offer," says his lordship, "I shall willingly attend to them." In a separate note his lordship informs Chauvelin, that his majesty is not disposed to receive his new letters of credence from the French republic. Chauvelin then requested a personal interview with his lordship, which was also refused.

FRENCH AMBASSADOR ORDERED TO LEAVE THE KINGDOM.

At length this extraordinary business was brought to a crisis, by a letter from lord Grenville, dated January the twenty-fourth, 1793, in which his lordship says, "I am charged to notify to you, Sir, that the character with which you had been invested at this court, and the functions of which have been so long suspended, being now entirely terminated by

the fatal death" of his most christian majesty, you have no longer any public character here; and his majesty has thought fit to order that you should retire from this kingdom within the term of eight days." At this very time, Maret, a confidential agent of Le Brun, was on his way to England with fresh despatches from the executive council, and as there is good reason to believe fresh concessions of the highest importance. But on his arrival in London, being informed of the compulsive dismissal of Chauvelin, he did not think himself authorized to open his commissions. He therefore merely announced his arrival to lord Grenville, but no advances were made to him on the part of the English.

The death of the French monarch was indeed a disastrous and mournful event. It was well known that the executive council, and a great majority of the national convention, were eagerly desirous to avert this fatal catastrophe; but the violence of the Jacobin faction, and the savage rage of the populace, rendered it impossible. "We may," said Le Brun to a confidential friend, "sacrifice ourselves, without being able to save the life of the king." It was not that the moderate party entertained any doubt of the veracity of the leading charges brought against the king; for, on this point, there was never any difference of opinion in France; but they discerned innumerable circumstances of palliation, which formed an irresistible claim to compassion and mercy. In England no one attempted to justify the deed; "nor," says an animated writer of that time, "is it the season for extenuation now that the stream of prejudice flows strong, and the phantasm of a murdered king stalks before our affrighted imagination."

KING'S MESSAGE TO THE COMMONS ON FRENCH AFFAIRS.

ON Monday the twenty-eighth of January, four days after Chauvelin had been ordered to leave the kingdom, the king sent a message to the house, importing, that, "his majesty had given directions for laying before the house of commons, copies of several papers which have been received from Chauvelin, late minister plenipotentiary from the most christian king, by his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, and of the answers returned thereto; and likewise a copy of an order made by his majesty in council, and transmitted by his majesty's command to the said Chauvelin, in consequence of the accounts of the atrocious act, recently perpetrated at Paris. In the present situation of affairs, his majesty thinks it indispensably necessary to make a further augmentation of his forces by sea and land; and he relies on the known affection and seal of the house of commons to enable his majesty to take the most effectual measures, in the present important conjuncture, for maintaining the security and rights of his own dominions, for supporting his allies, and for opposing views of aggrandisement and ambition on the part of France, which would be at all times dangerous to the general interests of Europe, but are peculiarly so when connected with the propagation of principles which lead to the violation of the most sacred duties, and are utterly subversive of the peace and order of all civil society."

PITT'S SPEECH ON MOVING THE ADDRESS.

ON the first of February, his majesty's message was taken into consideration, when an animated and interesting debate arose, the result of which precluded every hope of amicable accommodation between England and France. It was opened by Mr. Pitt, who began by saying, "that amidst the many important objects arising from the message of his majesty, which now came to be considered, there was one which particularly called for their attention. That attention, indeed, could not fail to be separately directed to that calamitous event, that act of outrage to every principle of religion, justice and humanity; an act which in this country, and the whole of Europe, had excited but one general sentiment of indignation and abhorrence, and could not fail to excite the same sentiments in every civilized nation. He should, indeed, better consult his own feelings and those of the house could he draw a veil over this melancholy event,

It was in all its circumstances so full of grief and horror, that it must be a wish, in which all united, to tear it, if possible, from their memories, to expunge it from the page of history, and remove it for ever from the observation or comments of mankind.

*Excidat ille dies avo, neu postera credant
Secula; nos certe tacemus, et obruta multa
Nocte tegi nostram patiamur crimina gentis.*

Such," he continued, "were the words applied by an author of their own, to an occasion (the massacre of St. Bartholomew) which had always been deemed the standing reproach of the French nation, and the horrors and cruelties of which had only been equalled by those atrocious and sanguinary proceedings which had been witnessed in some late instances. But whatever might be their feelings of indignation and abhorrence with respect to that dreadful and inhuman event to which he had set out with calling their attention, that event now was past; it was impossible that the present age should not now be contaminated with the guilt and ignominy of having witnessed it, or that the breath of tradition should be prevented from handing it down to posterity. They could only now enter their solemn protestation against that event, as contrary to every sentiment of justice and humanity, as violating the most sacred authority of laws, and the strongest principles of natural feeling. Hence, however, they might derive a useful theme of reflection—a lesson of salutary warning: for, in this dreadful transaction, they saw concentrated the effect of those principles pushed to their utmost extent, which set out with dissolving all the bonds of legislation by which society were held together; which were established in opposition to every law, divine and human, and presumptuously relying on the authority of wild and delusive theories, rejected all the advantages of the wisdom and experience of former ages, and even the sacred instructions of revelation.—While therefore he directed their attention to this transaction, he paid not only a tribute to humanity, but he suggested to them a subject of much useful reflection: for, by considering the consequences of these principles, they might be duly warned of their mischievous tendency, and taught to guard against their progress. Indeed he wished that this subject might on the present occasion be considered rather as matter of reason and reflection, than of sentiment. Sentiment was now unavailing; but reason and reflection might be attended with the most beneficial effects; and while they pointed out the horrid evils which had disgraced and ruined another country, might preserve our own from exhibiting a scene of similar calamity and guilt. No consideration indeed could be more connected with a country like this, or of greater importance, than what tended to avert such transactions as had taken place in that neighbouring state. Here, where a monarch formed an essential part of the government, clothed with that inviolability which was essential to the exercise of the sovereign power; where the legislature was composed of a mixture of democracy and aristocracy; and where, by the benefits of this system, we had been exempted from those mischiefs which in former ages had been produced by despotism, and which were only to be excused by those still more horrid evils which in the present time had been found to be the fruits of licentiousness and anarchy. The situation of this country, he must, indeed, compare to the temperate zone, which was the situation in every respect best fitted for health and enjoyment; and, where enjoying a mild, beneficial, regulated influence, the inhabitants were equally protected from the scorching heats of the torrid, and the rigorous frosts of the frigid zones. Compared with this country, where equal protection was extended to all, and there existed so high a seat of national felicity, dreadful indeed was the contrast afforded in the present situation of France, where there prevailed a system of the utmost licentiousness and disorder, and anarchy through a thousand organs operated to produce unnumbered mischiefs. Such a system could surely never find its way into this happy country, unless industriously imported; and to guard against the introduction of such a system was their first duty and their most important care. His majesty had declined taking any part in the internal government of France, and had made a positive declaration to that effect. When he took that

wise, generous, and disinterested resolution, he had reason to expect that the French would in return have respected the rights of himself and his allies, and most of all, that they would not have attempted any internal interference in this country. A paper on the table contained on their part a positive contract to abstain from any of those acts by which they had provoked the indignation of this country. In this paper they disclaimed all views of aggrandisement; they gave assurances of their good conduct to neutral nations; they protested against their entertaining an idea of interfering in the government of the country or making any attempts to excite insurrection, upon the express ground that such interference and such attempts would be a violation of the law of nations. They had themselves, by anticipation, passed sentence upon their own conduct; and the event of this evening's discussion would decide, whether that sentence would be confirmed by those who had actually been injured. During the whole summer, while France had been engaged in the war with Austria and Prussia, his majesty had in no shape departed from the neutrality which he had engaged to observe, nor did he, by the smallest act, give any reason to suspect his adherence to that system. But what, he would ask, was the conduct of the French? Had they also faithfully observed their part of the agreement, and adhered to the assurances which, on the ground of his majesty's neutrality, they had given, to reject all views of aggrandisement, not to interfere with neutral nations, and to respect the rights of his majesty and his allies? What had been their conduct would very soon appear from the statement of facts. They had immediately showed how little sincere they were in their first assurances, by discovering intentions to pursue a system of the most unlimited aggrandisement, if they were not opposed and checked in their career. The first instance of their success in Savoy had been sufficient to unfold the plan of their ambition. They had immediately adopted the course to annex it for ever to their own dominions, and had displayed a resolution to do the same, wherever they should carry their arms. That they might not leave any doubt of their intentions, by a formal decree they had stated their plan of overturning every government, and substituting their own; they threatened destruction to all who should not be inclined to adopt their system of freedom, and, by a horrid mockery, offered fraternization, where, if it was refused, they were determined to employ force, and to propagate their principles, where they should fail to gain assent, by the mouths of cannon. They established, in the instructions to the commissioners whom they appointed to enforce the decree with respect to the countries entered by their armies, a standing revolutionary order; they inserted a system of organizing dissimulation. And what was the reason they assigned for all this? 'The period of freedom,' said they, 'must soon come: we must then endeavour, by all means in our power, to accomplish it now, for should this freedom be accomplished by other nations, what then will become of us? Shall we then be safe?' It is a question indeed which they might well put, 'What will become of us?' for justly might they entertain doubts of their safety. They had rendered the Netherlands a province, in substance as well as name, entirely dependent upon France. That system, pursued by the Jacobin societies, in concert with their correspondents, had given a more fatal blow to Liberty than any which it had ever suffered from the boldest attempts of the most aspiring monarch. What had been the circumstances which had attended the triumphal entry of general Dumourier? Demonstrations of joy inspired by terror, illuminations imperiously demanded by an armed force. And when the primary assembly met to deliberate, in what circumstances did they assemble? With the tree of liberty planted amidst them, and surrounded by a hollow square of French soldiers, a situation surely equally conducive to the ease of their own thought, and the freedom of their public deliberations. And what had happened even since the French had professed their intention of evacuating the territories which they had entered, at the conclusion of the war? A deputation had been received from Helmshtadt, requesting that it might be added as an eighty-fifth department. And how had this deputation been received? Had the request been rejected? No, it had only been postponed

till a committee should be able to prepare instructions, how those nations, who should be desirous of the same union, should be able to incorporate themselves with France in a regular and formal manner, till the preliminaries should be settled by which it should subject to its government, and add to its territories, every country which should be so unfortunate as to experience the force of its arms, and give to its wild and destructive ambition, only the same limits with those of its power. It was matter of serious consideration, how far such a conduct not only ought to rouse the indignation, but might tend to affect the interests of this country. To show how the French had behaved with respect to neutral nations, he need only refer to their decree of the nineteenth of November, which had already been so often mentioned and so amply discussed. He should read an extract from this decree. He then read that passage in which the French granted fraternity to all those people who should be desirous to gain their freedom, and offer them assistance for that purpose. And that none might be at a loss to know to whom the French nation were disposed to grant this relationship of younger brothers, they had ordered the decree to be printed in all languages, by which it might be perceived that they intended the favour to all nations who chose to accept of it. Some pretended explanations had indeed been given of this decree, but of all these explanations he should say nothing but what had already been stated by the noble secretary of state, that they contained only an avowal and a repetition of the offence. The whole of their language, institutions, and conduct, had been directed to the total subversion of every government. To monarchy particularly they had testified the most decided aversion, and so violent was their enmity, that they could be satisfied with nothing less than its entire extermination. The bloody sentence, which the hand of the assassin had lately carried into execution against their own monarch, was passed against the sovereigns of all countries. Were not these principles intended to be applied in their effects to this government? No society in this country, however small in number, however contemptible, however even questionable in existence, had sent addresses to their assembly, in which they had expressed sentiments of sedition and treason, which had not been received with a degree even of theatrical extravagance, and cherished with all the enthusiasm of congenial feeling. Need he then ask if England was not aimed at in this conduct, and if it alone was to be exempted from the consequences of a system, the profession of which was anarchy, and which seemed to aspire to establish universal dominion upon the ruin of every government? On the subject of the violation of the rights of his majesty and his allies, he had already on a former occasion spoken at some length. He had stated, that the only claim which the French could have to interfere in the navigation of the Scheldt, must either be in the assumed character of sovereign of the Low Countries, or as taking to themselves the office of the arbiters of Europe. There were the most solemn engagements of treaties to protect the Dutch in their exclusive right of navigating the Scheldt. An infringement of treaties more notorious and more flagrant perhaps never had occurred, than that which now appeared in the instance of their conduct with respect to the Scheldt. For this infringement they had advanced some pretences, alleging that the exclusive privilege of navigating the Scheldt was contrary to certain principles with respect to the rights of rivers. Capricious and wild in their theory, and in entire contradiction to whatever had been sanctioned by established practice, they likewise pretended, that the treaty, on which was founded the exclusive right of navigating the Scheldt, was antiquated and obsolete, and had become no longer binding, though they had themselves, upon receiving the assurances of his majesty's intentions of neutrality, pledged themselves to an observance of all the subsisting treaties. The pretences which they alleged upon this occasion were indeed such as equally went to weaken the force of every treaty, to remove every obligation, and destroy all confidence between nations. From what had passed in a former part of the evening, he understood that it would be urged, that the Dutch had made no formal requisition for the support of this country, in order to resist the

opening of the Scheldt by the French, and to enable them to maintain their right to the exclusive navigation of that river. He granted that no such formal requisition had been made. But might there not be prudential reasons for not making this requisition on their part, very different from those which should induce this country to withhold its support? When the French opened the Scheldt, the Dutch entered their solemn protest against that invasion of their rights, which left them at liberty, at any time, to take it up as an act of hostility. If, from the sudden progress of the French arms, and the circumstances of their forces being at their very door, they either from prudence or fear did not think proper to take it up as an immediate commencement of hostilities; because they had been timid, would England think itself entitled to leave its allies, already involved in a situation of imminent danger, to that certain ruin to which they were exposed, in consequence of a system, the principles of which threatened also destruction to England, to Europe, and to the whole of mankind? Thus, in all those three assurances which they had given of their intention to reject any system of aggrandisement, to abstain from interfering in the government of any neutral country, and to respect the rights of his majesty and of his allies, they had entirely failed, and in every respect completely reversed that line of conduct which they had so solemnly pledged themselves to adopt. Whatever they had offered under the name of explanations contained nothing that either afforded any compensation for the past, or was at all satisfactory with respect to the future. They had stated, that they would evacuate the Netherlands at the conclusion of the war—upon a promise so illusory there could not be the remotest grounds of dependence. With respect to the decree of the nineteenth of November, they had made no apology for the manner in which they had received seditious addresses from this country. They stated indeed, that it was injurious to them to suppose that they would interfere in any government without a previous express declaration of the national will: but they had left themselves to judge what was sufficient to constitute that declaration of the national will, and thus allowed this decree, which in fact was nothing else than an advertisement for sedition in every country to remain in full force; and what in their opinion was to constitute a declaration of the national will we could only judge of from the manner in which they had received seditious addresses from a minority in this country, so small, that those who were disposed to put the conduct of the French in the most favourable point of view, held them out as too contemptible for notice: these addresses they received as expressive of the sentiments of the people of Great Britain, the great majority of whom he was, however, happy to say, detested their principles—principles which, if once adopted, would involve in them the ruin of our happy constitution, and the destruction of our country, and introduce anarchy and all those scenes of horror with which the country which had broached them was now afflicted; but the patience of the house and his strength would fall him should be proceed to state all the facts connected with the propositions which he now meant to lay before them. On the twenty seventh of December M. Chauvelin, on the part of the executive council, had presented the note complaining of the injurious construction of the decree of the nineteenth of November. On the thirty-first of December a member of that executive council (minister of the marine) addressed a letter to all the friends of liberty in the sea-ports; from which he would now read some passages. "The government of England is arming, and the king of Spain, encouraged by this, is preparing to attack us. These two tyrannical powers, after persecuting the patriots on their own territories, think, no doubt, that they shall be able to influence the judgment to be pronounced on the tyrant Louis. They hope to frighten us: but no—a people who have made themselves free—a people who have driven out of the bosom of France, and as far as the distant borders of the Rhine, the terrible army of the Prussians and Austrians—the people of France will not suffer laws to be dictated to them by a tyrant. The king and his parliament mean to make war against us. Will the English republicans suffer it? Already these free men show their dis-

content, and the repugnance which they have to bear arms against their brothers the French.—Well! we will fly to their succour!—we will make a descent on the island—we will lodge there fifty thousand caps of liberty—we will plant there the sacred tree, and we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren—the tyranny of their government will soon be destroyed.’ He called the attention of the house to this declaration, which distinguished the English people from the king and the parliament, and to the nature of that present which was meant to be made them. While such declarations were made, what could be thought of any explanations which were pretended to be given, or what credit was due to the assertions, that they entertained no intentions hostile to the government of this country? From all these circumstances he concluded, that the conduct and professions of the French were such as were neither consistent with the existence or safety of this country, such as that house could not, and he never would, acquiesce in. Their explanations had only been renewed insults, and instead of reverting to those assurances with which they had originally set out, they now showed themselves determined to maintain the ground, such as it was, upon which they stood with respect to this country. In the last paper which had been delivered, they had given in an ultimatum, stating that, unless you accept such satisfaction as they have thought proper to give, they will prepare for war. unless you then recede from your principles, or they withdraw it, a war must be the consequence—as to the time, the precise moment, he should not pretend to fix it—it would be left open to the last for any satisfactory explanation, but he should deceive them if he should say, that he thought any such explanation would be given, or that it was probable that a war could be avoided: rather than recede from our principles, war was preferable to a peace, which could neither be consistent with the internal tranquillity nor external safety of this country.” He then moved an address of thanks to his majesty.

OPPOSED BY LORD WYCOMBE, WHITEBREAD AND FOX.

MARL WYCOMBE said, “that he conceived it to be his most indispensable duty to use every argument in his power to avert from his country so grievous a calamity as that of entering into a war; a calamity of such a nature, as to leave only a doubt as to the extent of ills which might probably result from it; and he conjured the house not to agree to the proposed address, till they had well considered the consequence. This country, his lordship said, was in no danger whatever, being equally secured by its insular situation, its internal resources, and the strong attachment of the people to the constitution: he conceived, therefore, that we had no ground for alarm on the first point mentioned in the message from his majesty. As to the second point, the security of our allies, his lordship said it was impossible we could be told that Prussia had been attacked by France, and of course this part of the message must relate to Holland. If the navigation of the Scheldt was the subject of dispute, it appeared to be a matter of indifference to this country; except that in one view it would be of great advantage to our commerce and manufactures by opening a new channel in the best and most convenient situation for sending our manufactures into all the continent of Europe. From several circumstances, it would be idle and impolitic in the Dutch themselves to meditate war, and they seem by no means disposed to do so: shall we then urge them to resistance, and menace France with war? With regard to the new point in his majesty’s message, the propagation of French principles, he thought it by no means safe to go to war against principles. If the principles alluded to were levelling principles, they should be met with contempt; but he by no means reprobated all the French principles.—Great stress had been laid on the cruelties perpetrated in France; but he could not think they were a proper cause of war: in his opinion these cruelties had all originated in the famous expedition of the duke of Brunswick, which might he called a fraternity of kings for the purpose of imposing despotism on all Europe. Another ground taken by ministers, he said, was the necessity of preserving the balance of power in Europe—or,

the system of Europe; but he could not see why this country should be ready, upon all occasions, to go to war for the benefit of other nations. This system he looked upon to be no more than a political fiction, a cover for any interference that caprice might dictate. The next thing to which he wished to call the attention of the house was the means of carrying on the war. When the present supposed accumulation, of which ministers boasted, was exhausted, they must have recourse to new taxes; and if there was no absolute necessity for war, why burden the people to maintain a war, of the issue of which no judgment could be formed? and the relative situation of France to this country was such, that the connection of this country with her should not, he thought, be put to unnecessary hazard. The war might be carried on for some time without any additional duties; but when our resources were exhausted, taxes must follow, accompanied by the murmurs, if not execrations, of the people; and he hoped we would not fall into an error with respect to the finances of France, for it had undoubtedly resources which would be sufficient at least for some time. The death of the king of France had been pathetically lamented by ministers; but they never attempted to interfere, and while they professed peace, used every haughty irritating provocation to war. Upon the whole, he could view the war in no other light than as a revival of the system of extirpation that was the basis of the late American war. He should therefore give his negative to the motion for the address.”

Whitebread, junr. said, “The house was then to consider whether war was justifiable upon any grounds stated in the papers upon the table, and whether ministers had done their utmost to avert that calamity. To both these he gave a decided negative; and before he adverted to the grounds stated in the papers, he should say something as to the real cause of the war, as he conceived it would at length appear to be, if war were undertaken. This was no less than the total overthrow of the new system of government existing in France: for no other reason could ministers have refused to acknowledge the republic. They had admitted of non-official communications: this was an acknowledgment of the power residing in those persons with whom they thus communicated; but they refused to acknowledge the right of those persons to the exercise of the power with which they were invested. This was securing the possibility of joining with the combined powers, whenever a convenient opportunity might offer, for the overthrow of the new system. He deprecated such an attempt as contrary to the rights of nations. No country had a right to interfere with the internal arrangements adopted by another. The national will was supreme in every country, and that alone could constitute, alter, or modify forms of government. Could any man doubt that the nation willed a republic in France? If we attempted to interfere with the disposition of the national will, let us recollect upon what grounds the title of the king of England stood,—upon the will of the nation; and one of the most despotic sovereigns in Europe, the empress of Russia, owed her elevation to the supposed expression of the national will, at the revolution in 1763. She possessed the throne upon no other footing: and what form of government ever any nation willed for itself, such it had the right to adopt. He now came to the first stated ground of complaint of this country against France,—the decree of November the nineteenth; which decree he did not in itself defend; but he contended that the explanation which the French had been disposed to give of that decree, was such as to take away all well grounded apprehensions of any injury done to this country, and certainly would not justify us in going to war. The next object stated was the aggrandisement of France, which was likely to endanger the balance of Europe. Upon the subject of the balance of Europe, which now appeared to be a matter of such signal importance, he begged to call the attention of the house, and to the general conduct of his majesty’s ministers in their endeavours to maintain that balance. At the time the despotic powers had formed a combination against France, which it was not conceivable that she could resist—when it appeared that the country was to be overrun, and to become an easy prey to the duke of Brunswick, no apprehensions were entertained on account of the balance of power: the

some supineness had been visible when the empress of Russia in the course of the last summer, had taken possession of Poland : but now that the French were victorious, and had defeated their enemies, combined to crush them, the balance of power was in danger ! But the aggrandisement of France was dangerous as connected with the principles she propagated : he begged to know whether this apprehension was not equally well founded, when applied to the case of Russia ! he conceived the principles of despotism propagated by the sword of the one, as dangerous to the general security of Europe, as the licentiousness propagated by the sword of the other. With regard to the request urged by the British government, that the French should withdraw their troops within their own territory, in order to pave the way to any negotiation with us, he thought such a demand the height of insolence. France had been attacked ; she had successfully repelled that attack, and gained possession of the territory of her adversary, and had a right to maintain that possession, at least till the conclusion of the war, to enable her to make advantageous terms for herself. We had forced her to an anticipation of her designs on the subject of Brabant. She had declared her intentions not to add the low countries to her own territories ; but to suffer the Belgians to erect themselves into an independent sovereignty. A hard necessity, indeed, he should conceive it for Great Britain, to be forced to go to war, to maintain to the Dutch the exclusive navigation of the Scheld ; but he had never said that he was against supporting the faith of treaties, where the *casus fœderis* was clearly defined. But was it, in this instance, a new and unexercised right of nature for which it was contended ? certainly not. Antwerp was a monument of the exercise of that right by her inhabitants ; and he was free to say, that it would give him joy to see the commerce of that once flourishing city restored ; for the exclusive navigation of the Scheld had been ' established by force, and consented to by weakness.' But a necessary preliminary to these investigations, would have been some precise requisition of the Dutch for the stipulated assistance of her ally. The chancellor of the exchequer had avowed that no such demand had been made ; and if the house were to judge of the dispositions of the States-general by their own declarations, he believed it would be found that they did not think it worth their while to go to war for the maintenance of this right. He alluded to the proclamation for a general fast put forth by the States-general on January the tenth, in which they declare that they are then at peace, and that the strict neutrality they observed had hitherto protected them from aggression. A manifest token that they did not consider the free navigation of the Scheld, as asserted by the French, a reason for going to war. If then we did go to war on that ground, we should force our allies into it, and not ourselves be involved in it by the terms of our alliance." Whitbread said, "that having gone through the matter contained in the papers, as far as they related to the probability of war, he could find no justification of the conduct of administration. He thought the maintenance of peace, consistently with the dignity, honour, and interests of this country, was perfectly in the power of ministers ; but their conduct and words denoted war."

Fox said, "that although some words had fallen from the right honourable gentleman (Pitt), which might lead him to think, that war was not absolutely determined upon, yet the general tenor and impression of his speech was such as to induce him to enter somewhat at large into the subject. The crimes, the murders, and the massacres, that had been committed in France, he did not view with less horror, he did not consider as less atrocious than those who made them the perpetual theme of their declamation, although he put them entirely out of the question in the present debate. The condemnation and execution of the king, he pronounced an act as disgraceful as any that history recorded ; and whatever opinion he might at any time have expressed in private conversation, he had expressed none certainly in that house, on the justice of bringing kings to trial, revenge being unjustifiable, and punishment useless, where it could not operate either by way of prevention or example. He saw neither propriety nor wisdom in that house, passing judgment on any act committed

in another nation, which had no direct reference to us. The general maxim of policy always was, that the crimes perpetrated in one independent state were not cognizable by another. Need he remind the house of our former conduct in this respect ! Had we not treated, had we not formed alliances with Portugal and with Spain, at the very time when these kingdoms were disgraced and polluted by the most shocking and barbarous acts of superstition and cruelty, of racks, torture, and burning, under the abominable tyranny of the inquisition ! Did we ever make these outrages against reason and humanity a pretext for war ! Did we ever inquire how the princes with whom we had relative interests either obtained or exercised their power ! Why then were the enormities of the French in their own country held up as a cause of war ! Much of these enormities had been attributed to the attack of the combined powers ; but this he neither considered as an excuse, nor would argue as a palliation. If they had dreaded, or had felt an attack, to retaliate on their fellow-citizens, however much suspected, was a proceeding which justice disclaimed ; and he had flattered himself, that when men were disclaiming old, and professing to adopt new principles, those of persecution and revenge would be the first that they would discard. He should now show, that all the topics to which Pitt had adverted, were introduced into the debate to blind the judgment, by rousing the passions, and were none of them the just grounds of war. These grounds were three : the danger of Holland ; the decrees of the French convention of November the nineteenth, and the general danger to Europe, from the progress of the French arms. With respect to Holland, the conduct of ministers afforded a fresh proof of their disingenuousness. They could not state, that the Dutch had called upon us to fulfil the terms of our alliance. They were obliged to confess, that no such requisition had been made ; but added, that they knew the Dutch were very much disposed to make it. Whatever might be the words of the treaty, we were bound in honour, by virtue of that treaty, to protect the Dutch, if they called upon us to do so, but neither by honour nor the treaty till then. The conduct of the Dutch was very unfortunate upon this occasion. In the order for a general fast by the states, it was expressly said, 'That their neutrality seemed to put them into security amidst surrounding armies, and hitherto effectually protected them from molestation.' This he by no means construed into giving up the opening of the Scheld on their part ; but it pretty clearly showed, that they were not disposed to make it the cause of a war, unless forced to do so by us. But France had broke faith with the Dutch as this cause for us to go to war ! How long was it since we considered a circumstance tending to diminish the good understanding between France and Holland, as a misfortune to this country ! The plain state of the matter was, that we were bound to save Holland from war, or by war if called upon ; and that to force the Dutch into a war at so much peril to them, which they saw and dreaded, was not to fulfil, but to abuse the treaty. Hence he complained of the disingenuous conduct of ministers, in imputing that to the Dutch, which the Dutch wished to avoid. The decree of the nineteenth of November, he considered as an insult ; and the explanation of the executive council as no adequate satisfaction ; but the explanation showed that the French were not disposed to insist upon that decree, and that they were inclined to peace, and then our ministers, with haughtiness unexampled, told them they had insulted us, but refused to tell them the nature of the satisfaction that we required. It was said, we must have security ; and he was ready to admit that neither a disavowal by the executive council of France, nor a tacit repeal by the convention, on the intimation of an unacknowledged agent, of a decree, which they might renew the day after they repealed it, would be a sufficient security. But at least we ought to tell them what we meant by security, for it was the extreme of arrogance to complain of insult without deigning to explain what reparation we required ; and he feared an indefinite term was here employed, not for the purpose of obtaining, but of precluding satisfaction. Next it was said, they must withdraw their troops from the Austrian Netherlands, before we could be satisfied. Were we then come to that pitch of insolence, as to say to France, ' You have conquered part of an

enemy's territory, who made war upon you, we will not interfere to make peace, but we require you to abandon the advantages you have gained, while he is preparing to attack you anew.' Was this the neutrality we meant to hold out to France? 'If you are invaded and beaten, we will be quiet spectators; but if you hurt your enemy, if you enter his territory, we declare war against you.' If the invasion of the Netherlands was what now alarmed us, and that it ought to alarm us if the result was to make the country an appendage to France, there could be no doubt we ought to have interposed to prevent it in the very first instance; for it was the natural consequence which every man foresaw of a war between France and Austria. The French now said, they would evacuate the country at the conclusion of the war, and when its liberties were established. Was this sufficient? By no means: but we ought to tell what we would deem sufficient, instead of saying to them, as we were now saying, 'this is an aggravation, this is nothing, and this is insufficient.' That war was unjust which told not an enemy the ground of provocation, and the measure of atonement; it was as impolitic as unjust; for without the object of contest, clearly and definitely stated, what opening could there be for treating of peace? Before going to war with France, surely the people, who must pay and suffer, ought to be informed on what object they were to fix their hopes for its honourable termination. After five or six years' war, the French might agree to evacuate the Netherlands as the price of peace; was it clear that they would not do so now, if we would condescend to propose it in intelligible terms? Surely in such an alternative, the experiment was worth trying; but then we had no security against the French principles.—What security would they be able to give us, after a war which they could not give now? With respect to the general danger of Europe, the same arguments applied, and to the same extent. To the general situation and security of Europe, we had been so scandalously inattentive; we had seen the entire conquest of Poland, and the invasion of France, with such marked indifference, that it would be difficult now to take it up with the grace of sincerity; but even this would be better provided for, by proposing terms before going to war. He had thus shown that none of the professed causes were grounds for going to war. What then remained but the internal government of France, always disavowed, but ever kept in mind, and constantly mentioned? The destruction of that government was the avowed object of the combined powers whom it was hoped we were to join; and we could not join them heartily if our object were one thing while theirs was another: for in that case the Treaty whose object was first obtained might naturally be expected to make separate terms, and there could be no cordiality nor confidence. To this then we came at last, that we were ashamed to own engaging to aid the restoration of despotism, and collusively sought pretexts in the Scheld and the Netherlands. Such would be the real cause of the war, if war we were to have—a war, which he trusted he should soon see as generally execrated as it was now thought to be popular. In all decisions on peace or war, it was important to consider what we might lose, and what we could gain. On the one hand, extension of territory was neither expected nor eligible. On the other, although he feared not the threat of the French marine minister, would any man say that our ally might not suffer; that the events of war might not produce a change in the internal state of Holland, and in the situation of the stadtholder, too afflicting for him to anticipate. In weighing the probable danger, every consideration ought to be put into the scale. Was the state of Ireland such as to make war desirable? That was a subject which had been asked by some honourable gentleman to be too delicate to be touched upon; but he approved not of that delicacy which taught men to shut their eyes to danger. The state of Ireland he was not afraid to mention. He thought it both promising and alarming; promising, because the government of this country had forced the government of that to an acknowledgment of the undoubted rights of a great majority of the people of Ireland, after having, in a former session, treated their humble petition with contempt, and in the summer endeavoured to stir up the protestants against the catholics; alarming, because the gross misconduct

of administration had brought the government and the legislature into contempt in the eyes of the people. If there were any danger from French principles, to go to war without necessity was to fight for their propagation. On these principles, as reprobated in the proposed address, he would freely give his opinion. It was not the principles that were bad and to be reprobated, but the abuse of them. From the abuse, not the principles, had flowed all the evils that afflicted France. The use of the word equality by the French was deemed highly objectionable. When taken as they meant it nothing was more innocent; for what did they say, 'all men are equal in respect of their rights.' To this he assented; all men had equal rights; equal rights to unequal things; one man to a shilling, another to a thousand pounds; one man to a cottage another to a palace; but the right in both was the same; an equal right of enjoying, an equal right of inheriting or acquiring; and of possessing inheritance or acquisition.—The effect of the proposed address was to condemn, not the abuse of those principles, (and the French had much abused them,) but the principles themselves. To this he could not assent, for they were the principles on which all just and equitable government was founded. He had already differed sufficiently with a right honourable gentleman (Burke) on this subject, not to wish to provoke any fresh difference; but even against so great an authority he must say, that the people are the sovereigns in every state; that they have a right to change the form of their government, and a right to cashier their governors for misconduct, as the people of this country cashiered James II. not by parliament, or any regular form known to the constitution, but by a convention speaking the sense of the people; that convention produced a parliament and a king. They elected William to a vacant throne, not only setting aside James, whom they had justly cashiered for misconduct, but his innocent son. Again they elected the house of Brunswick, not individually, but by dynasty; and that dynasty to continue while the terms and conditions on which it was elected are fulfilled, and no longer. He could not admit the right of doing all this but by acknowledging the sovereignty of the people as paramount to all other laws. But it was said, that although we had once exercised this power, we had in the very act of exercising it, renounced it for ever.—We had neither renounced it, nor, if we had been so disposed, was such a renunciation in our power. We elected first an individual, then a dynasty, and lastly, passed an act of parliament in the reign of queen Anne, declaring it to be the right of the people of this realm to do so again without even assigning a reason. There were persons among us who doubted the superior wisdom of our monarchical form of government, their error was owing to those who changed its strong and irrefragable foundation in the right and choice of the people, to a more slimy ground of title. Those who proposed repelling opinions by force, the example of the French in the Netherlands might teach the impotence of power to repel or introduce. But how was a war to operate in keeping opinions supposed dangerous out of this country? It was not surely meant to beat the French out of their own opinions; and opinions were not like commodities, the importation of which from France war would prevent.—War, it was to be lamented, was a passion inherent in the nature of man; and it was curious to observe what at various periods had been the various pretexts. In ancient times wars were made for conquest. To these succeeded wars for religion; and the opinions of Luther and Calvin were attacked with all the fury of superstition and of power. The next pretext was commerce; and it would probably be allowed that no nation that made war for commerce ever found the object accomplished, on concluding peace. Now we were to make war about opinions; what was this but recurring again to an exploded cause; for a war about principles in religion was as much a war about opinions, as a war about principles in politics. The justifiable grounds of war were insult, injury, or danger. For the first, satisfaction; for the second, reparation; for the third, security was the object. Each of these, too, was the proper object of negotiation, which ought ever to precede war, except in case of an attack actually commenced. How had we negotiated? Not in any public or sufficient form, a mode which he sus

pected, and lamented, by his proposing it had been prevented. When the triple league was formed to check the ambition of Louis the fourteenth, the contracting parties did not deal so rigorously by him, as we were now told it was essential to the peace of Europe that we should deal by the French. They never told Louis that he must renounce all his conquests, in order to obtain peace. But then it was said to be our duty to hate the French for the part they took in the American war. He had heard of a duty to love, but a duty to hate was new to him. That duty, however, ought to direct our hatred to the old government of France, not to the new, which had no hand in the provocation. Unfortunately the new French government was admitted to be the successor of the old in nothing but its faults and its offences. It was a successor to be hated and to war against; but it was not a successor to be negotiated with. He feared, however, that war would be the result, and from war apprehending greater evils than he durst name, he should have shrunk from his duty if he had not endeavoured to obtain an exposition of the distinct causes: of all wars he dreaded that the most which had no definite object, because of such a war it was impossible to see the end. Our war with America had a definite object, an unjust one indeed, but still definite; and after wading through years on years of expense and blood, after exhausting invectives and terms of contempt on the vagrant congress, one Adams, one Washington, &c. &c. we were compelled at last to treat with this very congress, and those very men. The Americans, to the honour of their character, committed no such horrid acts as had disgraced the French; but we were as liberal of our obloquy to the former then, as to the latter now. If we did but know for what we were to fight, we might look forward with confidence, and exert ourselves with unanimity; but while kept thus in the dark, how many might there be who would believe that we were fighting the battles of despotism. To undeceive those who might fall into this unhappy delusion, it would be no derogation from the dignity of office to grant an explanation. If the right honourable gentleman (Pitt) would but yet consider—if he would but save the country from a war—above all, a war of opinion, however inconsistent with his former declarations his measures might be, he would gladly consent to give him a general indemnity for the whole, and even a vote of thanks. Let not the fatal opinion go abroad that kings had an interest different from that of their subjects;

that between those who had property and those who had none there was not a common cause and common feeling." The question being put on the motion, the address was carried without a division.

THE FRENCH DECLARE WAR AGAINST BRITAIN AND HOLLAND.

THESE debates are perhaps sufficient to convince the most incredulous that the British ministry were determined on war—that they were more solicitous to colour the pretext for hostilities against France, than to obtain satisfaction for the acts of aggression complained of, as appears from the tenor of their proceedings. If in support of these charges any additional proof is wanting, we shall find it amply supplied by a letter from Lord Auckland, the English ambassador at the Hague, dated January the twenty-fifth, 1793, and presented to the states-general immediately on the departure of Chauvillon. In this letter, his lordship affirms to their high mightinesses, in language which sets all ideas of decency and decorum at defiance, that "not four years ago some wretches, assuming the title of philosophers, had the presumption to think themselves capable of establishing a new system of civil society. In order to realize that dream of their vanity, they found it necessary to overthrow and destroy all received notions of subordination, manners, and religion, which have hitherto formed all the security, happiness, and consolation of the human race. Their destructive projects have but too well succeeded. But the effects of the new system which they endeavoured to introduce served only to show the imbecility and *folly* of its authors. The events which so rapidly followed each other since that epoch, surpass in atrocity all which had ever polluted the pages of history. Property, liberty, security, even life itself, have been deemed playthings in the hands of *tyrannous* men, who are the slaves of the most licentious passions of rapine, enmity and ambition." From the conduct of the English government at home, and the very high language and sentiments conveyed through their diplomatic organs abroad, the French now saw that every hope of peace was vanished. The convention therefore came to a resolution of anticipating the designs of the English and the Dutch, and, by a decree unanimously passed on the first of February, 1793, declared the republic of France at war with the king of Great Britain, and the stadtholder of Holland.

CHAPTER XXV.

Motion to ascertain the precise grounds of War—Motion for Peace—Barracks—Motion for an Inquiry respecting Sedition—Message on German Auxiliaries—Ways and Means—Traitorous Correspondence Bill—The French propose to treat for Peace, but receive no Reply—Subsidy to Sardinia—Numerous Bankruptcies, and Aid given for relief of Commerce—Motions of Censure on Lord Auckland—Proceedings of British Parliament—Hastings's Trial—Parliament Prorogued—Proceedings of Irish Parliament—Military Transactions on the Continent—Capture of Pondicherry and Tobago—Insurrection of the Royalists in Brittany and Poitou—The French Convention declares War against Spain—Proceedings of the two leading Parties in France—Death of Marat.

FOX'S MOTION TO ASCERTAIN THE PRECISE GROUNDS OF WAR—MOTION FOR PEACE—BARRACKS, &c.

A S the prevailing opinion of the British public appeared to be for war, but chiefly because the friends of peace feared to be deemed abettors of revolutionary principles, Fox, on the eighteenth of February, moved a series of resolutions, stating that war with France, on the grounds alleged, was neither for the honour or the interest of this country; that ministers, in their late negotiations with the French government, had not taken the proper means for procuring an amicable redress of the grievances complained of; and that it was their duty to advise his majesty against entering into engagements which might prevent a separate peace. He alleged that his object in making these motions was to procure a declaration of the precise grounds of the war, he being persuaded, that the real objects of our ministers in going to war were those which they disclaimed; and that those which they avowed were only pretexts. But the resolutions so proposed, and a motion by Grey for an address to his majesty, expressing the opinion that the differences between this country and France might have been adjusted by negotiation, and requesting his majesty to embrace the first opportunity of restoring peace;—and also a motion by Taylor, in the same month, "that it is the opinion of this house that the uniform and persevering opposition of our ancestors, from time to time, to the erecting barracks in this country, was founded upon a just sense of the true principles of our most excellent constitution; and that the soldiers should live intermixed with the people, in order that they might be connected with them; and that no separate camp, no barracks, no inland fortresses, should be allowed;"—with a motion by Sheridan, on the fourth of March, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the seditious practices referred to in his majesty's speech, were successively rejected or negatived: so decided a preponderance had the advocates for a war, the course and issue of which it was in vain to conjecture.

GERMAN AUXILIARIES—WAYS AND MEANS—TRAITOROUS CORRESPONDENCE BILL.

A Message from the king was presented to parliament, on the sixth of March, stating that he had engaged a body of his electoral troops in the service of Great Britain, for the purpose of assisting his allies, the States-general, and that he had directed an estimate of the charge to be laid before the house. In a committee of supply, on the eleventh, Pitt brought forward his budget for the current year, estimating the total of the expenses at eleven million one hundred and eighty-two thousand

two hundred and thirteen pounds, and of the ways and means at eight million two hundred and ninety-nine thousand six hundred and ninety-six pounds. The deficiency he proposed to raise by loan, and to defray the interest by making permanent the temporary taxes imposed upon occasion of the Spanish armament. He made some remarks which show how little he then contemplated the excessive increase of the national debt, and of the taxation consequent thereon, which has since taken place. "I do not think it useless," said he, "to suggest some observations with respect to this war in which we are engaged." He said, that the excess of the permanent revenue was then nine hundred thousand pounds above the peace establishment; which, even if destroyed by war, would leave the country in possession of all its ordinary revenue. This nine hundred thousand pounds he was desirous to leave as a security against those contingencies to which war is liable. The sum borrowed was four million five hundred thousand pounds; and the terms were, that for every seventy-two pounds advanced to the public, the lender should be entitled to one hundred pounds stock, bearing three per cent. He said, that he expected to have made better terms for the loan, but he had not received two offers on the occasion. Among other resources, the sum of six hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds was agreed to be raised by lottery, but several regulations were laid down to diminish the practice of insurance—a species of gambling upon chances which had been very injurious to the lower classes.

On the fifteenth of March, the attorney-general, Sir John Scott, introduced a bill denominated the "Traitorous Correspondence Bill," by which it was declared to be high treason to supply the existing government of France with military stores, to purchase lands of inheritance in France, to invest money in any of the French funds, to underwrite insurances upon ships and goods bound from France to any part of the world, or to go from this country to France, without a licence under the privy seal. It likewise prohibited the return of such British subjects as were already there, unless on giving security to the government. This bill met with much opposition, and several of its more obnoxious clauses were modified in the course of its progress. In the lords it received several modifications, which were agreed to by the commons, and the bill passed into a law.

FRENCH PROPOSE TO TREAT FOR PEACE—SUBSIDY TO SARDINIA—BANKRUPTCIES—AID TO COMMERCE—CENSURE ON LORD AUCKLAND.

EARLY in April, le Brun, minister of foreign affairs in France, addressed a letter to lord Grenville, stating that the French republic was desirous to

terminate all its differences with Great Britain, and to end a war dreadful to humanity, and requesting a passport for a person vested with full powers for that purpose to the court of London, and he named Maret as the proposed plenipotentiary of France; but the British government did not take any notice of the application; and about this time a treaty was concluded with the king of Sardinia, by which England bound herself to furnish to his Sardinian majesty a subsidy of two hundred thousand pounds per annum, to be paid three months in advance, and not to conclude a peace with the enemy, without comprehending in it the entire restitution of all the dominions belonging to this monarch at the time he engaged in the war.

The unusual number and extent of the bankruptcies which had occurred since the commencement of the war, having engaged the notice of the house of commons, a select committee was appointed to consider of a remedy for this evil, and they recommended an issue of exchequer bills, to the amount of five million pounds, to commissioners to be nominated for the purpose of lending the same in portions to such mercantile persons as were in temporary distress, upon proper security for the sums advanced, with interest—which operation speedily restored commercial credit.

On the twenty-fifth of April, Sheridan moved the house of commons to address his majesty, expressive of the displeasure of the house at the memorial lately presented by lord Auckland to the States General, and stating, that the minister who presented it had departed from the principles on which the house had concurred in the measures for the support of the war. Pitt maintained the right of Britain to repel the unjust attacks of France—to chastise and punish her—and to obtain indemnification for the past, and security for the future. The motion was rejected. Lord Stanhope made a similar motion in the house of peers; but lord Grenville moved an amendment, declaring that the memorial was conformable to the sentiments of his majesty, and consonant to those principles of justice and policy which it became the honour and dignity of the nation to express; which was carried without a division.

HASTINGS' TRIAL—PARLIAMENT PRO-ROGUED.

On the sixth of May Grey brought before the house the question of a reform in the representation. But though the debate occupied two days, the motion was negatived by 232 against 41, so decidedly averse to change was the temper of the house.

Dundas brought in a bill to renew the charter of the East India company for twenty years, which, with a bill to relieve the Roman catholics of Scotland from certain penalties and disabilities, imposed upon them by acts which incapacitated them from holding or transmitting landed property, were passed without opposition; and three thousand pounds per annum was voted for the establishment of a board of agriculture.

During the session the council for Hastings completed his defence on the three last articles, viz. Begunns, presents, and contracts; after which, Hastings addressed the court, praying that their lordships would order the trial to continue to its final conclusion during the present session; but the further proceedings were adjourned till the ensuing session.

On the twenty-first of June the parliament was prorogued by his majesty.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

The parliament of Ireland met on the tenth of January, and the earl of Westmoreland, the lord lieutenant, thus expressed himself:—"I have it in particular command from his majesty to recommend it to you to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures as may be the most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment, among all classes and descriptions of his majesty's catholic subjects, in support of the established constitution. With this view his majesty trusts that the situation of his catholic subjects will engage your serious attention, and in the consideration of this subject he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament." Early in

March the bill of relief was brought into the house of commons by secretary Hobart. Its chief enacting clause enabled the catholics to exercise and enjoy all civil and military offices, and places of trust or profit under the crown, and also the elective franchise, under certain restrictions, viz. that it should not be construed to extend to enable any Roman catholic to sit or vote in either house of parliament, or to fill the office of lord lieutenant or lord chancellor, or judge in either of the three courts of record or admiralty, or keeper of the privy-seal, secretary of state, lieutenant or custos rotulorum of counties, or privy-counsellor, or master in chancery, or a general on the staff, or sheriff or sub-sheriff of any county, &c. The bill passed with few dissentient voices; and, though it stopped short of full emancipation, it was supposed to be all that the executive government could, at that time, without too violent an exertion, effect; and upon this account it was received with gratitude and satisfaction. As a further concession to Ireland, a libel bill, similar to that of England, was passed; the power of the crown to grant pensions on the Irish establishment was limited to the sum of eighty thousand pounds; and certain descriptions of place-men and pensioners were excluded from the privilege of sitting in the house of commons. Also, the king declared his acceptance of a limited sum, fixed at two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds for the expenses of his civil list, in lieu of the hereditary revenues of the crown. Alien and traitorous correspondence bills, analogous to those of England, were likewise passed; as was a bill "to prevent the election or appointment of assemblies, purporting to represent the people, or any description or number of the people, under pretence of preparing or presenting petitions, &c. to the king, or either house of parliament, for alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alleged grievances in church or state."

MILITARY EVENTS ON THE CONTINENT—PONDICHERY AND TOBAGO TAKEN.

MILITARY operations upon an extensive scale were carried on in Brabant and Holland, during the winter of 1792, and the early part of the ensuing spring, in which the French army at first acted offensively under Dumouriez, general Miranda, and others; but the allies under Clairfait, the archduke Charles, and the prince of Saxe Cobourg, gained several signal advantages, which compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Maastricht, and retire precipitately to Antwerp. On the eighteenth of March a general engagement took place on the plains of Neerwinden, which continued from morning till evening, when the French were totally routed, with considerable loss; and, on the twenty-first, general Dumouriez was posted near Louvain. Here a suspension of hostilities took place, and the French army were allowed to march back to their own frontier, without molestation, on condition of evacuating Brussels, and all the other towns of Brabant, &c. in their possession.

On the twenty-seventh of March general Dumouriez held a conference with colonel Mack, an Austrian officer, to whom he intimated his design of marching against Paris, with a view of re-establishing the constitutional monarchy of 1791; and it was agreed that the Imperialists should concur in the accomplishment of this plan; not advancing, except in case of necessity, beyond the frontier of France. The designs of Dumouriez were, however, suspected at Paris, and three commissioners from the executive power were despatched to Flanders, under the pretence of conferring with the general concerning the affairs of Belgium. In this interview Dumouriez expressed himself with great violence against the Jacobins. "They would ruin France," said he; "but I will save it, though they should call me a Cæsar, a Cromwell, or a Monk." He styled the convention a horde of ruffians; and declared that this assembly would not exist three weeks longer; that France must have a king; adding that, since the battle of Gemappes, he had wept over his success in so bad a cause. On the return of the commissioners to Paris, Dumouriez was summoned to appear at the bar of the convention, and Bournonville was appointed to supersede him. Four new commissioners also were deputed to the army of the north, with powers to suspend and arrest all officers who should fall under their sus-

picious. On their arrival at Lisle, March the twenty-eighth, the commissioners transmitted their orders to general Dumouriez, to appear before them, and answer the charges against him: the general, however, answered, that, in the present circumstance, he could not leave the army for a moment; that, when he did enter Lisle, it would be in order to purge it of traitors; and that he valued his head too much to submit it to an arbitrary tribunal. The commissioners resolved to proceed to the camp. On the first of April they arrived, in company with Bournonville, at St. Amand, the head-quarters of Dumouriez, and explained to him the object of their mission. The general, finding them inflexible in their purpose, gave the signal for a body of soldiers, who were in waiting, and ordered Bournonville and the four commissioners, immediately to be conveyed to general Clairfait's head-quarters at Tournay, as hostages for the safety of the royal family of France.

On the morning of the third Dumouriez repaired to the camp of Maulde, and addressed the troops, amidst the murmurs of many of the battalions. On the next day he departed with his suite for Condé, which fortress, with Valenciennes, he had engaged to put into the hands of the Austrians; but on the road he received intelligence that it would not be safe for him to enter the place; and, in making his retreat, he fell in with a column of volunteer guards, who called to him to surrender; but, trusting to the swiftness of his horse, he escaped, with great difficulty, to the quarters of general Mack. His example was followed by general Lamorriere, the duke de Chartres, son of the duke of Orleans, and some hundreds of private soldiers. On the following day appeared a proclamation from general Dumouriez, containing a recapitulation of his services to the French republic, an animated picture of the outrages of the Jacobins, and of the mischiefs to be apprehended from a continuation of anarchy in France, concluding with an exhortation to the French to restore the constitution of 1791, and a declaration on oath that he bore arms only for that purpose. This proclamation was accompanied by a manifesto on the part of the prince of Cobourg, now commander-in-chief of the armies of Austria, announcing that the allied powers were no longer to be considered as principals, but merely as auxiliaries, in the war; that they had no other object than to co-operate with the general, in giving to France her constitutional king, and the constitution she formed for herself. By this time, however, Antwerp, Breda, and the other conquests of France on the Dutch frontier, were evacuated; and a considerable change had taken place in the aspect of affairs. On the eighth of April a council was held at Antwerp, at which were present the prince of Orange, accompanied by the grand pensionary, Vander Spiegel, the prince of Cobourg, counts Metternich, Stahrenberg, &c. also the Prussian, Spanish, and Neapolitan ambassadors. The whole plan of operations was now changed. About the same time a memorial was presented by lord Auckland to the States-general, in which his lordship stated, in allusion to the capture of the conventional commissioners, "That the divine vengeance seemed not to have been tardy. Some of these detestable regicides are now in such a situation, that they can be subjected to the sword of the law; the rest are still in the midst of a people whom they have plunged into an abyss of evils, and for whom famine, anarchy, and civil war, are about to prepare new calamities. Everything that we see happens induces us to consider as not far distant the end of these wretches, whose madness and atrocities have filled with terror and indignation all those who respect the principles of religion, morality, and humanity. The undersigned, therefore, submits to the enlightened judgment and wisdom of your high mightinesses, whether it would not be proper to employ all the means in your power to prohibit from entering your states in Europe, or your colonies, all those members of the pretended national convention, or of the pretended executive council, who have directly or indirectly participated in the said crime; and if they should be discovered and arrested, to deliver them up to justice, that they may serve as a lesson and example to mankind." To this memorial the Dutch government declined any reply.

General Dampierre, an officer distinguished by his conduct and valour, was now provisionally ap-

pointed to the chief command, and in a short time he was enabled to lead his troops with confidence into action. A variety of partial, though sharp and bloody engagements, took place between the two armies, in which no decisive advantage was gained.

On the eighth of May, general Dampierre advanced in person to dislodge a large body of the enemy, posted near the wood of Viséigne; but, exposing himself to the enemy's fire, his thigh was carried off by a cannon ball, and he died the following day. In this action the English troops were engaged in the field for the first time in this war, and behaved with intrepidity; but, by the inexperience of the duke of York, their commander, being ordered to the attack of a strong post in the wood, where they were exposed to the fire of some masked batteries, they suffered much. The siege of Valenciennes being contemplated, it was determined by the allies to attempt an attack upon the fortified camp of Farnars, which protected and covered that important fortress, Condé being already invested. At day-break, on the twenty-third of May, the British and Hanoverians under their royal commander, and the Austrians and German auxiliaries under the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait, made a joint assault upon the advanced posts of the French. The French were worsted, and in the course of the night they abandoned their camp, retreating towards Bonchalin and Cambray. This success enabled the allies to lay siege to Valenciennes. On the first of June general Custine arrived to take the command of the armies of the North and the Ardennes; but he was not able to render effectual relief to that fortress. The trenches were opened on the fourteenth of that month, and about the beginning of July, the besiegers had brought two hundred pieces of heavy artillery to play upon it. Mines and counter-mines innumerable were formed also in the course of this siege, both by the assailants and the garrison; and many fierce subterranean conflicts were carried on with various success. On the night of the twenty-fifth of July, however, those under the glacis and horn-work of the fortress were sprung on the part of the besiegers, with complete success, and the English and Austrians seized the favourable moment for attacking the covered way, of which they made themselves masters. On the next day the place surrendered, and the duke of York took possession of it, in behalf of the emperor of Germany. Nearly at the same time the garrison of Condé yielded themselves prisoners of war, after enduring all the rigours of famine; and Mentz submitted, after a long and resolute resistance, to the arms of Prussia.

On the eighth of August the French were driven from the strong position known by the name of Caesar's Camp, near the Scheldt; after which a council of war was held, wherein it was determined that the British, Hanoverians, Dutch and Hessians, should form a distinct army, not dependent upon the co-operation of the Austrians. This was strongly opposed by the prince of Cobourg and general Clairfait: the British army, however, conducted by the duke of York, immediately decamped, and on the eighteenth of August, arrived in the vicinity of Menin, where some severe contests took place, and the post of Lincolles, lost by the Dutch, was recovered at the point of the bayonet, with a signal display of spirit and intrepidity, by the English, though very inferior in force, led on by general Sir John Lake. His royal highness then moved towards Dunkirk, and opened trenches before that fortress on the twenty-fourth. Having entertained a secret correspondence with the governor, O'Moran, the duke flattered himself with obtaining speedy possession of the place: that officer, however, had been removed, and the duke lost so much time, from the delay in the arrival of the heavy artillery, and the want of the early co-operation of a naval force, that the French were enabled to make great preparations for the defence, before any progress had been made; and the duke found himself obliged to raise the siege, leaving behind him his battering cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition. On the other side, general Clairfait invested the town of Quessoy; and the prince of Cobourg, who commanded the covering army, having defeated a body of troops which had been sent to its relief, the place surrendered on the eleventh of September. The Austrians then laid siege to Maubeuge; but the French, under general Jourdan, attacked them in their trenches on the fifteenth of October, and, after sustaining a

great loss, forced them to raise the siege. Various incursions were afterwards made by the French into Maritime Blanders, but, unable to establish a footing there, they were compelled, once more, to retire within their own frontier. In the course of the year, Pondicherry, and all the French settlements in the east, were reduced by the British arms; and the island of Tobago, in the West Indies, besides some other possessions of less importance, were also taken from the enemy.

INSURRECTION OF ROYALISTS IN BRIT-TANY AND POITOU.

To effect the subversion of the republican government in France, it was proposed to excite, by a bold and simultaneous effort, the royalist party, who lay concealed in different parts of the country, but chiefly in the ancient provinces of Brittany and Poitou, now termed *Le Vendée* and *La Loire*. Notwithstanding the severe decrees of the convention, immense numbers of emigrants had secretly repaired thither in the winter of 1793, and the vicinity of these departments to the sea afforded every facility for receiving supplies of arms, ammunition, and money from Great Britain. The disturbances in these departments were at first considered by the convention, as arising from the dislike of the populace to the new mode which had been adopted for recruiting the army; but before the end of March the insurgents were formidable, and appeared to be organized by previous arrangement. They professed to act by the authority of Monsieur, the brother of the king, who had assumed the title of regent. On the twenty-third of March the convention was informed that the insurgents had made themselves masters of the districts of Cholet, Montaigne, and Clisson, and had defeated general Marce, who had been sent to quell them. The city of Nantes was besieged by them, and the number of royalists encamped before that city was estimated at not less than forty thousand. In the beginning of April, general Berruyer was appointed to command against the insurgents; but, notwithstanding all the exertions which the French revolutionary government could make, they had possessed themselves, before the end of April, of more than fifty leagues of the country, had defeated the republicans in two engagements, and taken a great number of prisoners, with an immense quantity of artillery and military stores.

THE CONVENTION DECLARES WAR WITH SPAIN—PARTIES IN FRANCE—DEATH OF MARAT.

On the seventh of March the convention passed a decree of war against his majesty the king of Spain, one cause of which was stated to be the seal of that court in behalf of Louis. Ever since the deposition of that ill-fated monarch, two powerful parties, the Gironde and the Mountain, had divided the convention. Brissot, Pétion, Vergniaux, and their associates, almost all distinguished by their talents, formed the party of the Gironde. Republicans in principle, they had contributed to weaken the constitutional throne, but they had taken no active part in its overthrow. The revolutionists of the tenth of August, Danton, Robespierre, Chabot, Barbaroux, Fabre d'Églantine, Gouillon, and Collot d'Herbois, assumed the name of the Mountain, and aspired to govern the republic that had been founded on the ruins of the throne. In the month of March the revolutionary tribunal was established, to take cognizance of all offences against the safety of the state, and to be fixed in Paris: the judges were to be chosen by the convention, and the jury from the commune of Paris: its sentences against persons absent were to have the same effect as if they were present, and from its decision there was no appeal. On the seventh of April a committee of public safety was instituted by the convention, invested with almost unlimited power—a power which was soon abused to the worst of purposes, and laid the foundation of a tyranny the most sanguinary and atrocious the world had ever witnessed. The defection of Dumouriez contributed in no small degree to the overthrow of the Gironde party, and the destruction of the members of the Bourbon family remaining in the power of the republicans. On the seventh of April it was decreed by the con-

vention that all the members of that family should be detained as hostages for the safety of the arrested deputies, and that such of them as were not already in the Temple should be removed to Marseilles: the ci-devant duke of Orleans, though a member of the convention, was included in this decree. A considerable part of the month of April was spent in discussing and digesting the declaration of rights, which was to serve as a preface to the new constitution. On the tenth of May the convention decreed the first article of the new constitution; viz. "the French republic is one and indivisible." In the mean time, the divisions which had so long subsisted between these two parties approached rapidly to open and avowed hostility. The Mountain party had secured the attachment of the populace of Paris, and the Jacobin club, of which Marat was president, had become devoted to this faction. Even the virtues of the Girondists tended to accelerate their ruin; their humane attempt to save the life of the devoted Louis being urged against them as an unpardonable crime, and as manifesting a culpable indifference to the cause of freedom. On the fifteenth of April a petition was presented by the communes of the forty-eight sections of Paris, at the bar of the convention, demanding that twenty-two of the deputies of the Gironde party should be impeached. This party, however, continued to have a preponderance in the convention; and Marat, a furious leader of the Mountain party, having put his signature to a paper of the most sanguinary tendency, was accused by the convention, and committed to the Abbey prison; but such was his influence over the people, whose passions were continually excited by his inflammatory publications, that in a few days he was acquitted by a jury, and returned to the hall of the convention in triumph. At length, on the morning of the thirty-first of May, the commotion every where visible throughout the capital denoted an approaching crisis: Henriot, the commander of the national guard, a man entirely devoted to Robespierre, incited, and taking the proper measures for the protection of the convention, was a party in the plot against it, and many of the representatives were alarmed for their own safety. After the tumult had continued a considerable time, a deputation from the revolutionary committees appeared at the bar, and demanded the immediate suppression of the commission of twelve, which had been nominated on purpose to restrain anarchy; a revolutionary army of sans-culottes; a decree of accusation against twenty-two Gironde deputies; and a diminution in the price of bread. They also insisted that certain deputies should be despatched to the south, to put a stop to the counter-revolution that prevailed there; and they at the same time suggested the arrest of Claviere, the minister of public contributions, and of Le Brun, the minister of foreign affairs; but the convention still refused to sacrifice the victims demanded by the conspirators. This, however, was the last effort; for, two days afterwards, the legislature, finding itself besieged and imprisoned in its own hall, was at length intimidated into compliance, and not only decreed the arrest of all the obnoxious deputies, thirty-six in number, but prescribed those who endeavoured to avoid death by flight. The vanquished party had wished for a republican form of government, founded on the immutable basis of virtue: the triumphant faction, on the contrary, conceding to popular opinions, still maintained all the forms of a commonwealth, but, under the veil of liberty, introduced the most terrible despotism; and, although they immediately drew up a new and seductive constitution, they contrived to suspend all its benefits.

These outrages against their deputies alarmed several departments. The city of Caen resolved not to acknowledge the convention, or receive any of its decrees, until the imprisoned members were restored to their functions. The departments of Calvados, the Rhone, and the Loire, also avowed their determination to disown the convention; and the first of these actually imprisoned three of the Jacobin deputies, who had been sent thither with a view of propagating their tenets, and supporting their cause. At this critical moment, too, a complete counter-revolution took place at Lyons: Marseilles was threatened with commotions; Toulon exhibited manifest symptoms of disaffection; and the cause of the Mountain for a moment appeared desperate. Several of the prescribed deputies, having escaped from their confinement, now sought

an asylum at Nantes, Rennes, Bourdeaux, Caen, and Evreux. Others, abandoning an assembly in which cruelty and injustice preponderated, fled from Paris and joined them, and a general insurrection of the provinces against the capital was immediately agreed upon. Many of the cities nominated commissioners for the purpose of concerting with the deputies from the districts, relative to the measures which the present critical state of affairs seemed to render necessary. Succours of men and of money were promised by all; and the archives of the capital of the Gironde, in which the most zealous of their partizans resided, are said to have contained decrees of adhesion and support on the part of seventy-two departments; but after the passions of the people had subsided, few could be prevailed upon to embark in so desperate a cause; and a civil war soon began to appear odious and impolitic.

Wimpffen, the gallant defender of Thionville, had been chosen as their leader, and De Puisaye was appointed adjutant-general. Conscious that the success of their plan depended chiefly on the celerity of their motions, the Girondists wished the troops to begin their march immediately, and even proposed to advance to the capital, where they knew that their friends were both numerous and formidable, at the head of the Britons and Normans alone; but the general, insisting on the advantages likely to ensue from a delay that would enable him to increase the number of their partisans, contented himself with dispersing proclamations; and, on being summoned to give an account of his conduct by the faction that had assumed the reins of government, he replied, that he would disclose his motives and intentions at the head of sixty thousand men.

On being pressed to advance directly to Paris, without waiting for the arrival of the departmental forces, Wimpffen at length marched towards Vernon, at the head of a small body of troops. The Jacobins, who had assembled some forces in that town, immediately sallied forth, and received them with a discharge of artillery. The whole of the insurgents betook themselves to flight, except a single battalion of four hundred men from Finisterre, which, on seeing itself abandoned, retired in good order to Evreux, where the fugitives at length ral-

lied. Wimpffen and De Puisaye concealed themselves; the proscribed representatives betook themselves to flight; some perished by the guillotine; others by fatigue and famine; while the victorious party stained their triumph by a series of cruelty, injustice, and bloodshed.

An insurrection broke out at Lyons, and a congress of the department was convoked at that city, in which it was resolved to march a force for the reduction of Paris; the Mountain party was declared to be outlawed; and the provisions destined for the armies were intercepted. The cities of Marseilles and Toulon followed the example of Lyons, and entered into that famous confederacy for dissolving the convention, which has since been distinguished by the name of Federalism. On the twelfth of July the Marseillois issued a manifesto to the French nation, in which they declared that the situation of Paris was equivalent to the declaration of war against the whole republic; and they urged the people to join their standard, and assist in reducing the faction which had usurped the powers of the republic. On the eighth of July the committee of public safety produced its report concerning the imprisoned deputies of the convention: it charged Brissot, Petion, and some others, with being the constant favourers of royalty; it alleged that they had conspired to place a new monarch on the throne, some of them in the person of Louis Capet, and others in that of the duke of York; Petion was accused of having signed the order, on the tenth of August, to fire on the people from the Thuilleries; and Roland was accused in general terms of persecuting the republicans. On these charges the convention declared those who had fled from the decree of arrest traitors to their country, and they were put out of the protection of the law. These outrageous proceedings, on the part of the Mountain junto, produced a reaction, which, in one memorable instance, was fatal to one of the most violent of these incendiaries. A female, of the name of Charlotte Cordé, enthusiastically attached to the Gironde party, proceeded from Caen, in Normandy, to assassinate Marat,—which she effected at the expense of her own life. Marat was proclaimed a martyr, and his death ordered to be lamented as an irreparable loss to the republic.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Reform Societies in Great Britain—Edinburgh Convention—Transportation of the Secretary and two Delegates—French Affairs—Trial and Execution of Queen Marie Antoinette—The Port and Fleet of Toulon surrender to the English—Evacuation of Toulon—French Calendar—Extraordinary Efforts to Recruit the French Armies—Operations on the Frontiers of France—Meeting of Parliament—Augmentation of the Army and Navy—Motion against the War—Message respecting Democratic Societies, and Suspension of the Habeas Corpus—State Trials—Foreign Troops landed in the Isle of Wight—Augmentation of the Forces—Voluntary Contributions in aid of the War—Enlistment of French Emigrants—Supply—M. de Fayette—Subsidy to Prussia—Prerogative of Parliament—Changes in the Ministry—Military Operations on the Continent—Corsica annexed to the British Crown—Lord Howe's Victory—Other Naval Achievements—Capture of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadeloupe—Loss of the latter—Acquisitions in St. Domingo.

REFORM SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN— EDINBURGH CONVENTION—SECRETARY AND TWO MEMBERS TRANSPORTED.

SOCIETIES for promoting a reform in the house of commons were, at this period, extremely active throughout the kingdom. In Scotland a party zealous for reform had projected what they termed a National Convention; and in October 1793, a meeting was held in Edinburgh, which was attended by delegates from the London Corresponding Society, and from other societies of the same description in different parts of England and Ireland. The London Corresponding Society restricted its delegates to the obtaining by lawful means, universal suffrage and annual parliaments; but it instructed them, at the same time, to enforce the duty of the people to resist any act of the legislature repugnant to the original principles of the constitution. The Edinburgh Convention foolishly adopted all the forms, names, and proceedings of the French Jacobin Clubs, with such difference and omissions only as their peculiar circumstances rendered necessary. The members hailed each other by the republican denomination of Citizen; they divided themselves into sections; appointed committees of organisation, of instruction, of finance, of secrecy, and of emergency; called their meetings sittings; granted honours of sittings; and dated their proceedings in the first year of the British Convention, one and indivisible. They, at first, assumed the distinctive appellation of the 'General Convention of the Friends of the People,' but they afterwards took the name of the 'British Convention of the Delegates of the People,' associated to obtain universal suffrage and annual parliaments; they adopted means for assembling the delegates, at any time when it should be deemed necessary for the societies to act, in consequence of any measures of precaution or coercion which the government might adopt; and they were fully prepared to carry their doctrine of resistance into effect. When they were thus emboldened, by their increased numbers, openly to avow their designs, the government thought it time to interrupt their proceedings. On the fifth and sixth of December the magistrates of Edinburgh repaired to two of the places of meeting, where they seized the papers, and took the secretary and some of the leading members into custody. Three of these were afterwards brought to trial, William Skirving, the secretary, and two of the delegates from the London Corresponding Society, Maurice Margarot, and Joseph Gerald, before the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland, and, being all found guilty, they were sentenced to be transported for fourteen years.

FRENCH AFFAIRS—TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE QUEEN.

THE mountain party were now become the sole rulers of France. This dreadful despotism was composed of two councils, one of which was denominated the 'Committee of Public Safety,' the other the 'Committee of General Safety.' The members ought to have been renewed every month; but the convention had intrusted these committees with the power of imprisoning and judging its members, and therefore no deputy was hardy enough to propose a renewal of these committees.

The prevailing faction now proceeded to atrocities of which no former despotism afforded an example: its object appeared to be the extermination of all that was great and valuable in society: it attempted to reduce the community to one level—to degrade, that it might the more severely tyrannise over, its victims: even moderation itself became a crime to be expiated only by death, and virtue received the reward due to atrocious crimes. If the father afforded any support to his exiled son, if the daughter wrote to her mother from her dungeon, the revolutionary tribunal doomed them to the scaffold. The external profession of the Christian religion was abolished by public decree, and an attempt was made to substitute for Christianity a sort of metaphysical paganism. Those ecclesiastics who had seats in the convention publicly abjured their creed, and were not ashamed to declare that they had hitherto deceived the world: the archbishop and clergy of Paris renounced the Christian religion, declaring that they owned no temple but the sanctuary of the laws, no God but Liberty, no gospel but the constitution: the revolutionary tribunal condemned, without distinction and without inquiry, all the victims whom the tyrants marked out for destruction: proscriptions daily increased, and France was filled with accusers, prisons, and executioners. The number of persons who perished, during this reign of terror, cannot be ascertained by any authentic documents; but the prisons were filled and emptied with a horrid rapidity, and the scaffolds flowed daily with blood. The most distinguished victim was the ill-fated queen Marie Antoinette. On the first of August she was suddenly removed to the prison of the Conciergerie, where she was treated as the meanest criminal; and, on the fifteenth of October, she appeared before the tribunal to take her trial, or, to speak more correctly, to hear her doom pronounced. The act of accusation consisted of several charges, the principal of which stated that she had directed her views to a counter-revolution. One of the most singular of them was, that, in conjunction with the Girondin faction, she induced the king and the assembly to declare war against Austria, contrary to every

principle of sound policy and the public welfare ; but the last charge was the most infamous, and the most incredible, viz. that, like Agrippina, she had held an incestuous commerce with her own son. The unfortunate Marie Antoinette heard the accusation with calmness, and, as she continued silent, the president called upon her for a reply, when with great dignity she answered, " I held my peace, because Nature forbids a mother to reply to such a charge ; but since I am compelled to it, I appeal to all the mothers who hear me whether it be possible." Not one of the charges was proved ; but, after consulting for about an hour, the jury found her guilty of the whole. With an unchanged countenance she heard the sentence of death pronounced, and left the hall without uttering a single word—without addressing herself either to her judges or the audience. On the succeeding day, the 16th, at about eleven o'clock, she was taken to execution in the same manner as the other victims of this dreadful tribunal : she ascended the scaffold with a firm and unhesitating step, and her behaviour at the awful moment of dissolution was decent and composed. Her body was interred like that of her husband, in a grave filled with quick-lime.

PORT AND FLEET OF TOULON SURRENDER TO THE BRITISH.

THE people of Toulon, and the French vice-admiral Trugoff, entered into a negotiation with the British admiral, lord Hood, who then commanded in the Mediterranean, for the delivery of the port and fleet into the hands of the English, in trust for Louis the seventeenth—a negotiation was completed, and on the twenty-third of August a body of men were landed from the English fleet, who immediately took possession of Fort Malgue, by means of a detachment under captain Elphinstone, as well as of the batteries at the mouth of the harbour. The French ships were warped into the inner road, as stipulated ; and, the Spanish admiral having joined the British, the combined squadrons anchored in the outer road ; after which one thousand Spaniards were sent on shore to augment the English garrison ; rear-admiral Goodall was declared governor, and rear-admiral Gravina commandant of the troops. The condition on which this valuable arsenal was put into the hands of a British admiral was, that it was only to be considered as a deposit to be preserved for the use of the French king, Louis the seventeenth, the inhabitants of Toulon declaring their intention of rejecting the constitution proposed by the convention, and of adhering to that decreed by the constituent assembly of 1790. It was further stipulated, that, when peace should be re-established in France, the ships and forts which should be put into the hands of the English, should be restored to the French nation in the same state as when they were delivered. The English immediately placed Toulon in a state of defence : the adjacent hills were crowned with redoubts ; a new fort was constructed at Malbouquet ; encampments were formed at St. Roch, at Equilates, and at Balaguier, the last of which was termed Little Gibraltar by the French. A detachment from the Spanish army in the Roussillon, two thousand Sicilian troops, under brigadier-general Pignatelli, and a detachment from the army of the king of Sardinia, were sent to reinforce the garrison.

TOULON EVACUATED.

IN November, General Dagobert was appointed commander-in-chief of the besieging army ; and Napoleon Buonaparte, a native of Corsica, then a subaltern in the artillery, by his able conduct in the siege, laid the foundation of that military fame and power, which afterwards intimidated and oppressed the greater part of continental Europe. About this period, Moutonnet-general O'Hara arrived at Toulon, as governor and commander-in-chief. He determined to destroy the new works, termed the Convention Battery, and to bring off the artillery ; and accordingly sent a detachment under the command of major-general David Dundas, who, notwithstanding considerable difficulties, surprised the redoubt, and fully effected all the objects of the sally ; but the troops, flushed with victory, rushed forward, and descended the hill after the enemy, but were obliged in their turn to retire with precipitation. General O'Hara, on this occasion, receiv-

ed a wound in the arm, and was taken prisoner with several other officers, who fell into the hands of the enemy—whose force amounted to nearly forty thousand men. On the other hand, the allied troops, composed of five different nations and languages, never exceeded twelve thousand rank and file. With these, now greatly diminished by death and disease, a circumference of fifteen miles, for the defence of the town and harbour, was to be occupied and defended by means of eight principal and several intermediate posts, which alone required nearly nine thousand men. The French opened two new batteries on Fort Mulgrave, and stormed the fortification by that side which was defended by the Spaniards. Another attack took place on all the posts of Mount Faron, that overlooks Toulon, which they occupied.

As the enemy now commanded the town, as well as some of the ships, by their shot and shells, it became necessary that a retreat should take place as speedily as possible. Lord Hood accordingly gave orders for the boats of the fleet to assemble by eleven o'clock near Fort Malgue for that purpose. He had also settled a plan for destroying all the French men of war and the arsenal. That service was entrusted to Sir Sidney Smith, who, on entering the dock-yard, found that the artificers had already substituted the three-coloured cockade for the white one, and that about six-hundred galley slaves, who had broken their fetters, would have made a determined resistance, had he not pointed the guns of two vessels, to keep them in awe. After this he set fire to ten ships of the line, to the arsenal, to the mast-house, to the great storehouse, and other buildings ; but the calmness of the evening prevented much of the effect expected from the conflagration. In the mean time, the Spaniards, instead of scuttling and sinking, set fire to the powder-ships, and they, as well as the English, were foiled in the attempt of cutting the boom, and destroying the men of war in the basin, in consequence of repeated volleys of musketry from the flag-ship and the wall of the royal battery : the Hero and Themistocles were, however, set on fire, and the party left for this purpose, after a most desperate service, effected their retreat. By daylight next morning all the British, Spanish, and Sicilian ships, crowded with the unfortunate inhabitants, were out of the reach of the enemy's vengeance. Admiral Trugoff, on board the Commerce de Marseilles, with the Puisseant and Pompée, two other ships of the line, and the Pearl, Arethusa, and Topaze frigates, with several corvettes, joined the English fleet, with which lord Hood proceeded to Hieres Bay, and there he landed the men, women, and children. Of thirty-one ships of the line which the English found at Toulon, thirteen were left behind, nine were burnt there, one at Leghorn, and four lord Hood had previously sent away to the French ports of Brest and Rochfort, with five thousand republican seamen. Britain therefore obtained only three ships of the line and five frigates, which were all that the admiral was able to take off.

Thus Toulon was restored to France. Here, as well as at Marseilles and Lyons, the most cruel punishments were inflicted on the royalists ; and the conquerors sullied their victory by a terrible and indiscriminate carnage : workmen were actually invited from all the neighbouring departments to destroy the principal houses—the population became visibly decreased by the daily butchery that took place—the name of *Port de la Montagne* was substituted for that of Toulon, and a grand festival decreed in honour of the French army.

FRENCH CALENDAR—EXTRAORDINARY EFFORTS TO RECRUIT THE ARMIES—OPERATIONS ON THE FRONTIERS.

THE faction in power at this period, being desirous of effecting the abolition of Christian observances, the convention decreed a new calendar, by which the year was divided into twelve months, of thirty days each, with five intercalary days, which were dedicated to national festivities : each month was divided into decades, and the day of rest was appointed for every tenth day, instead of every seventh.

All Frenchmen were now declared, by a solemn decree of the convention, to be at the service of their country, until its enemies should be chased

from the territories of the republic. To supply the wants of the immense armies now about to be collected from all quarters, measures of a new and extraordinary kind were adopted. Assignats were not only fabricated and expended in immense quantities, but when this resource began to fail, revolutionary taxes were imposed. The system of requisition was at length resorted to, and all the necessities of life appertaining to citizens in easy circumstances were seized upon in the name of the republic, and for the support of its troops; while the great cities were crowded with manufactures of saltpetre, the towns were converted into foundries, and the ancient palaces metamorphosed into arsenals. At the very moment that the idea of a nation's rising *en masse* was ridiculed throughout Europe, the convention, on the proposition of the committee of public safety, had either augmented or created eleven distinct armies, which seemed to form a chain round the frontiers of France. All the unmarried males, from eighteen to forty years of age, were put in permanent requisition, and a draught of three hundred thousand made at one time. These immense resources enabled them to strengthen and re-model the army of the north, extending from Dunkirk to Maubeuge; that of the Ardennes, reaching from Maubeuge to Longwy; that of the Moselle, from Longwy to Bitche; that of the Rhine, from Bitche to Porentrui; that of the Alps, from the Aisne to the borders of the Var; that of Italy, from the Maritime Alps to the mouth of the Rhone; the army of the Oriental Pyrenees, from the mouth of the Rhone to the Garonne; the army of the Western Pyrenees, from the department of the Upper Pyrenees to the mouth of the Gironde; the army of the coast of Rochelle, from the mouth of the Gironde to that of the Loire; the army of the coasts of Brest, from the mouth of the Loire to St. Maloes; and, lastly, that of the coasts of Cherbourg, from St. Maloes to the northern department.

The allies under the duke of Brunswick and general Wurmsier were for some time victorious on the banks of the Rhine, but in November the French here had become so much superior in number that they were always able to out-flank their opponents. Wurmsier, foiled in an attempt to gain possession of Strasburg, retired to Haguenau, where the French, after repeated attacks, obliged the Austrians to retire across the Rhine. The Prussians afterwards relinquished the siege of Landau, and the duke of Brunswick went into winter quarters at Mentz. On the Spanish border various actions took place between the troops of Spain and France, in which the former were successful; but the war in this quarter was of very subordinate importance. In Italy the county of Nice was the scene of some actions between the Sardinian and French troops, which were generally favourable to the former; Genoa, which had manifested a disposition to take part with the French, was overawed by the English fleet; and the duke of Tuscany was induced, by the representations of the British minister to declare against France.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

1794.—PARLIAMENT assembled on the twenty-first of January, 1794. The king, in his speech, having mentioned the advantages obtained by the arms of the confederate powers, added, that the circumstances by which their further progress had been impeded not only proved the necessity of vigour and perseverance, but confirmed the expectation of ultimate success. Their enemies had derived the means of temporary exertion from a system which had enabled them to dispose arbitrarily of the lives and property of a numerous people; but these efforts, productive as they had been of internal discontent and confusion, tended rapidly to exhaust the national and real strength of the country. He regretted the necessity of continuing the war; but he thought he should ill consult the essential interests of his people if he desired peace on any grounds exclusive of a due provision for their permanent safety, and for the independence and security of Europe. An amendment to the address was moved by the earl of Guildford, who wished for a speedy negotiation, as we had rushed into war without necessity; but the duke of Portland justified the war as strictly defensive, and as necessary for the preservation of the Christian religion, political and civil liberty, law, and order. On a division, the address was

carried by ninety-seven against twelve. In the common address was moved by lord Clifden, to which Fox proposed an amendment, recommending to his majesty to treat for a peace with France upon safe and honourable terms, without any reference to its existing form of government. After a warm debate, which was protracted to a late hour, the address was carried by two hundred and seventy-seven against fifty-nine.

AUGMENTATION OF THE ARMY AND NAVY —DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES—SUSPENSION OF HABEAS CORPUS ACT.

LORD ARDEN moved for a supply of eighty-five thousand seamen, including twelve thousand one hundred and fifteen marines, for the service of the present year, and, on the third of the following month, he further moved that the land forces should consist of sixty thousand two hundred and forty four men, including three thousand three hundred and eighty two invalids, both of which motions were carried. On the twelfth of May a message was delivered from his majesty to the two houses of parliament, referring to the seditious practices of democratic societies, and intimating the necessity of taking measures for baffling their dangerous designs. The papers belonging to these clubs were examined by a committee of the commons; and, in a report subsequently presented by Pitt, it was affirmed, as the result of the inquiry, that the Society for Constitutional Information and the London Corresponding Society, under the pretence of reform, aimed at the subversion of the government; that other associations, in different parts of the kingdom, pursued the same object; that they had endeavoured to promote a general convention of the people; that they had provided arms for the more effectual prosecution of their nefarious purposes; that meetings of popular delegates took place at Edinburgh in 1793, and the following year; that their proceedings were regulated on the French model; and that, after the dispersion of this convention, the two leading societies exerted their efforts to procure a similar meeting in England, which should supersede the authority of parliament. The minister, in consequence, proposed that the habeas corpus act should be suspended in cases of treason and sedition. Fox was of opinion that this stretch of power was not justified by the evidence which had been adduced against the associations; and Sheridan deprecated, as unconstitutional and dangerous, the grant of an arbitrary power of imprisonment. Burke, however, felt convinced that the power in question would not be abused, and that it would be attended with salutary effects; and Windham advised the strongest measures of coercion. The bill of suspension was rapidly enacted; and, after spirited debates, an address was voted, promising the strenuous co-operation of the two houses with the executive power, for the suppression of all seditious attempts, treasonable conspiracies, &c.

STATE TRIALS.

THE state trials pending at this crisis heightened the alarm which universally prevailed. At the Lancaster spring assizes this year, Thomas Walker of Manchester, a strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform, at whose house meetings for political purposes were occasionally held, was indicted for conspiring, with nine other persons, to overturn the constitution by force of arms, and to assist the French in case of invasion. To establish this charge, involving, in its consequences, not only the character, but the life of the accused; the principal evidence adduced was a person of the name of Dams, whose testimony was so contradictory and absurd, that the prosecution was abandoned by the council for the crown; and Walker was honourably acquitted, without being put upon his defence, while his accuser was committed to prison to take his trial for perjury.

At Edinburgh on the third of September, Robert Watt, a government spy, was tried and convicted of high treason. It appeared that he had formed a romantic project for seizing, by force, upon the castle of Edinburgh, as well as upon the persons of the principal judicial and municipal officers of that city, together with the bank and the excise office. This intention he had communicated to several persons, who all refused to come into his plans, except the

vid Downie, an illiterate mechanic. That Watt had conspired to levy war against the king there could be no doubt; but, as he had not actually levied it, it was contended that his offence did not come within the legal construction of the statute of Edward the Third. The prisoner, in his defence, asserted, and produced letters in court from secretary Dundas in support of that assertion, that he had been retained as a spy in the service of government, and had received money from them for his services. The prisoner's counsel, therefore, contended that what their client had done was with no other view than to arrive more completely at the knowledge of the secrets of those persons whose conduct he was to observe, and, by appearing zealous in the same cause, to cover his real intentions of betraying these counsels, and bringing to punishment the enemies of their sovereign. The jury, however, pronounced the prisoner guilty; the judge passed the sentence of death upon him; and he was consequently executed. Downie was also convicted; but the jury recommended him to mercy, which he had the good fortune to obtain.

The state trials of certain persons, members of the London Corresponding Society, charged with high treason, took place in October, November, and December of this year. They strongly excited popular feelings at the time, but proved abortive, all those persons having been acquitted; and are chiefly remarkable from the circumstance of Pitt, the prime minister, having been examined as a witness on the trial of the celebrated John Horne Tooke, the philologist, to prove that the objects of the Corresponding Society were the same as those of the meetings for reform, which Pitt himself had promoted and attended in the year 1783, but pursued by different means;—on which point of distinction Pitt was in a certain degree contradicted by Sheridan, who had attended meetings of that nature in 1782, and was also examined upon the trial of Horne Tooke. That the jury acted most conscientiously in acquitting the prisoners of the charge of high treason there can be no doubt; but had they been tried for a misdemeanor, they would probably have been convicted. Their acquittal raised the spirits of the disaffected, who openly triumphed in the victory they had obtained; and when the proceedings against persons charged with political crimes in France were compared with those trials, the comparison could not fail to excite, in the breast of every honest Briton, the proudest feelings of exultation at the superiority of the British laws.

The trials which had taken place in Scotland, particularly those of Thomas Muir and the reverend Fyche Palmer, the former a Scotch barrister, and the latter a Unitarian preacher at Dundee, who had been convicted of sedition in the autumn of 1793, and sentenced to transportation, excited considerable alarm among their friends and associates in England, and attracted the attention even of some members of the British senate, who condemned their conduct while they deplored their fate. Several motions were made upon the subject in the house of commons, by Adam a barrister of some eminence, implying defects in the Scotch law of sedition, and that the court of judiciary had exceeded their power in substituting the punishment of transportation for that of banishment; but all these motions were negatived, and secretary Dundas contended that the Scottish nation was very happy under its own laws—that the alterations proposed would be a violation of the articles of the Union—and that the reform really wanting was to assimilate the English law of sedition, in a certain degree, to that of Scotland.

FOREIGN TROOPS LANDED ON THE ISLE OF WIGHT—AUGMENTATION OF THE FORCES—VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS—SUPPLY.

WITH a view to co-operate with the loyalists in Britany and the neighbouring districts, a body of Hessian troops in the pay of England, was destined for this service. When these troops arrived from the continent, it was deemed proper to put them into temporary quarters at Portsmouth, in the Isle of Wight, and in other convenient places near the coast. This circumstance was communicated to parliament, in a message from his majesty, on the

twenty-seventh of March. As many similar cases had occurred at different periods, and as the cases and necessity of the measure were so perfectly obvious, it was concluded that the usual communication of the fact to parliament would be satisfactory; the opposition, however, contended that the minister ought to have moved for a bill of indemnity; and he was charged with having violated the bill of rights and the act of settlement. Grey, on the tenth of February, moved, as a resolution of the house, "that to employ foreigners in any situation of military trust, or to bring foreign troops into the kingdom, without the consent of parliament first had and obtained, is contrary to law," which motion was negatived; and the subject was afterwards renewed, in both houses, by propositions for a bill of indemnity, but with no better success, ministers contending that it would be absurd to pretend to indemnify measures which were in themselves justifiable, and not unconstitutional.

On the twenty-second of February a message from his majesty was delivered to parliament, purporting that the avowed intentions of the enemy to invade this country made an increase of the land forces necessary; and an address was voted by the house, assuring his majesty of their zealous concurrence in every exertion which became a brave and loyal people in the prosecution of this just and necessary war. A great augmentation of the militia, and an addition of volunteer fencible corps, were accordingly voted; and the expedient of soliciting voluntary contributions, by a formal letter written by the secretary of state to the lords-lieutenant of the several counties, was successfully resorted to, though strongly opposed as highly illegal, and contrary to the spirit of the British constitution; and on the twenty-eighth of March, Sheridan moved, that it was dangerous and unconstitutional for the people of this country to make any loan, &c. to the crown, to be used for any public purpose, without the previous consent of parliament. The question was considered as one which could be neither universally affirmed nor universally denied, and the motion was negatived by a considerable majority, as was a similar one by Lord Lauderdale in the house of peers. Very considerable discussion also arose on a bill introduced by Pitt, on the first of April, for the encouragement of those who should voluntarily enrol themselves for the general defence of the kingdom during the war; and on another, the object of which was to enable Frenchmen to enlist in his majesty's service on the Continent, or, in other words, for employing the French emigrants in a military capacity. The requisite supply for the present year amounted to nearly twenty million pounds, and the ways and means included some new taxes, and a loan of eleven million pounds. Persons professing the Roman Catholic religion were exempted from the customary charge of double land-tax.

M. LA FAYETTE—SUBSIDY TO PRUSSIA.

GENERAL FITZPATRICK moved in the house of commons, on the seventeenth of March, for an address to the throne, beseeching his majesty to intercede with the court of Berlin in favour of General la Fayette and his companions. It appeared that the king of Prussia, being applied to for the release of La Fayette, had answered, that he was not his prisoner alone, but that of the confederate powers jointly, and that he could not be set at liberty only by the consent of all. Pitt denied that La Fayette's conduct had ever been friendly to the genuine cause of liberty; he affirmed that the interference required would be setting up ourselves as guardians of the consciences of foreign states; and the motion was negatived by a large majority.

On the twenty-eighth of April, Dundas delivered a message from the king, announcing a treaty of subsidy with the king of Prussia, and a convention with the States-general. Pitt stated that his Prussian majesty had agreed to furnish sixty-two thousand four hundred troops, for which his Britannic majesty had agreed to pay him fifty thousand pounds per month, one hundred thousand pounds per month for forage, four hundred thousand pounds to put the army in motion, and one hundred thousand pounds on their return; of the aggregate of which sums the States-general were to pay four hundred thousand pounds as their proportion.—Over the troops subsidized at this expense the direction and command were still vested in the king

of Prussia. The motion of Pitt for the sum of two million five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by way of loan on exchequer bills, in addition to the supplies of the current year, for the purpose of making good this engagement, after being warmly opposed in every stage, ultimately passed by a great majority.

Parliament was prorogued on the eleventh of July by a speech from the throne, in which the king urged the two houses to persevere with increased vigour and exertion in the present arduous contest against a power irreconcilably hostile in its principles and spirit to all regular and established governments.

Various alterations were made in the administration about this time. Earl Fitzwilliam was declared president of the council, in the room of earl Camden; earl Spencer was appointed lord privy seal; the duke of Portland was made third secretary of state; and Windham secretary at war. Before the close of the year, lord Fitzwilliam was promoted to the vice-royalty of Ireland, in the room of lord Westmorland; and the earl of Mansfield, late lord Stormont, and nephew to the celebrated chief-justice Mansfield, lately deceased, succeeded to the presidency of the council. Lord Spencer was placed at the head of the Admiralty; and lord Chat-ham, brother to the premier, who had for some years occupied that important department, was made lord privy seal. Ten new peers were also created; and the duke of Portland's services were still further rewarded with a blue riband, and the office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

MILITARY OPERATIONS ON THE CON-TINENT.

THE rulers of France having at this time acquired an absolute dominion over the persons of its inhabitants, and over every thing which it contained, by a system of terror, her rulers resolved to extend their sway over the neighbouring countries, to enlarge their own boundaries; and to obtain, by plunder, the means of supporting those gigantic efforts which they were thus enabled to make, they had armed, at the close of the year 1793, nearly a million of men, three hundred thousand of whom were employed on the northern frontier of the republic. To these the allies had not more than one hundred and forty thousand men to oppose. Besides the superiority of numbers, the French army had the advantage of being subject to a unity of command; while the allies, composed of different nations, were commanded by various leaders, who were very far from acting with that cordial spirit of co-operation which was so essentially necessary, not merely to ensure success, but to prevent defeat. The rivalry between Austria and Prussia, and the jealousy which each had conceived of the other, were so visible, that on the sixth of January, the duke of Brunswick addressed a letter to the king of Prussia, in which he announced the resignation of his command, stating, as his motive, "the unhappy experience that want of connection, distrust, egotism, and a spirit of cabal, had disconcerted the measures adopted during the two last campaigns;" and that "when, instead of the prevalence of an unanimous sentiment and the same principle, each army acts separate and alone, of its own accord, without any fixed plan, without unanimity, and without principles, the consequences are such as we have seen at Dunkirk, at Maastricht, and Landau. Heaven preserve your majesty from great misfortunes!" The resignation of the duke was soon followed by a complaint from the Prussian monarch, of the great expense of the war, and a proposal that the states of the empire should provide for the subsistence of his troops;—a request to which that body did not accede. When the emperor desired that the Diet would order the people in the frontier circles to rise in a mass, the court of Berlin strongly opposed the measure, as fruitless and dangerous; the general levy did not take place; and the contingents of the German princes were deficient.

The king of Prussia, from the disappointment of various kinds which he had experienced, had already determined to withdraw himself from the confederacy. In the month of February certain commissioners from the French republic arrived at Frankfurt, under the pretext of negotiating for an exchange of prisoners; but the marked distinction

with which they were treated indicated somewhat of different import, and of higher moment. Field-marshal Mullenbom succeeded the duke of Brunswick in the command of the Prussian army; and an intimation to the prince of Cobourg, that he had received orders from his court to march towards Cologne, was followed on the thirteenth of March, by a proclamation addressed to the German empire, announcing his Prussian majesty's actual secession from the grand confederacy. This *ruse d'état* appears to have fully answered its intended purpose; as it was almost immediately followed by the treaty of subsidy already mentioned, conformably to which, the sum of nearly two million pounds was to be paid to the court of Berlin, for the service of an army of sixty-two thousand men, to be commanded by an officer of his Prussian majesty's own appointment.

A general council of war was convened at Ath, when the projected arrangements of the campaign, on the part of the court of Vienna, were brought forward by general Haddick. A main article of this plan was that general Clairfait, an officer of great ability and experience, should be appointed to the command of the auxiliary forces, and that the duke of York should act under his orders, the prince of Cobourg continuing at the head of the grand imperial army. This his royal highness refused with disdain; and the dispute was only settled by the determination that the emperor himself should take the field in person, and that in him should be vested the supreme command. On the ninth of April his imperial majesty arrived at Brussels, where he was solemnly inaugurated duke of Brabant, and thence proceeded to Valenciennes, where his presence diffused great joy. The whole army was reviewed by him on the heights above Cateau, on the sixteenth, and on the following day they marched in eight columns to invest Landreci. The French assembled in force at the camp of César, near Cambray, from which they were driven by the confederates on the twenty-third, and the investment of Landreci immediately took place. The next day the French made a general assault upon the different posts of the allies in this quarter, and were in most instances repulsed; but the post of Mouscron, where Clairfait commanded, was attacked with a superior force by Picquigny in person, and carried, after a brave resistance. Courtray and Menin thus fell into the hands of the republicans. In return, the fortress of Landreci, which had repelled the utmost efforts of prince Eugene in 1712, fell, after a short siege, into the hands of the prince of Cobourg.

In the month of June, the French, under general Jourdan, who commanded on the side of the Moselle, passed the Sambre, for the third time in the space of fourteen days, and, after being twice repulsed, laid siege to the town of Charleroi. The prince of Cobourg determined to make a grand effort for its relief. On the twenty-first he reached Ath, and on the twenty-fourth effected a junction with the hereditary prince of Orange and general Beaulieu, who commanded in that quarter. The main body of the French army under general Jourdan was strongly posted, at this time, in the vicinity of Fleurus, to cover the siege of Charleroi. On the morning of the twenty-sixth the prince of Cobourg hazarded a general attack on this force. The battle continued with unabated fury till near the close of the day, by which time the allied army was defeated in every part, and forced, with immense loss, to retreat to Halle, thirty miles from the scene of action. This was a great and decisive victory. Charleroi, to save which this bloody action was fought, had surrendered on the evening of the twenty-fifth; and Brussels fell, without further resistance, into the hands of the enemy. General Clairfait was equally unfortunate on the opposite side. Ypres, the key of western Flanders, was besieged by fifty thousand men, commanded by general Moreau. After a series of engagements, in which the French were almost uniformly victorious, the Austrians were compelled to fall back upon Ghent, and Ypres surrendered on the seventeenth of June. The Emperor, with his favourite, general Mack, in utter despair of success, left the army, after having in vain issued a proclamation after proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the low countries to rise in a mass in order to repel the invaders.

The duke of York, who had a separate command

at Tournay, was attacked, on the tenth of May, by a French force, consisting of thirty thousand men, which he drove back with great loss. The emperor immediately determined to march his assistance, and a grand attack was concerted, in which the army of general Clairfait was ordered to co-operate; but the movements of the different columns not being attended with equal success, the duke, after a succession of severe conflicts, was obliged to fly, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner. In company with only an Austrian general and two other gentlemen, he entered a village, supposing it to be in the hands of the allies, but, on turning a corner in full gallop, they found a column of the enemy facing them, which, supposing the duke to be at the head of a body of troops, at first fled, after firing a volley, which killed the Austrian general at his side. Recovering, however, from their error, they pursued the duke and his two companions so closely, that they arrived with great difficulty at Tournay, a position which became at length wholly untenable, and was therefore evacuated, the duke retreating in the direction of Antwerp. Just as the fate of the Netherlands had been thus decided, lord Moira arrived from England with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, at Ostend, the gallant remains of that army which had been destined to re-establish royalty in Brittany. His situation was critical, the French being in possession of the country on all sides of him, and it was deemed necessary immediately to evacuate the town, and endeavour to force his way, without tents or baggage, through the enemy, to join the army of the allies, which, by great and skilful exertion, he accomplished on the eighth of July: the shipping in the harbour amounting to one hundred and fifty sail, with the ammunition, stores, &c. on board, took their departure for Flushing. Thus Ostend, and, nearly at the same time, Tournay and Ghent, fell into the hands of the French. In the respective engagements which had taken place between Pichegru and the prince of Cobourg, since the battle of Fleurus, the former had greatly the advantage: Mons, Oudenarde, Brussels, and Newport, places widely distant, and soon after Mechlin, surrendered to the republican arms, and Antwerp itself was no longer considered as a safe retreat. The stadtholder consequently solicited the States-general to make an extraordinary levy throughout the provinces, but without effect; a revolution in the government was apprehended.

About the middle of July general Kleber took possession of Louvain, after defeating general Clairfait, who had possession of the famous camp of the Montagne-de-Per. The last hope of the allies, that of forming a line of defence from Antwerp to Namur, was now relinquished, Namur being, on the night of the sixteenth, abandoned by general Beaulieu; and, on the twenty-fourth, the French took quiet possession of Antwerp, the allies having previously set fire to the immense magazines there deposited. Sluys made a brave resistance, but surrendered after a siege of six weeks, the garrison marching out with the honours of war. The strong towns still occupied by the allies, Landreot, Quenoy, Condé, and Valenciennes, being now completely insulated, successively reverted, almost without resistance, to the French.

The army under the duke of York was stationed at Breda, whence, for greater security, it retreated towards Bois-le-Duc. The French forces, under Pichegru, advancing rapidly upon them, to the number of eighty thousand men, about the middle of September, the duke crossed the Maese, and took a fresh position near Grave; and, at the beginning of October, he encamped under the walls of Nimwegen. The French, crossing the Maese, made an attack on the British posts in front of that town, and having obliged them to change their position, invested the place. Towards the end of the month his royal highness passed the Waal, leaving general Walmoden with a corps to cover the town of Nimwegen, which was evacuated in great confusion, and with much loss, on the seventh of November. Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Grave, were also successively reduced. Whilst Pichegru was in Dutch Flanders, the Austrian general, La Tour, was totally defeated by General Jourdan near Liege, which city, and those of Aix-la-Chapelle and Juliers, were occupied by the French. The Prince of Cobourg was at this period suddenly dismissed from his high command; and his successor,

general Clairfait, was compelled, early in October, to repossess the Rhine at Cologne. The French pursued the imperial troops to the very margin of the river; and, as the rear of the Austrian army embarked, the question was loudly and insultingly asked, if that was the road to Paris! About the end of September the siege of Maestricht was formally commenced, and lasted forty days, during which interval the attack and defence were conducted with heroic bravery. The atmosphere seemed filled with balls, bombs, and shells, and scarcely was a place of safety left in the whole circuit of the city. Two thousand buildings, public and private, were said to be destroyed; and a general storm was intended on the fourth of November, when the governor, moved by the situation of the inhabitants, and the entreaties of the magistrates, consented to articles of capitulation with general Kleber, who entered the place on the same day.

The Prussians did not act with much vigour in this campaign, nor were they wholly inactive. Being obliged to make some show of co-operation with the Austrians, they surprised the French in their intrenchments at Keyserlaatern, and defeated them with considerable loss. In July they were attacked by general Desaix, who carried the important posts occupied by Prince Hohenloe on the Platenberg, a high mountain in the territory of Deux-Ponts; and, soon afterwards, the whole chain of posts from Neustadt to the Rhine being assailed with success, both Austrians and Prussians were obliged to retreat with precipitation. The imperial army re-crossed the Rhine, and the Prussians retired towards Gutersbloom and Meatz. The recent acquisition of Keyserlaatern was abandoned to the republicans, who again occupied the cities of Worms, Spire, and Treves. In Spain and Italy also the armies of the republic were successful. In November, 1793, they penetrated into the province of Catalonia; and, in the beginning of February following, a battle was fought near St. Jean de Lux, in which the French were conquerors. In May another victory was gained near Ceret; and soon afterwards a third, of more importance than the former two, over the principal Spanish army, posted in the vicinity of Collioure. On the western side the towns of Fontarabie and St. Sebastian fell into the hands of the French. In Italy the Piedmontese had, at the command of the Sardinian monarch, risen in a mass; but, being destitute of the enthusiasm of liberty, they constituted a body without a soul. The French, forced the famous pass of Mount Cenis, took possession of the city and territory of Oneglia, and made themselves masters of a great part of the open country of that district.

CORSICA ANNEXED TO THE BRITISH CROWN.

In the Mediterranean the progress of the English arms, subsequently to the evacuation of Toulon, was very flattering. Early in February, 1794, lord Hood proceeded for Corsica, which was in a state of revolt against the convention, the insurgents having been excited to this resistance by the English influence, under the conduct of their ancient and popular chief, Paschal Paoli, who had been some years since restored to his country with honour by the Constituent Assembly. Mortella, Tonnelli, and St. Fiorenza, being successively surrendered or evacuated, the Corsicans who adhered to the French interest retreated to Bastia, which resisted the united efforts of the Anglo-Corsicans and English till the twenty-fourth of May, when it capitulated on honourable terms; and the whole island, excepting Calvi, which held out till August, submitted to the English. Letters of convocation were immediately issued for the assembly of the general Consulta, to be held at Corte, the ancient capital of Corsica, on Sunday, the eighth of June: general Paoli was elected president. The representatives of the Corsican nation immediately voted the union of Corsica with the British crown; a constitutional act was framed accordingly; and Sir Gilbert Elliot, representative of his Britannic majesty, formally accepted this act on his part, and immediately assumed the title of viceroy.

The channel fleet, put to sea in the spring in search of an enemy which had hitherto eluded pursuit. Lord Howe was particularly solicitous to

vindicate the honour of his country, as well as to rescue his own character from unmerited reproach; and the powerful armament now under his command left no doubt relative to the result of a contest. On reaching the Lizard a signal was made for the East Indiamen to proceed on their voyage, under convoy of six sail of the line and a frigate, which were not to separate from them until their arrival off Cape Finisterre. Having received information on the nineteenth of May that the *Brest* fleet was at sea, Lord Howe deemed it proper to effect a junction with the squadron lately detached under rear-admiral Montague to refit and water; but on hearing, two days after, that the enemy had been seen a few leagues further to the westward, he immediately altered his course and steered towards them.

LORD HOWE'S VICTORY.

JEAN BON St. André, who had been employed at Brest to infuse a spirit of democracy into the seamen, acted on this occasion as a national commissioner, having embarked on board the flag ship, carrying one hundred and twenty guns, and designated *La Montagne*, after the ruling party in the Convention. On the twenty-eighth of May, at eight o'clock in the morning, in north latitude $47^{\circ} 33'$, W. Long. $14^{\circ} 10'$, the rival fleets descried each other exactly at the same time; the wind blew strong from the south-west, accompanied by a very rough sea, and the French possessed the weather-gage. After the advanced frigates had given intimation of this event Earl Howe continued his course, while the French admiral endeavoured as much as possible to assume a regular order of battle upon the starboard tack, a circumstance which greatly facilitated the approach of the English. As the conduct of the enemy, who had now hauled their wind, indicated an intention to avoid a close fight, the British commander displayed the signal for a general chase, and, to prevent their escape, he soon after detached Rear-Admiral Pasley, with a flying squadron, to make an impression on their rear: that officer accordingly, near the close of the day, attacked the *Revolutionnaire*, a three-decked ship of one hundred and ten guns, which happened to be the sternmost in the line, but without any decisive success on either side. The rival fleets, consisting of twenty-six sail of the line on the part of the French, and twenty-five on that of the British, remained within sight of each other during the whole night, on the starboard tack, and in a parallel direction, with the French still to windward; but next morning, the twentieth, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse, flushed with the hopes of a victory, wore from van to rear, and instead of flinching from the action, edged down in a line ahead to engage the van of the British fleet.

Taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity, Lord Howe renewed the signal for passing the enemy's line, and succeeded with some difficulty in obtaining the weather-gage, while the enemy were repulsed by the *Barbeur*, and two other three-deckers, in an attempt to cut off the *Queen* and *Royal George*. At length Villaret tacked again by signal; and, after a distant cannonade, stood away in order of battle on the larboard tack, followed by the whole of the British fleet. The second day's action proved equally indecisive as the former, and a thick fog, that intervened during this night and the greater part of the succeeding day, prevented the renewal of the engagement. In the mean time Rear-Admiral Neilly joined the French commander-in-chief with a reinforcement of three sail of the line and two frigates: this accession of strength enabled him to detach his crippled ships; and the dawn of the successive day exhibited the two fleets drawn up in order of battle, and prepared to renew the contest. The British admiral, perceiving that there was time sufficient for the various ships' companies to take refreshment, made a signal for breakfast, which, by procrastinating the action, induced the enemy to believe that their antagonists wished to decline the engagement: but they were greatly disappointed; for in about half an hour Lord Howe gave orders for steering the *Royal Charlotte* alongside the French admiral, which was effected at nine o'clock in the morning; and, while some of the English commanders penetrated the line of battle and engaged to leeward, others occupied such stations as allowed them to combat

with their antagonists to windward. So close and severe was the contest, that the fate of this day depended but little on the exertion of nautical skill: all was hard fighting. In about fifty minutes after the action had commenced in the centre, Admiral Villaret-Joyeuse determined to relinquish the contest: for he now perceived several of his ships dismantled, and one of seventy-four guns about to sink; he at the same time found that six were captured: a great slaughter had also taken place on board his own vessel, in which his captain and many of the crew were killed, while the national commissioner, with most of his officers, were wounded: he accordingly crowded off with all the canvass he could spread, and was immediately followed by most of the ships in his van that were not completely crippled: two or three of these, although dismantled, also got away soon after, under a temporary sail hoisted on the occasion; for the enemy had, as usual, chiefly aimed at the rigging, and the victors were by this time disabled from pursuing the vanquished: the *Queen Charlotte*, in particular, was at this period nearly unmanageable, having lost her foretopmast in action; this was soon after followed by the main-topmast, which fell over the side; while the *Brunswick*, which had lost her mainmast, and the *Queen*, also disabled, drifted to leeward, and were exposed to considerable danger from the retreating fleet. Two eighty and five seventy-four gun ships, however, still remained in possession of the victors; but one of the latter, *La Vengeur*, went down soon after she was taken possession of, and, though many of the French were saved on this occasion by the humanity of their adversaries, above three hundred went to the bottom. The slaughter on board the French fleet was so great, that in the captured ships alone it amounted to one thousand two hundred and seventy. The British total loss was nine hundred and four.

Admiral Montague, who had repaired to England, was immediately despatched to join Earl Howe, and sailed for Brest, partly with a view to fall in with the commander-in-chief, and partly on purpose to pick up any crippled ships, which, in case of an action, might take shelter in that port: he accordingly encountered some of the retreating squadron, and chased them into the outer road. On the succeeding day he descried the main body under Villaret-Joyeuse; but, notwithstanding the late fatal conflict, that commander formed an admirable line of battle, and gave chase; while the fleet from America, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail of merchantmen, supposed to be worth several millions sterling, but invaluable on account of the distressed state of France, arrived in safety on the twelfth of June.

The victory of the first of June conferred great glory on the admiral, and was received at home with uncommon rejoicing. Large sums of money were subscribed for the benefit of the widows and children of those killed in action. Rear-admirals Bowyer and Pasley were created baronets, and received a pension of one thousand pounds each per annum. Admirals Graves and Sir Alexander Hood had the honours of the peerage conferred upon them. Earl Howe was presented with a diamond-hilted sword of great value, by the king in person, on board the *Queen Charlotte*, at Spithead; and also with a golden chain, to which was suspended a medal, with Victory crowning Britannia on the obverse, and on the reverse a wreath of oak and laurel, encircling his lordship's name, and the date of the action. In December, 1796, his Majesty was also pleased to transmit gold chains and medals to the flag-officers and captains, who were reported by Lord Howe to have signalized themselves during the battle with the French fleet.

On the twenty-third of April Sir John Borlase Warren captured two French frigates off Guernsey, after two hours' fighting. In August he pursued five other French ships of war off Scilly, and, driving two of them under the batteries of the Gamelle rocks, would have proceeded to burn them; but, with a generosity worthy of his courage, abstained from the last rigours of war against an unfortunate enemy, whose wounded must have perished had he set their vessels on fire.

CAPTURE OF MARTINIQUE, &c.

THE British government prepared a formidable

armament to act against the colonies of France in the West Indies. On the third of November, 1793, this expedition sailed; the land forces, consisted of about six thousand troops, under the command of Sir Charles Grey; and the naval armament, consisting of four ships of war, nine frigates, a bomb-ketch, a few gun-boats, and several store-ships, under Sir John Jervis. Having rendezvoused in Carlisle Bay, Barbadoes, they sailed on the third of February, 1794, to the attack of Martinico, which surrendered, after a resolute resistance of seven weeks. Fort Royal was carried by escalade, with extraordinary exertions of valour, particularly on the part of Captain Faulkner, of the Zebra, who entered the harbour through the fire of all the batteries, and laid his sloop alongside the walls, which he scaled in defiance of repeated volleys of grape shot. As soon as the reduction of Martinico had been effected, the troops were re-embarked, and landed on the island of St. Lucia, which capitulated on the fourth of April; and upon the eleventh of the same month the fleet and army arrived off Guadaloupe, which, after a short but brave defence, surrendered, with its dependencies, on the twentieth. After these glorious successes Sir Charles Grey returned to Martinico leaving General Dundas, to command at Guadaloupe. About this time a French squadron appeared off the island, from which a body of troops landing under the command of a most daring and skilful leader, Victor Hugues, attacked Fort Fleur d'Épée, which they carried by storm; and the English retreated with considerable loss to Fort Louis: this was also soon evacuated, and the troops, shattered and disheartened, took refuge in Beauséjour. Sir Charles Grey, on the first intelligence of this attempt, sailed from St. Kitt's with all the force he could collect, and, landing on the island of Guadaloupe, on the nineteenth of June, made an attempt on the post of Point à Petre on the second of July. After great efforts of valour, however, he was repulsed, with the loss of six hundred men. Upon this the forces were re-embarked, and Beauséjour, after a long and vigorous resistance, with the whole island and its dependencies, reverted to its former possessors. Not long after the loss of the island, the brave Captain Faulkner, who had so eminently contributed to the reduction of Martinico, lost his life in an engagement with a frigate near Marie-Galante. More than seventy men are said to have been killed in the French vessel, and above one hundred wounded; while only twenty-nine suffered in the victorious ship.

ACQUISITIONS IN ST. DOMINGO.

St. Domingo in a remarkable degree, had suffered the mischievous effects of the French revolution. When the people in the mother country asserted their right to freedom, the claims of the colonial subjects of France were also recognised; and a society, called *Les Amis des Noirs*, (Friends of the Negroes), warmly supported the pretensions of the slaves to emancipation, and of the mulattoes

to all the privileges enjoyed by the white inhabitants. The declaration of rights promulgated by the National Assembly increased the ferment which the first intelligence of the revolution had produced in the islands; and violent disturbances and contests were apprehended. Deputies from the different districts of the French part of St. Domingo met, by the king's order, to prevent tumults and reform abuses; but their endeavours were opposed by the partisans of the old régime, and the governor dissolved the Assembly. Many of the representatives sailed to France to justify their conduct; and, during their absence, Oge, an enterprising mulatto, found means to excite an insurrection; but it was quickly suppressed, and his life was sacrificed to public justice. The claims of his brethren, however, were confirmed by a decree of the ruling assembly of the parent state, which admitted them to all the privileges of French citizens on the fifteenth of May, 1791. When a new colonial assembly deliberated on the conduct which prudence required at this crisis, the slaves in the neighbourhood of Cape Francois attacked the whites, murdered a great number of them, and destroyed the plantations. The insurrection soon spread to other districts; and though many hundreds of the negroes and their confederates were slain in battle or perished by famine, they seemed to multiply like the heads of the hydra. Commissioners were sent from France to heal the disorders of the colony; but they produced, by their misconduct, a civil war among the whites, and invited to their aid a body of rebel negroes, who perpetrated a horrible series of massacres at Cape Francois, and in June, 1793, burnt the greater part of the town.

The convulsions of the colony induced many of the planters to solicit succour from the British government; and major-general Williamson was ordered to detach an armament from Jamaica, to take possession of those settlements which the people might be disposed to surrender. Lieutenant-colonel Whitelocks sailed in consequence to Jeremie, and received the submission of the inhabitants; the town and harbour of St. Nicolas were also given up to the English; and to these possessions Leogane, and other towns and districts, were soon added. An expedition was undertaken for the reduction of Cape Tiburon; and a bribe was offered to general Lavaux for the surrender of Port de Paix. The enterprise succeeded, and the town was taken on the second of February, 1794. The fort of Acul was stormed by the English; but at Bombard they were repelled with loss. They defended Cape Tiburon against an army of blacks and mulattoes, who were routed with considerable slaughter. The arrival of a reinforcement from Great Britain, under brigadier-general Whyte, elevated the hopes of the English, and preparations were made for the conquest of Port-au-Prince. Fort Binoton was taken at the point of the bayonet. The unhealthiness of the climate now occasioned a great mortality among the troops, and checked the extension of their conquests: they soon after lost Leogane and Tiburon.

CHAPTER XXVII.

State of the French Government—Sanguinary proceedings—Progress of the French in Holland—Escape of the Stadtholder—Embassy to China—Sweden and Denmark—Disputes with America—Meeting of Parliament—Proceedings—Earl Fitzwilliam, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, recalled, and consequent discontents of the Catholics—Marriage of the Prince of Wales—Arrangement respecting his debts—Acquittal of Warren Hastings—Prorogation of Parliament—Naval affairs—Occurrences in the West Indies—The French government concludes Peace with Prussia, Spain, Hanover, Hesse, &c.—Operations in La Vendée, and unsuccessful result of an expedition to Quiberon Bay—Insurrection in Paris—Death of the Dauphin—New French Constitution—Return of the English army from the Continent—Hostile operations on the Rhine—War between England and Holland—Capture of the Corps of Good Hope, and other Dutch Settlements—Unpopularity of the War—Outrage against the King—Address in consequence—Speech from the throne—Address—Bills against Treason and Sedition—Scarcity of Corn—Supplies—Birth of Princess Charlotte—Dissolution of Parliament.

STATE OF FRENCH GOVERNMENT—SANGUINARY PROCEEDINGS.

IN France a faction arose denominated the Cordeliers, at the head of which were Hubert, Ronan, Anacharsis Cloots, and others, who, to conciliate the populace, adopted the wildest theories, decried all religion, preached equality in the absurdest extent, and recommended publicly an Agrarian law. In the beginning of March, the table of the rights of man, in the hall of the Cordeliers, was covered with black crape; and Hebert, from the tribune of the society, affirmed that tyranny existed in the republic. This was sufficient to arouse the jealousy of Robespierre. Virtue and ferocity were declared in the convention, by Couthon, to be the requisite order of the day. On the twenty-fifth of March Hebert, Danton, and nineteen others, were, on a charge of conspiracy against the constitution, brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and, of course, condemned to the guillotine. These executions were followed by those of Fabre d'Églantine, and other popular deputies of the Convention, on pretence of their having engaged in counter-revolutionary projects. It deserves notice that St. Just, in the report presented on this occasion, makes the profession of atheism a principal charge against Fabre d'Églantine. The execution of Danton and his fellow-sufferers, who fell under the fatal axe of the guillotine on the second of April, was followed by that of general Arthur Dillon, who had formerly commanded that division of the French army which, in the campaign of 1792, had so gallantly repulsed the Prussians. The princess Elizabeth, sister to Louis XVI. was charged with having conspired to restore royalty; not a witness was produced, nor a single attempt made to substantiate any one fact alleged against her; she was, nevertheless, condemned to death, with twenty-four of her reputed accomplices.

Barrère brought forward the infamous decree for allowing no quarter to the English or Hanoverian troops: but the French officers and soldiery refused to execute this abominable mandate, and the commander-in-chief of the British forces declined to retaliate the threatened cruelty.

Bourdon de L'Œise, a member of the conventional assembly, demanded that the decree which affirmed the inviolability of the national representatives should be again established, and that no member should be brought before the revolutionary tribunal but in consequence of a decree of accusation passed by the assembly itself, instead of an order from the committee of safety, where Robespierre, and the vile instruments of his tyranny, Couthon and St. Just, were absolute. This was a cordially decreed, and from this time the party formed against

Robespierre rapidly increased; even his celebrated colleague, Barrère, took a secret, though efficient part, in plotting his overthrow. Robespierre was not suffered to speak in his own defence; and Tallien moved that Robespierre and his associates be immediately arrested; they were soon after outlawed by the convention. These motions were passed amidst tumults of applause; and on the evening of the same day, July twenty-eighth, to the number of twenty-one, executed in the *Place de la Révolution*. Robespierre appeared to be petrified with horror.

After his fall the Jacobin club was entirely demolished; the remains of the Girondist party were restored to their seats in the convention; and Damas, president of the revolutionary tribunal, Fouquier Tinville, the public accuser, Carrier, conventional commissioner, the destroyer of La Vendée; and various others of the same description, were brought to the scaffold. Hundreds were released from prison, who, but for the death of Robespierre, would probably have fallen victims to the reign of terror; and the infamous decree of the convention, for refusing quarter to the English and Hanoverian soldiery, was annulled.

PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH IN HOLLAND—ESCAPE OF THE STADTHOLDER.

Pichegru waited till the frost should set in, in order to commence a winter campaign on the frontiers of Holland. The duke of York endeavoured in vain to rouse the Dutch to resistance, and his royal highness, therefore, returned to England.

In the course of a week the Meuse and the Waal being frozen over, on the twenty-seventh a strong column of French crossed the former of those rivers, while another corps made themselves masters of the Bommel. Pichegru did not make his grand movement till the tenth of January, 1795, when the main body of his forces crossed the Waal at different points, and made a general attack upon the lines of the allies, extending between Nimeguen and Arnhem, under the command of general Walmoden. The allies were defeated in every quarter, and a precipitate retreat was ordered towards Amersfort and Deventer. Utrecht, Rotterdam, and Dort, surrendered to the French without resistance; the Stadtholder escaped from Scherding: general Pichegru made his public entry into Amsterdam; and, by order of the States-general, every other fortress in the republic opened its gates to the French. On the twenty-seventh of January the provisional representatives of the people of Holland assembled, and a decree passed for the total abolition of the stadtholderate, and for the establishment, under the protection of the republic of France, of a new provisional government for the

sailed provisions,' which were now denominated the Batavian republic.

EMBASSY TO CHINA.

The prevailing desire of commercial advantage in Great Britain, concurring with a wish to secure the friendship of a potentate whose influence extended to territories bordering on those of the English East India company, induced the king to send an ambassador to treat with the Chinese court; and earl Macartney, who had acquired reputation as governor of Madras, with a suite comprising several men of science and skilful artists, sailed under the conduct of Sir Erasmus Gower. He reached the Yellow Sea in safety, passed up the White River to Tong-Chee-Poo, and thence proceeded by land to the metropolis of China. Tchien-Lung, the aged emperor, who had already governed that vast empire with uninterrupted success and reputation more than half a century, was then at the palace of Zhe-hol, beyond the celebrated wall which had been erected as a barrier against the incursions of the Tartars. There the ambassador delivered a letter from the British sovereign, in a box of gold, adorned with jewels, which was graciously received; but a spirit of jealousy disinclined the emperor to a treaty, and, after the exchange of mutual presents, it was hinted that the departure of the strangers would be agreeable. On the ninth of October, 1793, his excellency and suite left Peking and proceeded to Tong-Tchow, whence they were conveyed by a variety of rivers and canals from the northern to the southern extremity of China, reaching Canton in safety, after a variety of amusing adventures, on the eighteenth of December; and in January following they embarked at Macao for England.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK—DISPUTES WITH AMERICA.

SWEDEN and Denmark still persevered in their determination of observing a perfect impartiality during the present war; and on the twenty-seventh of March, a convention was concluded between them, by which they agreed to protect the freedom of commerce in the Baltic, on the principles of the armed neutrality of 1780, equipping jointly a fleet of sixteen ships of the line for that service; and, by the tenth article, the Baltic was declared to be a neutral sea, absolutely and altogether inaccessible to the armed ships of the different and distant belligerent powers.

Jay, chief justice of the United States of America, arrived about this period in England, as minister plenipotentiary, to adjust the existing differences between that republic and the British government. Soon after the commencement of the war, orders were given for stopping all American vessels carrying corn to France, and detaining their cargoes, paying for them and the freights. This proceeding, which was resented by the Americans as an infraction of their independence, was followed by an order for seizing all American ships carrying provisions and stores to the French colonies, and also for obliging American ships sailing from the British islands, to give security to land their cargoes in British or neutral ports. This order having occasioned the seizure of six hundred American vessels within five months, that government showed its resentment by an embargo of thirty days on the British shipping. In addition to these grievances the memorial delivered by Jay to the British court complained of the severity used to American seamen, and of their being compelled to serve on board English men of war. Although these differences were finally attended with very serious effects, they were for the present compromised, both parties being pacifically disposed, and a treaty of amity and commerce between the two countries was signed in November.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—PROCEEDINGS

1795.—The parliament assembled on the thirtieth of December; and in the speech from the throne while the disasters of the late campaign were admitted, the necessity of persisting in the war was strongly urged, as the only possible means of producing a successful result. Amendments were moved in both houses to the address. On the fifteenth of January the attorney-general brought in a bill to continue

the suspension of the habeas corpus act for a limited time. This measure being carried in the commons by a considerable majority, the bill was transmitted to the lords, and passed that assembly also, but not without a protest against it, signed by the dukes of Norfolk and Bedford, and the earls of Landerdale and Guilford.

Pitt delivered to the house of commons a message from his majesty, intimating that a loan to the amount of four million six hundred thousand pounds would be wanted to aid the exertions of the emperor of Germany during the next campaign, on the credit of his hereditary dominions, which would probably require the guarantee of the British government. On the question that the national faith be pledged for the sum required, considerable discussion arose, in the course of which Fox said that the recent defalcation of the king of Prussia, immediately after pocketing the English gold, ought to operate as a caution against all advances of money to German princes; and he had no confidence in the efficacy of the proposed loan; Sir William Pulteney entertained a high opinion of its probable utility; lord Grenville had so much reliance on the promised exertions of his imperial majesty, that he would rather consent to make a present of the desired sum than lose the chance of expected benefit; the marquis of Lansdowne disapproved all connections with German princes; but the proposition was agreed to by large majorities, and the loan was shipped to the continent in sterling gold.

On the twenty-third of February the minister submitted his annual statement of the supplies and ways and means to the consideration of the house. The number of men voted for the service of the year was, one hundred and fifty thousand landmen, including militia; eighty-five thousand seamen, and fifteen thousand marines; the expenditure amounted to twenty-seven million five hundred and forty thousand pounds; and the loan proposed was eighteen million pounds, being the largest sum ever voted by parliament up to that period. New taxes were imposed on wine, spirits, tea, coffee, insurances, hair-powder, &c. which, with an abridgement of the privilege of franking, were estimated to produce one million six hundred and forty-four thousand pounds, of which three hundred and fifty seven thousand pounds were to be applied to the progressive redemption of the debt. As a counterpoise for these additional burdens, the minister mentioned the extraordinary increase of commerce, which, in the preceding year, had exceeded that of the most flourishing period of peace.

EARL FITZWILLIAM RECALLED FROM IRELAND—DISCONTENT OF THE CATHOLICS.

THE affairs of Ireland formed one of the most important subjects that engaged the attention of the present parliament. Some malcontents had entered into secret connections with the French revolutionists, and a plan for separating the island from the British dominions was strongly suspected, when earl Fitzwilliam, a nobleman distinguished for his mild and conciliatory conduct, was placed at the head of the government—an appointment peculiarly acceptable to the Irish nation. The Irish parliament assembled on the twenty-second of January, 1795, and, after voting to the new viceroy an address expressive of the general satisfaction, agreed, without hesitation to the most ample supplies ever granted in that kingdom. The lord-lieutenant, finding it impracticable to defer deciding on the demands of the catholics for the removal of the remaining disabilities under which they still continued to labour, employed in his transactions with the leading members of that body the celebrated Grattan, in whom the catholics universally confided. A bill for their further relief was consequently introduced into the Irish parliament, and the utmost joy was diffused through the country, in the expectation of this enlarged toleration, when intelligence arrived in Dublin that the British ministry avowed themselves adverse to the measure. The lord-lieutenant, after holding the government only three months, was displaced, and lord Camden appointed in his stead.

The recall of Earl Fitzwilliam cast a deep gloom over Ireland; and the arrival of his successor in the capital, on the thirty-first of March, was accompanied by so marked an oblation of popular dis-

content, that the intervention of the military was found necessary. On the thirteenth of April the Irish parliament assembled. On the twenty-fourth Grattan presented his memorable bill for catholic emancipation; but it was rejected, and from this period the political association, styled the Society of United Irishmen, rapidly extended itself over the whole country. All the catholics, and a large proportion of the protestants of the kingdom, joined this community; and the leaders began to entertain dangerous designs. Agents were sent to negotiate with the national convention; acts of sedition, rapine, and murder, were perpetrated by the most desperate; while, on the other hand, the violent supporters of the system of exclusion confederated together under the name of Orangemen. Mutual injuries soon engendered a most inveterate hatred between these two descriptions of men, one of which was beyond comparison superior in number, and the other in property, in legal authority, and military force; and these dissensions rapidly increased, till the whole land exhibited a scene of terror, consternation, and blood.

MARRIAGE OF THE PRINCE OF WALES— HIS DEBTS ARRANGED.

An event, auspicious in its commencement, though unfortunate in its results, as it affected both the illustrious parties, occurred on the eighth of April, in the marriage of the prince of Wales with the princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick, and the dutchess Augusta of England, and niece to his majesty. Lord Malmesbury was employed to conduct the royal bride from her father's court. On her arrival in England she was received with every mark of distinction due to her royal birth and illustrious alliance, and the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. It was generally understood, that in forming this connection, his royal highness was influenced by the promise of an ample provision for the discharge of his debts, which had increased to a vast amount; and this is the more probable from his known attachment at the time to Mrs. Fitzherbert, with whom it was even stated that the marriage ceremony, though invalid by law, had taken place.

On the twenty-seventh of April, a message from his majesty to the commons announced the royal marriage, and expressed the king's conviction that a suitable provision would be made for the establishment of the prince and princess. The message proceeded to state that his royal highness was undesired pecuniary embarrassments, and recommended to parliament the gradual extinction of his debts, by applying to that purpose a part of his income, and the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. After some discussion, the house, on the suggestion of the chancellor of the exchequer, determined that one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, together with the rents of the duchy of Cornwall, estimated at thirteen thousand pounds, should be settled upon the prince, of which, seventy-eight thousand pounds should be applied annually to the liquidation of his debts, amounting, at this period, to upwards of six hundred thousand pounds; and that a law should be passed to prevent the heir-apparent in future from being involved in similar difficulties. These propositions met the concurrence of the house, and a jointure of fifty thousand pounds per annum was settled upon the princess of Wales, in the event of her surviving his royal highness.

WARREN HASTINGS ACQUITTED—PARLIAMENT PROROGUED.

THE trial of Hastings, which had lasted seven years, was now brought to a conclusion. After some debates on the mode of proceeding, it was resolved that the question should be separately put on sixteen points. The greatest number of peers who voted the defendant guilty in any one respect, did not exceed six: the votes of innocence, in some of the charges, were twenty-six; in others, twenty-three; in one, nineteen. The chancellor intimated the decision of the court to Hastings on the twenty-third of April, who received it in silence, bowed, and retired from the bar.

The public in general seemed to be pleased with the acquittal of one who had suffered so long an arraignment, yet had conducted the affairs of his gov-

ernment with spirit and success; and who, though he had not always regarded the duties of morality, the dictates of virtuous policy, and the sentiments of humanity and moderation, had promoted the interests of his employers, secured their authority, and established their dominion. The East India company paid Hastings the costs of his trial, amounting to upwards of seventy thousand pounds, and likewise conferred upon him a pecuniary donation.

Parliament was prorogued on the twenty-seventh of June by a speech from the throne, which breathed the air of pacification, and declared it impossible to contemplate the internal situation of the enemy with whom we were contending without indulging a hope that the present circumstances of France might, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and regular government as might be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of peace and amity.

NAVAL AFFAIRS—WEST INDIES.

In March an engagement took place in the Mediterranean, between two squadrons, nearly equal in force; the English commanded by Admiral Hotham, and the French by Richery, the latter of which was conveying a large body of troops to Corsica, for the recapture of that island. The *Ca Ira*, of eighty, and the *Censeur*, of seventy-four guns, struck the English flag; on the other hand, the French captured the *Borwick*, of seventy-four guns, going out singly to join the fleet; and the *Illustrious* of the same rate, being much damaged in the fight, was driven on shore, and lost near Arenza. Soon after this another partial action took place near St. Fiorenzo; and the *Alcide*, a French ship of the line, struck her colours; but, from some fatal accident, blow up before she could be taken possession of by the English. The skilful retreat of admiral Cornwallis, with a small squadron of five ships of the line, from a far superior force, is entitled to be mentioned. On the sixteenth of June, near the *Pamarks*, the *Phaeton* frigate made a signal for an enemy's fleet, consisting of thirteen line-of-battle ships. At nine the next morning the French began the attack, which was vigorously repelled by the English, who kept up a running fight the whole day, without suffering the enemy to gain the least advantage. At length, by throwing out signals as if to another British fleet in sight, the assailants were induced to sheer off. On the twenty-third, however, off Port L'Orient, the same French squadron actually fell in with another fleet, under lord Bridport, which captured three of them, the rest of the squadron only escaping into L'Orient by keeping close in shore. On the other hand, the French made, in the month of October, a capture of thirty merchantmen from the Mediterranean and Levant, with a ship of the line, constituting part of the convoy. They also made prize of part of a Jamaica fleet; and, indeed, both in this and the preceding year, the British trade suffered immensely from their attacks, while their own declining commerce presented few objects of reprisal for our cruisers and privateers.

Notwithstanding their disparity of naval force, the French, after recovering the whole of Guadeloupe, attacked, with success, the fort of Tibouron, in St. Domingo, and made themselves masters of St. Eustatius. St. Lucia, after a violent and bloody conflict, was reluctantly evacuated by the governor-general, Stewart; and Grenada, Dominica, and St. Vincent's were preserved with great difficulty. In Jamaica a strife long subsisted with the Maroons, a tribe which on the surrender of the island by the Spaniards to the English, refused to submit to the latter, and had since occupied the mountainous part of the country. After many conflicts in which they were nearly exterminated, those who remained consented to be removed to Canada, where a portion of land was allotted to them.

FRENCH MAKE PEACE WITH PRUSSIA, SPAIN, &c.

ON the continent the French courted the king of Prussia into forbearance, and persuaded him that his safety and interest required peace. Having annexed two great commercial cities, Danzig and Thorn, together with some of the most fertile provinces of Poland, to his dominions, and despair-

ing of the subversion of the French republic, that prince seceded from the confederacy, and concluded a treaty on the fifth of April, by which he relinquished his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. By another agreement he secured the neutrality, and provided for the peace of the north of Germany. The king of Spain was also induced to agree to a pacification with the victorious republic. In the former part of the year the French met with great success over the troops of the Spanish monarch, and threatened him not only with the loss of considerable provinces, but with the propagation of revolutionary doctrines among his people. To avert these dangers, the king of Spain purchased peace by the resignation of that part of the island of St. Domingo which the Spaniards had possessed ever since the time of Columbus. Even the elector of Hanover, though he remained the most active member of the confederacy in his capacity of king of Great Britain, nevertheless ordered a treaty of peace to be signed with the French, as far as related to the electorate; as did also the landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The grand duke of Tuscany, brother of the emperor, and the first of all the potentates who had joined the coalition, was likewise induced to recognise the French republic; and through the intervention of his minister, count Carletti, he concluded at Paris a separate treaty of peace with the convention, and resumed openly his original system of neutrality. The regent of Sweden, following the pacific policy of the grand duke, sent the baron de Stael to Paris, to assure the French nation of the friendship entertained for them by the court of Stockholm.

OPERATIONS IN LA VENDEE—UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION TO QUIBERON BAY.

An entire change took place in the conduct of the civil war in La Vendée. After some preliminary negotiations in the beginning of February, Charette, and the principal chiefs of his army, on behalf of the Vendéans, and general Comartin on the part of the Chouans, publicly signified their intention to deliver up their arms and magazines, and to live for the future in subjection to the existing government. Conferences were opened at a farm-house near Nantes between the insurgent chiefs and the deputies from the convention; and on the seventh of March a treaty of peace was concluded, signed, and ratified, at Nantes. The hopes, however, that this peace would be permanent, were soon proved to be delusive. The republican government, on the plea of bad faith, refused to advance the sums stipulated by a treaty of the seventh of March; and several of the chiefs having been arrested for holding a traitorous correspondence with the English government, the country was again in arms early in June, under the command of Charette and Stofflet. The British government, however, appeared unwilling to adopt any decisive plan of operations on the French coast, and determined to let the royalists act for themselves, with such assistance of arms and money as England could afford. Agreeably to this decision, a small armament was prepared in the month of June; it consisted of all the emigrant nobility then in England, who had enlisted in their service, with more seal than prudence; a number of French prisoners of war, who were republicans in heart, and who only wanted an opportunity to return to their native country. The whole formed a body of about three thousand men, who were landed on a peninsula in the Bay of Quiberon, on the southern coast of Brittany, on the twenty-seventh of June. Here they attacked a fort defended by three thousand republicans, which they speedily reduced; and were, in a few days, joined by a body of Chouans, who increased their numbers to twelve thousand. In order to confine the royalists to the contracted space of the peninsula which they occupied, their opponents erected three forts at the neck of it. These the former attacked on the night of the fifteenth of July, and carried two of them; but being excessively galled by a masked battery, on their approach to the third, they were compelled to retreat; and were indebted for their safety to the seasonable fire from the British ships. The failure of this attempt produced dissensions among the royalists, which were reported, with great exaggerations, no doubt, to the republican general, Hoche, by those French prisoners who had been enlisted

in England, and who now deserted. Through the treachery of these miscreants Hoche obtained the watch-word of the royalists, whose camp he surprised in the night of the twentieth of July, and took or slew the greater part of them. The young count de Sombreuil, however, at the head of a gallant body of emigrants, continued to make such a desperate resistance, that Hoche was induced to enter into a capitulation with them, by which they were to be treated as prisoners of war, and their personal safety ensured. All the stores, ammunition, and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy. Thus ended this abortive attempt, in which some of the best blood of ancient France was shed. Sombreuil and his gallant associates were, by a most scandalous breach of faith, tried, condemned, and executed, as traitors: one hundred and eighty-seven royalists, including the bishop of Dol, and several of his clergy, who had accompanied the expedition, were murdered in cold blood on this occasion. The British squadron hovered on the coast for some time, and, having failed in the attempt to take the island of Noirmoutier, succeeded in gaining possession of Isle Dieu.

INSURRECTION IN PARIS—DEATH OF THE DAUPHIN.

THE two parties who had combined to overthrow the tyranny of Robespierre soon showed that they could not exist together; and on the second of March a report was presented to the convention, in which Barrere, Collet d'Herbois, and Billaut Varennes, were accused of having participated in the enormities of Robespierre, and, after undergoing the usual form of trial, it was decreed that they should be transported to Guiana. The proceedings against these deputies, united with the pressure of famine, which at that moment was felt with peculiar severity, occasioned an insurrection in Paris, which broke out on the first of April, and was not suppressed till the following day. Another insurrection took place in Paris on the twentieth of May, when the rallying exclamation was, "Bread, and the constitution of 1793!" This was followed by insurrections in the departments, but they were all at length suppressed.

On the ninth of June the only son of the late unfortunate Louis the sixteenth, terminated his sufferings in the prison of the Temple, where he had been confined from the fatal autumn of 1792. On this event the committee of public safety proposed the exchange of his sister, who remained a prisoner in the Temple, for the deputies Semonville and Maret, who had been delivered up to Austria by Dumouriez, which was, after some delay, acceded to. The count de Provence, the legitimate heir to the throne of the Bourbons, was now styled Louis the eighteenth.

NEW FRENCH CONSTITUTION.

THE plan of a new constitution was drawn up by a committee appointed for that purpose, and on the twenty-third of August declared complete. The legislative power was vested in two councils, the one consisting of five hundred, and the other of two hundred and fifty members, to the former of which, styled the Legislative Council, belonged the proposing, and to the latter, the Senate, or Council of Elders, the confirming of laws. The executive power was delegated to a directory of five persons. On this constitution two decrees were ingrafted, which, in their consequences, plunged the metropolis of France into another of those scenes of horror that had so often been exhibited during the revolution; by the first of these decrees, passed on the fifth Fructidor (August the twenty-second), it was enacted that the elective bodies should, in appointing the deputies to the legislative body, choose two-thirds from among the members of the present convention; and, by the second, that, in default of such election, the convention should fill up the vacancies themselves. The forty-eight sections of Paris, while they unanimously accepted the constitutional act, firmly rejected the law for the re-election of the two-thirds, and proceeded to acts of open hostility. On the fourth of October the sections, having drawn out their forces, marched then to the hall of the convention, and a sanguinary battle took place in the streets. The command of the troops was confided to Barras by the convention; and on this occasion Napoleon Buonaparte

first distinguished himself, as a commander, on that stage on which he afterwards became so prominent an actor. The different avenues of the Thuilleries being planted with cannon, great slaughter was made among the insurgents, who were driven from all their posts, with the loss of about eight hundred men; and the convention, now triumphant, declared the majority of votes in the departments in favour of the law of the fifth of Fructidor. On the thirtieth of September the convention solemnly decreed the incorporation with the republic of France of all the countries which the house of Austria, previously to the war, had possessed on the French side of the Rhine: on the twenty-seventh of October it was decreed that the punishment of death should be abolished at the peace, and a general amnesty granted; and the president, then rising, said, "The convention is dissolved!" The members of the new legislature proceeded to the choice of the directory, and the election fell upon men not distinguished as favourites of the people, but most of whom bore characters free from reproach. At the head of the list stood Berville Lepaux, a lawyer by profession, and of the Gironde party: the next was Reubell, a moderate man, also an attorney: Letourneur de la Marehe, an officer of engineers, and rather more attached to the mountain party, was the third: the fourth was Barras, formerly a viscount, a soldier, by profession, and a man of pleasure in habits; Siyees, the subtle statesman, was at first nominated as the fifth, but he declined the office; and Carnot, a member of the committee of safety under Robespierre, but who had attended almost exclusively to the business of the military department, and of whom it was said, "that he organised Victory, and rendered her permanent," filled up the number. Thus constituted, the new government, in all its departments, entered upon the active exercise of its functions, and the palace of the Luxembourg was appointed for the residence of the executive power.

RETURN OF THE ENGLISH ARMY FROM THE CONTINENT—OPERATIONS ON THE RHINE.

The English army, under the command of general Sir Ralph Abercrombie, pursued by a far superior force, moved towards the German frontier; and on the twelfth of February they crossed the Rhine at Rheine, much harassed by the advanced parties of the enemy. At Groningen the division commanded by lord Catcart was refused admission; but, after a long series of disasters, the shattered remains of this fine body of troops, supposed, at their departure from England, to amount to thirty-five thousand men, now reduced to about a fifth part of that number, reached the city of Bremen on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth of March, and soon afterwards embarked, on board the transports lying ready to receive them in the Elbe for England.

The allied powers were not in a situation to take the field till the month of May; and it was not till the seventh of June that the fortress of Luxembourg was attacked by the French troops. After its surrender, nothing seemed wanting to complete the glory of the French arms, and to secure their recent acquisitions, but the subjection of Mentz, which had then been fruitlessly besieged for several months,—the Austrians, commanded by generals Clairfait and Wurmer, maintaining an uninterrupted intercourse with the garrison from Cassel, on the opposite bank. It being at length perceived that the city could not be reduced until a perfect investment was formed, a large body of the French troops, under Jourdan, passed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, which surrendered without resistance, the Austrians retiring to a strong position on the Lahn. Another body, commanded by Pichegru, effected the passage of the river at Mannheim, of which city they took immediate possession, on terms very favourable to the inhabitants. The investment of Mentz was thus at last accomplished, and a confident hope was entertained of its speedy capitulation; but a division of Pichegru's army, being ordered to the attack of a post necessary to prevent the junction of the forces of Clairfait and Wurmer, now marching to the relief of Mentz, was overpowered, and compelled to retreat with precipitation to Mannheim; and Jourdan, thus deprived of the expected co-operation of Pichegru, found his posi-

tion no longer tenable. The Austrians also had taken part of his heavy artillery: Jourdan was therefore obliged to raise the siege, and he repassed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, much harassed by Clairfait in his retreat. The Austrians even pursued the enemy across the river, and beat up the quarters of the French, spreading terror over the country as far as Luxembourg. General Wurmer, on the other side, proceeded to the attack of Mannheim. He immediately began a bombardment, which in a short time destroyed the principal buildings of that beautiful city, reducing it to a scene of desolation; and the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The campaign was at length terminated by an armistice of three months.

WAR WITH HOLLAND—CAPTURE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE, &c.

FRANCE having entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland, a proclamation was issued by the British government, on the nineteenth of January, containing peremptory orders to seize whatever Dutch vessels were found in the ports of Great Britain; in consequence of which five ships of war were secured, lying in Plymouth Sound, nine East Indiamen, and about sixty sail of other vessels. On the ninth of February a third proclamation was published, authorising the capture of all Dutch ships and property; and letters of marque and reprisal were also, after an interval of some months, granted; so that war against Holland was virtually declared; and before the end of the summer, the famous settlement of the Cape of Good Hope surrendered with little resistance. The conduct of the expedition was intrusted to vice-admiral Sir George Keith Elphinstone and general Sir Alured Clarke. On the fourteenth of July a landing was effected at Simons-Town, and possession obtained of that place, which had been previously evacuated, with the supposed intention of being burnt. The troops, advancing towards the Cape-Town, carried the strong post of Myssenberg, where general Craig waited for a reinforcement from St. Salvador. After some weeks of inaction, an attempt to surprise the most considerable of the out-posts failed; and, though the English repelled a fierce attack, their efforts did not deter their adversaries from preparing for a general engagement. At this crisis, the appearance of the expected reinforcement checked the eagerness of the enemy: the government proposed a cessation of hostilities, and terms of capitulation were adjusted on the sixteenth of September, by which it was agreed that the troops in garrison should be prisoners of war, and that the property of the Dutch East India company should be delivered up to the captors of the settlement; but private possessions and civil rights were left inviolate. In the course of the year, Trincomalee, Colombo, and other Dutch settlements in Ceylon; Malacca, situated on the peninsula of that name; Chinsura, in the Bay of Bengal, and Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, were taken by the British forces.

Early in 1795, lord Amherst retiring from public life, the duke of York was appointed commander-in-chief and field-marshal general of the forces of Great Britain; the duke of Richmond was removed from his post of master of the ordnance, in which he was succeeded by earl, recently created marquis Cornwallis; and Sir William Howe was nominated, in the place of the latter nobleman, governor and lieutenant of the tower of London.

UNPOPULARITY OF THE WAR—OUTRAGE AGAINST THE KING—ADDRESS.

A SPIRIT of discontent pervaded the country at this period, and petitions for peace from London, York, Norwich, Hull, Manchester, &c. were presented; but they were not sufficiently general to produce any material impression, and their influence was counteracted by other petitions, expressive of a reliance in the wisdom of government, and in their readiness to enter upon negotiations for peace whenever the proper period should arrive. In the autumn great apprehensions were excited by large assemblages of the populace, convened by the Corresponding Society, which still continued its meetings; and on the twenty-sixth of October not less than forty thousand persons assembled in a field near Copenhagen house, in the

vicinity of the metropolis, for the purpose of voting a number of resolutions expressive of their views of the measures of government; and a petition, praying that the bill recently introduced into the house for the restriction, or rather the utter prevention of popular assemblies, for the purpose of political investigation, might be dismissed with that marked disapprobation it so justly deserved. To increase the agitations produced by the conflicts of parties, a scarcity arising almost to famine, prevailed throughout the kingdom. This scarcity was occasioned (in part, at least) by an alarming deficiency in the year's crop, which had suffered extremely by incessant rains. The state of the nation from these circumstances appeared so critical, that it was judged expedient to assemble parliament at an earlier period than usual.

On the twenty-ninth of October, the day fixed for the meeting, an unusual concourse of people assembled in the Park; and, as his majesty passed to the house, violent exclamations were heard of "Pence! Bread! No Pitt! No war!" The clamour increasing, stones were thrown at the royal carriage as it proceeded through the streets of Westminster; and from a house near the Abbey, a bullet was supposed to be discharged from an air-gun, as no noise was heard, though something passed through the glass of the coach with great force and velocity. On entering the house of peers his Majesty, in some perturbation, addressing the lord-chancellor, said, "My lord, I have been shot at." The rage of the misguided populace was not yet exhausted; for, on his return from the house, the king was again assailed in the park; and to such a pitch did the mob carry their resentment, that one party of them attacked and nearly demolished the state carriage as it returned empty from St. James's; while another attempted to stop the private carriage of the king, in which he had seated himself for the purpose of joining his family at the queen's house, and even to force open the carriage doors. At this critical moment the arrival of a party of the life-guards dispersed the populace, and the king, with great difficulty, reached the queen's house. So gross an outrage as this had never been offered to any other monarch of Great Britain since the days of Charles the first. A reward of one thousand pounds was immediately offered, to be paid on conviction of any person concerned in this daring and criminal assault; but no one who had been guilty of any actual violence was ever discovered. The only person brought to punishment was Kidd Wake, a journeyman printer, who was found to have been among the hissers and disturbers of the king's peace, of which crime he was convicted, and sentenced to five years solitary confinement in the penitentiary-house at Gloucester, and to stand in the pillory.

The outrage committed upon the sovereign excited great consternation in the house of lords; and, as soon as the king withdrew, the ministers had a short consultation as to the proper mode of proceeding on so extraordinary an occasion. It was at length determined to postpone the consideration of the speech from the throne to the following day, and immediately to form the house into a committee of privileges. This being done, lord Grenville apprised the peers of the attack which the king had sustained on his way to the house. Some witnesses were next examined, who proved that, after the royal carriage had passed the gateway at the horse-guards, there were frequent exclamations of "Down with George! No King!" and many stones were thrown at the coach by the mob. When all the facts had been established, a conference was proposed with the commons, and a joint address was presented to the king, in which the two houses avowed their indignation and abhorrence at the daring outrage offered to his majesty, and requested that he would be pleased to direct the most effectual measures to be taken, without delay, for discovering the authors and abettors of crimes so atrocious.

KING'S SPEECH—BILLS AGAINST TREASON.

In the speech from the throne the king expressed his satisfaction at the improved state of public affairs, arising from the measures which had been adopted for preventing the invasion of Italy and Germany by the French; the crisis brought about by the prevalence of anarchy at Paris was represented as likely to produce consequences highly important to the interests of Europe; and, should

that crisis terminate in any order of things affording a reasonable expectation of security and permanence in any treaty which might be concluded, the appearance of a wish to negotiate for a general peace on just and suitable terms would not fail to be met by the king with an earnest desire to give it the fullest and speediest effect. The speech notified that treaties of defensive alliance had been concluded with the two imperial courts, and that a commercial treaty had been ratified with America. The address having being proposed by lord Dalmatius, Fox moved an amendment asserting the ability of the French government to maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity with other nations, and praying his majesty to give directions to his ministers to offer such terms to the French republic as would be consistent with the honour of his crown, and with the security and interests of his people. But the amendment was negatived by a large majority.

Two bills were brought into parliament, one "for the safety and preservation of his majesty's government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts," and the other "for the more effectually preventing seditious meetings and assemblies." These bills had for their object the restriction of the right hitherto possessed by the people of assembling for the purposes of petitioning the crown and legislature, and of discussing political subjects: they materially extended the law of high treason, and aggravated the punishment of sedition; and were warmly opposed in each step of their passage through both houses, as violent and unnecessary encroachments on the privileges granted by the constitution; but were carried by more than the usual majority, such was the impression made by the intemperate proceeding which had taken place. Their duration, however, was limited to three years.

SCARCITY OF CORN—SUPPLIES—BIRTH OF PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.

PARLIAMENT was not unmindful of the critical state of the country, owing to the scarcity of corn. It appeared, from the information laid before a committee of the house appointed to inquire into this subject, that the principal failure in the late harvest had been the crop of wheat, and a bounty of twenty shillings per quarter was in consequence ordered to be paid on the importation of wheat from the Mediterranean; fifteen shillings per quarter on that from America; and five shillings per quarter on Indian corn. Bills were also passed for prohibiting the manufacture of starch from wheat; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits from grain; and for facilitating the cultivation of waste lands; and a considerable number of enclosure bills passed the house in the course of this session of parliament.

On the fourth of November lord Arden moved that: one hundred and ten thousand seamen, including eighteen thousand marines, should be voted for the service of the year 1796; and Windham, on the same occasion, proposed that two hundred and seven thousand men should be employed in the land service. These motions being carried, Pitt brought forward, on the seventh of December, a proposal to negotiate a loan of eighteen million pounds, and stated the sum of twenty-seven million five hundred thousand pounds to be the estimated expenses of the approaching year.

A message was delivered to the house of commons by Pitt, on the eighth of December, announcing the establishment of such a form of government in France as appeared capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity, and expressive of a readiness on the part of the British government to meet any proposal for negotiation, on the part of the enemy, with a desire to give it the speediest effect in producing a peace. On the following day Pitt moved an address of thanks to his majesty. This address gave rise to a debate, in which Sheridan proposed an amendment, disclaiming the idea of considering any change of government in France as affecting the principle of negotiation, and praying that a treaty might immediately be entered upon. This amendment was said to be perfectly consistent with the spirit of the message, which admitted that Great Britain might now safely treat: where then could be the objection of declaring that she would treat with France? To this reasoning

ministers observed, that it was highly proper and expedient that the executive government should be left unfettered, and the amendment was negatived without a division.

1795.—The only child of the prince and princess of Wales, was born on the seventh of January, and baptised Charlotte, in compliment to her august grandmother, the queen of England.

PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

On the tenth of May an address to the king was moved, in the upper house by the earl of Guildford, and in the lower house by Fox, declaring that the duty incumbent on parliament no longer permitted them to dissemble their deliberate opinion, that the distress, difficulty, and peril, to which this country was then subjected, had arisen from the misconduct of the king's ministers, and was likely to exist and increase as long as the same principles which had hitherto guided these ministers should continue to prevail in the councils of Great Britain.

Fox enlarged much on "that most fatal of all the innumerable errors of ministers," their rushing into a ruinous and unnecessary war, instead of mediating between France and the allied powers. Had they, said he, counselled his majesty to accept the grateful office of mediator, it would have added lustre to the national character, and placed Britain in the exalted situation of arbitress of the world. Pitt insisted that his majesty could not have interposed his mediation without incurring the hazard of involving himself in a war with that power which should have refused his terms. The motions of both Fox and lord Guildford were lost by immense majorities. The public business being now concluded, his majesty terminated the session of parliament, on the nineteenth of May, with a speech from the throne, expressive of the highest approbation of the uniform wisdom, temper, and firmness, which had appeared in all their proceedings since their first meeting in that place; and on the following day the parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Hostile Operations in Italy and Germany—Disturbances in La Vendée terminated—Success of the British in the West Indies—Capture of a Dutch Squadron in Saldanha Bay—Evacuation of Corsica by the British—Invasion of Ireland attempted by the French—Naval Operations—Differences between France and America—Spain and Holland declare War against Great Britain—State of France—Measures against British Commerce—Opening of the New Parliament—Negotiations for Peace—Unsuccessful results—Increase of the National Force—Financial Measures—Suspension of Cash Payments by the Bank—Alarming Meeting in the Navy—Discontents in Ireland—Naval Operations—Admiral Jervis's victory off Cape St. Vincent—Admiral Duncan's victory off Camperdown—Bombardment of Cadix—Capture of Trinidad—Failure at Porto Rico—Unsuccessful attempt on Tenerife—French troops land in Wales—Surrender of Mantua, and Expulsion of the Austrians from Italy—The French advance into the hereditary dominions, and compel the Emperor to make Peace—Treaty of Campo Formio—Internal Affairs of France.

OPERATIONS IN ITALY AND GERMANY.

THE French government determined to make a powerful diversion in Italy, under the command of Buonaparte. In the month of April he entered the territory of the Genoese republic, and quickly evinced, on different occasions, those extraordinary talents for war which afterwards elevated him to the summit of power and fame. In the space of five days Buonaparte, with the aid of Borthier and Massena, gained three victories; Mondovi and other towns were reduced; and the king of Sardinia was so discouraged, that to procure a cessation of hostilities, he delivered up some of his principal fortresses to the victorious army. A peace was soon concluded between him and the French, to whom he ceded the duchy of Savoy and county of Nice for ever. Advancing to Lodi, on the tenth of May, the French encountered general Beaulieu; but they were opposed by such strenuous efforts, and so tremendous a fire, that victory seemed to promise itself to the Austrian battalions. At length, however, after a most sanguinary conflict, the bridge was forced, and the republican army bore down all before it. The success of this action, commenced in opposition to all the rules of tactics, by no means justified the attempt. When the first column had advanced half way across the bridge, a single discharge of the Austrian artillery mowed down seven hundred men; and the darkness in which the smoke enveloped the French, alone enabled them to gain the opposite extremity. It is the undoubted duty of a commander to expose his troops to the least possible danger; and the necessity of crossing the Adda at Lodi, when it might have been effected at some other point, does not appear sufficiently imperative to rescue Buonaparte from the imputation of having wantonly sacrificed the lives of his men. By this victory he gained possession of the greater part of the Milanese; and, after having quelled an insurrection of the new subjects of France at Pavia, he entered the ecclesiastical states, and took possession of Bologna, Urbino, and Ferrara. Alarmed in the highest degree at the advance of an enemy, now become formidable to all Italy, both the pope and the king of Naples sued for an armistice, which was granted to his Sicilian majesty on the easy condition of withdrawing all assistance from the allied army; but the pope was obliged not merely to cede to the French the towns already in their possession, but to add to their number the city and fortress of Ancona, on the Adriatic, together with a contribution of twenty-one million francs by instalments, and a present of one hundred pictures, statues, busts, and vases, to be selected by competent judges of the arts, from the galleries at Rome, to adorn the museums of France. Similar terms were also exacted from the dukes of Parma and Modena. On the twenty-eighth of June a detachment of French

troops took possession of Leghorn, though belonging to a neutral power, on pretext of dislodging the English, the whole of whose property found in that city was confiscated to the use of the republic: the factory, however, had removed the greater part of their effects to the Isle of Elba. The Austrians being pursued by the French into the Venetian territory, the senate, whose policy it had always been to pay the greatest deference to power, after manifesting a partiality to the cause of the allies, found it necessary to bend before the genius of the Gallic democracy, and the count de Provençe (Louis the XVIII.), who had taken refuge in their territory, was desired to withdraw.

The command of the Austrian army in Italy, was conferred on field-marshal Wurmser, a warrior, who in his eightieth year, combined all the energy and ardour of youth with the experience of age. Having collected the shattered remains of Beaulieu's army, and strengthened them with large reinforcements, he crossed the Adige towards the end of July, and obliged the French to raise the siege of Mantua. On the fifth of August the two armies came in conflict, and the battle was continued for several successive days; but victory at length declared in favour of the French general, and Wurmser was obliged to take refuge in Mantua. The emperor immediately assembled another army, at the head of which was placed Alvinci, a member of the Aulic council, who commenced his operations with some success at the head of fifty thousand men, expecting to be able to form a junction with the army of the Tyrol, and raise the blockade of Mantua; but his progress was intercepted by Buonaparte, who, crossing the Adige on the fourteenth of November, advanced to the village of Arcole, a position equally strengthened by nature and art; and, after a most obstinate and bloody conflict, which lasted three days, was at length successful, through the stratagem before practised, of taking the enemy in the rear. In the mean time the left wing of the French army had been forced by general Davidowich, who advanced within eight leagues of Mantua; but Buonaparte, taking advantage of his late victory, ordered general Massena to rejoin the Adige, and attack the successful division, which was forced to retire behind the Ariolo, on the twenty-second of November, while Alvinci took refuge on the other side of the Brenta, after losing six thousand men in killed and wounded, eighteen pieces of cannon, and four standards. Thus ended one of the most memorable campaigns recorded in history.

The French armies on the Rhine were under the command of Jourdan and Moreau. Three battles won successively at Renchen, Rastadt, and Edingen, not only enabled the invaders to gain possession of the passes of the Black Forest, but to invest Mentz, Mannheim, Philippsburg, and Ehrenbreitstein, at the same time. The engagement at

Eltingen, where the archduke Charles, brother of the emperor, a gallant and popular prince, now at the head of the Austrian army, contended against Moreau in person, was long and obstinate; and, when at length the Austrians were forced to retire, it was rather before the enthusiasm than the superior skill of their adversaries. In this victorious career Moreau forced the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Wurttemberg, and the Margrave of Baden, to sue for peace; while Jourdan, seizing on Nuremberg, Ingolstadt, and Amberg, menaced Austria on his right, as well as Bohemia in his front. The retreat of the imperial forces in Germany was contemporary with the dreadful losses which they were sustaining from Buonaparte in Italy; but their strength, though overpowered, was not broken. The archduke Charles, having received considerable supplies, determined to throw himself between the invaders and Ratisbon; but before his arrival the army of Wurttemberg had fought a successful battle, and driven the French from the heights before Amberg. The archduke arrived in person, and, after defeating the enemy under Bernadotte, drove them back to Newmark. Jourdan, finding his left wing and rear thus exposed to a superior force, was driven as far as Wurtzburg, where they were again overtaken, and, being once more defeated, they were seized with a panic, and immediately disbanded.

The conquests of Moreau were now become useless, in consequence of the defeat of Jourdan. The former, after conducting his victorious troops from the banks of the Rhine to those of the Danube and the Isere, and proving successful in five pitched battles, was now obliged to commence his celebrated retreat, which he executed with great skill and extraordinary judgment. Having completely destroyed the Austrians relative to the route he intended to take, he crossed the Lech, on the eleventh of September, and retired in an orderly manner, defeating all the Austrian corps which attempted to oppose him. Having at length forced the passes of the Black Forest, and penetrated through a defile called the Valley of Hall, the name of which sufficiently expresses the nature of the country, Moreau, at the head of an army fatigued by the length of its march through a hostile country of more than three hundred miles in extent, destitute of shoes, and rendered sickly by continual rains, passed the Rhine at Huningau without molestation, and returned to Strasburg, the point whence he set out, on the twenty-sixth of October, leaving a strong garrison in Kehl, which, after a brave resistance, surrendered to the archduke.

DISTURBANCES IN LA VENDEE TERMINATED.

In La Vendée, Stofflet, the insurgent leader, who in the course of two years had defeated his opponents in more than a hundred actions, was surprised and taken by two republican officers in the village of Langreniere, and executed at Angers on the twenty-third of February. The Vendéans and Chouans still, however, remaining attached to the cause of royalty, Charrette continued to embrace every opportunity of annoyance, until, at length, being totally defeated, and his followers completely dispersed, after wandering some time in the disguise of a peasant, he was discovered and taken, and, on the twenty-eighth of April, executed at Nantes. On the fall of these chiefs, all the insurgent departments readily submitted; and Hoche, who at Quiberon had acquired some distinction as a warrior, was empowered by the directory to adopt lenient methods for bringing over the remaining malecontents, and hailed as the pacificator of La Vendée.

BRITISH SUCCESSSES IN THE WEST INDIES—DUTCH SQUADRON CAPTURED.

THE conquests of the French in Europe did not prevent the English from persevering in their intention to capture all their remaining colonies, as well as those of their allies, between the tropics; and they were now enabled, by their strength, to obtain successes in that quarter unknown in any former period of the war. Demerara, Iseguibo, and Berbice, surrendered to the British commanders. A despatch was effected on St. Lucia; and the enemy retired to Morne Chabot, one of the strong-

est positions of the island, which was carried by the gallantry of a small body under the orders of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Morne Fortane was next invested and taken; two thousand French soldiers were made prisoners, the insurgent negroes disarmed, and the island ceded to Britain. An expedition under general Knox, to St. Vincent's, undertaken on the twenty-fifth of May, was no less successful, where the French surrendered to the number of seven hundred: the dispersion of the Caribbes immediately followed. An attack was afterwards made on Grenada, which succeeded, with little bloodshed. A body of seven thousand troops arrived early in the spring at the Mole in St. Domingo; but the mortality of the yellow fever was so great, and the numbers of the free blacks and mulattoes so formidable, that the war was waged with few advantages on our side. Toussaint, with his negro army, and Regaud at the head of the mulattoes, maintained a fierce, though desultory, warfare; and the British with difficulty retained their extensive chain of posts, occupying a coast three hundred miles in extent.

The Dutch government, determined not to suffer the loss of the Cape of Good Hope without a struggle to regain so important a settlement, fitted out an expedition, consisting of two sail of the line, three smaller ships of war, and three armed vessels, which anchored on the second of August in the Bay of Saldanha. Just at the critical moment when general Craig, with his small army, was marching down to the coast to meet the invaders, they perceived a British fleet of two seventy-fours, five sixty-fours, a fifty-gun ship, and six other vessels, advancing with a fair wind to the mouth of the harbour. The English admiral, aware of his superiority, anchored within cannon shot of the Dutch vessels, and sent a written summons to their commander to surrender. Rear-admiral Kalkreuth, Lacoe, knowing that resistance must be unavailing, obeyed the summons, and on the seventeenth of August he surrendered his whole fleet without firing a gun.

THE BRITISH EVACUATE CORSICA—THE FRENCH ATTEMPT TO INVADE IRELAND.

THE turbulent spirit of the inhabitants of Corsica, and the arrival of a body of French under general Caserte, to co-operate with internal revolt, rendered the possession of that island no longer possible to the British. Seizing on the heights above Bastia, the invaders captured the city: Fiorenaso, Bonifacio, and the tower of Mortella, were retaken on the twentieth of October, and considerable spoils fell into the hands of the victors on the retreat of the English fleet from the adjoining bay, and on the final evacuation of the island. The island of Elba, however, which had been seized some months before, was still retained and formed a useful arsenal and a convenient station.

The state of Ireland encouraged the French government to strike a blow of no common importance. On the twentieth of December, fifteen thousand chosen troops, under the command of Hoche, were embarked at Brest, intended to act, on their arrival, with a body of the disaffected Irish, who were known to be considerable in numbers, and organised for insurrection. Admiral Villaret Joyeuse sailed from Brest with eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates and transports: the wind at first was favourable, but scarcely had the expedition left the outer harbour, when a storm arose which dispersed the fleet, and separating the frigate which carried Hoche, obliged him to escape into the harbour of Rochelle, after being chased by two British vessels. Of the whole fleet only eight two-deckers reached the coast of Ireland, under admiral Bouvet, who appeared off Bantry Bay, but was forced from that station in a few days by tempestuous weather, and obliged to return to France without effecting a landing. In this expedition the French lost three ships of the line and three frigates, by stress of weather; but they had the singular good fortune to escape lord Bridport and admiral Colpoys, the former of whom, with a British fleet under his command, arrived in Bantry Bay immediately after the departure of the enemy.

Such was the determined courage of British seamen at this period, that scarcely any inferiority of

force could deter them from a contest at sea; and even in port the enemy's vessels were frequently boarded and cut out, under the incessant fire of the batteries, and discharges of musketry. One of the most gallant actions during the war was fought by Captain Trollope, in the *Glatton*, of fifty-four guns, on the sixteenth of July, with six French frigates, which he beat off, though surrounded in such a manner as to be attacked at the same time on the lee quarter, the weather-bow, and the stern. On the other hand, the French made a successful expedition to Newfoundland, where shipping and merchandise to a large amount were captured or destroyed in August, by a squadron under admiral Richery, who returned to France without the loss of a single vessel.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FRANCE AND AMERICA—SPAIN AND HOLLAND DECLARE WAR AGAINST BRITAIN.

SCARCELY had the new government of France, under the directory, commenced its operations, when a difference arose between that country and America, originating in the treaty of amity and commerce recently executed between Great Britain and the United States. This treaty was said to discover a disposition altogether inimical to France, and its provisions to be wholly incompatible with the idea of neutrality. By the treaty of 1778, still in force, the United States guaranteed to France the possession of their West India colonies; but by the treaty of 1793 they consented that even supplies of provisions sent to these islands from America should be treated as illegal commerce. The directory, regarding the Americans in the light of secret enemies, made such depredations on their trade, under various pretences, as almost amounted to a commercial war; and an arrest was issued on the third of July, enjoining French ships of war to observe the same conduct towards the vessels of neutral nations as they had hitherto suffered with impunity from the English. Thus began that oppressive system, by which neutral nations were doomed to be persecuted in the future progress of the war, under the designation of Berlin and Milan decrees, and British orders in council. Towards the close of the summer, Monroe, the American ambassador at Paris, was recalled from his embassy, to the great dissatisfaction of the French government, who refused to receive his successor, Pinkney, in the same capacity; and M. Adet, the French resident in Philadelphia, notified to the American government, on the twenty-third of November, that the directory had suspended him from the exercise of his functions. Such was the situation of the foreign relations of the United States, when general Washington resigned his government, and again retired to his paternal estate on the banks of the Potomac.

When French influence, aided by the fears of the Spanish monarch, had produced a peace between those nations, there was reason to apprehend that the artful republicans would lead that passive prince into a close alliance, and endeavour to render his arms subservient to the views of France; but the Spaniards were not very eager to commence hostilities against their late allies; a treaty of confederacy, however, was at length concluded, and on the fifth of October his catholic majesty declared war against Great Britain, on frivolous and absurd pretences. In Holland, a national convention of the inhabitants of the United Provinces met at the Hague on the first of March, and formed a constitution on the model of the French republic. One of the first acts of the new government was to declare war against England.

STATE OF FRANCE—MEASURES AGAINST BRITISH COMMERCE.

AT Paris the Jacobins, who had hitherto filled the principal places under government, enraged at witnessing the return of moderate principles, manifested their hostility by exercising their power, where they still remained in office, in the most cruel and oppressive manner; and insurrections in various parts of the country took place, but they were all quickly suppressed. The directory next determined to submit to the operation of the law the sanguinary perpetrators of the mas-

sacre of September, 1793; and, of a great number brought to trial, some were executed, and others imprisoned, but a large majority were acquitted. The directory then turned their attention to the subject of finance, the rapid decline of the credit of the assignats having rendered that species of paper altogether useless; and as gold and silver had disappeared, it was judged expedient to employ some other means to replace the debased currency. A law was accordingly passed to sell the remainder of the national domains, for which the nation was to receive, in payment, a new paper fabrication, under the name of mandats, to be issued to the amount of four hundred millions of livres; but in a very few months they sunk so low as one-fifth of the price affixed by the national treasury. In the midst of these difficulties, the committee of finance presented a report, containing a general statement of the public revenue, from which it appeared that the expenditure during the last year amounted to a thousand millions of livres, and that the ordinary annual revenue was barely five hundred millions. To make up this enormous deficiency, various resources were pointed out; but the principal expedient was to be found in the sale of the church lands in the newly united provinces of the Netherlands.

Various had been the plans of annoyance against this country projected by the French government; but all had hitherto been delayed or set aside, as inadequate and impracticable, till it was suggested that the most effectual mode of opposing England with advantage was to attack her commerce, by shutting out her manufactures from every part in Europe subject to French control, or under French influence. This new species of hostility was carried into execution with as much despatch as the jarring interests of the continental powers would allow, and British manufactures soon found no legal entrance into any port on the continent, from the Elbe to the Adriatic, with the exception only of the ports of the Hans Towns, of Portugal, and of Russia.

Catherine the second, empress of Russia, died on the evening of the sixth of November. Her reign will always rank among the most splendid periods of Russian history; but its most glorious actions were blended with injustice and stained by cruelty; and in the accomplishment of her ends she never hesitated with respect to means. She was succeeded by her son, the emperor Paul, who, having the most despotical notions of kingly right, considered the Bourbon family as indignantly ejected from a possession which they derived from heaven. About the same time also died Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, at an advanced age, and his son, the prince of Piedmont, succeeded to his throne.

NEW PARLIAMENT—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE—UNSUCCESSFUL.

To counteract the impression that the contest was as interminable in its duration as it was indefinite in its objects; his majesty, in his speech at the opening of the new parliament, on the sixth of October, 1796, declared that he had omitted no endeavours for restoring peace to Europe; in consequence of which, a way was now opened to an immediate negotiation, which must produce an honourable peace for us and our allies, or prove to what cause alone the prolongation of the war was to be ascribed. For this purpose his majesty said he would immediately send a person to Paris, with full powers to treat for this object, and it was his anxious wish that the negotiation might lead to the restoration of general peace. But it was evident that nothing could so much contribute to give effect to the negotiation as a manifestation that we possessed both the determination and the resources to oppose, with increased activity and energy, an enemy who had openly professed a design to attempt a descent upon these kingdoms. On the propriety of entering upon a negotiation with republican France, some difference of opinion existed between ministers and their supporters; some of whom adhered to the published opinion of Burke, viz. that the restoration of monarchy and the ancient orders, under certain modifications, ought to be the sole and avowed purpose of the war; that no peace could be secure until that object was effected; and that we must either conquer the revolution, or the revolution would conquer us. In

conformity to these sentiments, earl Fitzwilliam entered on the journals of the house of lords a protest, assigning reasons for refusing to concur in an address of thanks for his majesty's speech.

In the month of March, Wickham, the British ambassador to the Helvetic States, was directed to apply to Barthelme, diplomatic agent for France at Basle, to inquire if the government of France were disposed to enter into a negotiation with his majesty and his allies. Barthelme was instructed to answer, that the government of France ardently desired to procure for the republic a just, honourable, and solid peace; but an indispensable condition of any treaty entered into for that purpose was the restitution of those conquests which had actually been annexed to the territory of the republic. This reply, expressing a decided resolution not to surrender the Austrian Netherlands to the emperor of Germany, displayed, in the opinion of the British ministry, a temper so remote from any disposition for peace, that the correspondence between the two ministers ceased, and both parties proceeded to open the campaign. In September lord Grenville addressed a note to count Wedel Jarlsberg, the Danish ambassador in London, requesting that he would transmit, through the Danish envoy at Paris, a declaration expressive of his Britannic majesty's desire to conclude a peace on just and honourable conditions, and demanding the necessary passports for a person of confidence, whom his majesty would send to Paris with a commission to discuss, with the government there, all the measures most proper to produce so desirable an end. The Directory replied, that the executive government would not notice any overture from the enemies of the French republic transmitted through an intermediate channel; but that, if England would send persons furnished with full powers, they might, upon the frontiers, demand the passports necessary for proceeding to Paris. Passports were accordingly obtained; and lord Malmesbury, being nominated plenipotentiary to the French republic, repaired to Paris on the twenty-second of October. Two days after his arrival the negotiations were opened by a memorial from his lordship, stating that, from the uninterrupted success of her naval war, Great Britain found herself in a situation to have no restitution to demand of France; from which, on the contrary, she had taken establishments and colonies of the highest importance, and of value almost incalculable; but she was willing to restore her own conquests in lieu of the acquisitions which France had won from her allies, as a basis for a treaty, and therefore proposed a general principle of reciprocal restitution. The executive directory replied, that considering the British ambassador to be the agent of Great Britain only, they could not now enter into the concerns of the other states, which could tend only to multiply the combinations and increase the difficulties of the negotiation; but that, as soon as he should procure sufficient powers from those allies, they would hasten to give an answer to the specific propositions which should be submitted to them. To these observations they thought proper to add an opinion, that the British government was insincere in its overture; that its object was to prevent, by general propositions, the partial propositions of other powers, and to obtain from the people of England the means of continuing the war, by throwing the odium of a refusal to negotiate a peace upon the republic. The British minister, disdaining to reply to these insinuations, stated that he had not been commissioned to enter into a separate treaty, but that Great Britain proposed to make common cause with her allies. The directory rejoined, that, in a question of reciprocal restitution, the chief object of consideration was the relative condition of the respective parties; that, of the original confederates, some were become the friends of France, and others observed a strict neutrality; that the remaining allies of Great Britain were weakened by their losses and the desertion of their associates; and that France could not, in a negotiation for terms, forget the circumstances in which she was placed. Having thus admitted the principle of compensation, de la Croix, the French negotiator, in a note to lord Malmesbury, again requested him to point out expressly, and without delay, the objects of reciprocal compensations which he had to propose. His lordship was now obliged to consult his court, and the negotiation was suspended till

the seventeenth of December, on which day his lordship submitted, in two formal and confidential memorials, that France should restore all her conquests made in any of the dominions of the emperor of Germany, or in Italy; and that Great Britain should render back all her acquisitions gained from France in the East and West Indies; that Russia and Portugal should be included in the treaty; that no obstacle would be interposed, on the part of his Britannic majesty against Spain becoming a party in the negotiation; and that in case Holland was reinstated, in all respects, in the same political situation in which she stood before the war, the colonial possessions captured by Great Britain might be restored, and the *status ante bellum*, with respect to territorial possessions, re-established in her favour; but if, on the contrary, Holland should remain a republic, their Britannic and Imperial majesties would be obliged to seek, in territorial acquisitions, those compensations, and that security which such a state of things would render indispensable. At the time that these memorials were delivered, a long and animated conversation took place between the negotiators, in the course of which the French minister inquired, whether, in placing the memorials before the directory, he was to state the dismissing of the Belgium from France as a *sine qua non*, from which his majesty would not depart. Lord Malmesbury replied that it must certainly was, and that any proposal which would have the Netherlands annexed to France, would be attended with much greater credit to that power, and less to the allies, than the present relations of the belligerent powers could entitle the French government to expect. In the course of conversation, de la Croix repeatedly said, that this difficulty was one which could not be overcome; and, two days after, lord Malmesbury received a letter, requiring him to deliver, within twenty-four hours, his ultimatum, signed by himself. His lordship replied, that to demand an ultimatum, in so peremptory a manner, before the two powers had communicated to each other their respective pretensions, was to shut the door against all negotiation; but he repeated that he was ready to enter into the discussion of the proposals of his court, or of any *contre projet* which might be delivered to him on the part of the executive directory. The directory rejoined, in a note of the nineteenth of December, that they would listen to no proposal contrary to the constitution, to the laws, and to the treaties, which bound the republic; and as lord Malmesbury announced, at every communication, that he was in want of the opinion of his court (from which it resulted that he acted a part merely passive in the negotiation), his presence at Paris was rendered useless, and he was required to depart therefrom within two days, with all the persons who had accompanied and followed him; and to quit, as expeditiously as possible, the territory of the republic; but that, if the British cabinet was desirous of peace, the executive directory was ready to follow the negotiations, according to the basis laid down in the present note, by the reciprocal channel of couriers. Lord Malmesbury replied, that he was preparing to quit Paris on the morrow, and demanded the necessary passports for himself and suite: on the twentieth, he quitted the French capital, and repaired to England.

Thus terminated the first negotiation for peace between Great Britain and the republic of France. The British ministry, considering its abrupt conclusion as arising totally from France, published a manifesto, on the twenty-seventh of December, enlarging upon the pacific dispositions of the British government, and setting forth the malignant hostility of the enemy.

This manifesto was laid before parliament: Pitt insisted that the rupture of the late negotiations was wholly imputable to the government of France. The enemy demanded, not as an ultimatum, but as a preliminary, to retain all those territories of which the chance of war had given them a temporary possession, and respecting which they thought proper, contrary to the law of nations, to pass a constitutional decree, declaring that these should not be alienated from the republic. But this perverse and monstrous claim, in virtue of which territories acquired by force of arms were annexed to a state during the continuance of the war in which such acquisitions were made, could never be supposed to supersede the treaties of other powers

and the known and public obligations of the several nations in Europe. Yet this had been the pretension to which the French government laid claim, and the acknowledgment of which they held out as a preliminary of negotiation to the king of Great Britain and his allies: and, not content with setting up this claim to abrogate treaties previously concluded, they had offered a studied insult to his majesty, by ordering his ambassador to quit Paris, and proposing that the negotiation should be carried on by means of couriers. "The question then is not how much will you give for peace; but how much degradation will you suffer at the outset? how much degradation will you submit to as a preliminary? In these circumstances, then, are we to persevere in the war, with a spirit and energy worthy of the British name, and of the British character? or are we, by sending couriers to Paris, to prostrate ourselves at the feet of a stubborn and supercilious government, to yield to what they may require, and to submit to whatever they may impose? I hope there is not a hand in his majesty's councils which would sign the proposal; that there is not a heart in this house that would sanction the measure; and that there is not an individual in the British dominions who would act as the courier." Fox, in reply, maintained that the whole amount of the minister's oration was, to admit that we had been four years engaged in a war, unprecedented in expense, both in men and in money, and that we had done nothing; that, in fact, the enemy, instead of being humbled and ruined, as had been so often and so confidently foretold, had now become more unreasonable and dictatorial in their pretensions than ever. Fox then moved an address to the throne, recommending that his majesty's faithful commons should proceed to investigate the conduct of his ministers, who had involved this nation in her present misfortune, and produced the failure of the late negotiations. This amendment was negatived by a great majority and a similar fate attended a similar motion made by the earl of Oxford in the house of lords.

INCREASE OF THE NATIONAL FORCE—FINANCES.

In addition to the naval force now actually employed, and which the premier declared to be more formidable than had ever existed at any former period of our history, the minister proposed, first, a levy of fifteen thousand men from the different parishes for the sea service, and for recruiting the regular regiments of the line: his second proposal was to raise a supplementary militia, to consist of sixty thousand men, not to be immediately called out, but to be enrolled, officered, and completely trained, so as to be ready in a moment of danger; and his third military project was to raise a force of twenty thousand irregular cavalry. These propositions were passed into laws early in the session; but the plan for raising the irregular cavalry force being found difficult of application, the measure was superseded, in a great degree, by the numerous volunteer corps of yeomanry cavalry which pressed forward in the service of their country. During this session, also, a bill was introduced, for raising and embodying a militia force in Scotland, which was much resisted in that part of the kingdom. One hundred and ninety-five thousand men were voted for the land service for the year 1797, and, soon afterwards, one hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines for the navy.

By the annual financial statement, it appeared that eighteen million pounds would be wanted by way of loan, exclusive of five million five hundred thousand pounds of exchequer bills, and about thirteen million five hundred thousand pounds of victualling, transport, and navy bills, which he proposed to fund. This loan was followed by a second during the same session of parliament, amounting also to eighteen million pounds, comprehending a great variety of deficiencies, and including a vote of credit for three million pounds, to be remitted to the emperor of Germany. The terms of the loan were highly advantageous to the monied interest, being funded at less than the price of fifty pounds for each hundred pounds, of three per cent. To defray the interest on these loans, permanent taxes were imposed to the amount of three million four hundred and sixteen thousand pounds, and the pressure of the war was now severely felt by many

classes. Pitt having admitted, on moving the vote of credit, that one million two hundred thousand pounds had been advanced to the emperor without the previous consent of parliament, Fox observed, that if the measure was not reprobated, he should think that man a hypocrite who pretended to see any distinction between this government and an absolute monarchy; and the majority in favour of ministers, on the motion for a vote of censure, was smaller than usual.

SUSPENSION OF CASH PAYMENTS BY THE BANK.

1797.—THE rapid and enormous increase of the national debt had created an alarm among many of the proprietors of the public funds, and, under this impression, sums to a great amount were sold out of the stock, and vested in other securities. The bank had, in the course of the war, advanced immense sums to the government, far beyond its usual aid to the public treasury; and as a considerable part of these advances consisted of remittances to foreign powers, especially to the emperor of Germany, made in coin, the gold and silver in the bank were greatly diminished. The consequences of this had been long foreseen by the directors, and, so early as the year 1793, they had expressed to Pitt their expectations that he would arrange his finances for the year in such a manner as not to depend on any further assistance from them. This remonstrance they repeated in October of the same year, and again in 1796, but they still continued to afford accommodation to the treasury. In the beginning of 1797 the minister requested still further advances, and intimated, at the same time, that a loan amounting to the sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds, beyond the accommodation to the English treasury, would be wanted for Ireland. On the ninth of February the governor of the bank informed Pitt that, under the present state of their accommodation to government here, to agree with his request of making a further advance of one million five hundred thousand pounds as a loan to Ireland, would threaten a ruin to the bank, and most probably bring the directors to shut up their doors. Another cause powerfully co-operated to produce an alarming derangement in the affairs of the national bank. The dread of invasion had induced the capitalists, as well as the more opulent farmers and traders, at a distance from the metropolis, to withdraw their money from the hands of the country bankers, with whom they had been accustomed to deposit it; and the run upon the provincial banking-houses soon extended to the capital. On the twentieth of February an unusual demand was made by the holders of notes upon the bank of England for specie; and this run, which increased on the twenty-first, became so rapid and urgent on the four following days as to excite the most serious alarm, and to oblige the directors to submit their situation to the consideration of the chancellor of the exchequer. On the twenty-sixth government found it necessary to interfere; and on that day an order of the privy council was issued, prohibiting the directors of the bank from issuing any cash in payment till the sense of parliament should be taken. The consideration of this important subject was brought, with as little delay as possible, before the two houses of parliament, and the first step taken was to appoint two secret committees to ascertain the assets of the bank. The public apprehension was materially allayed by their reports, delivered early in March, from which it appeared that on the fifteenth of February, the last day of paying gold and silver at the bank, the amount of the demands upon the company was thirteen million seven hundred and seventy thousand three hundred and ninety pounds; that their assets, exclusive of the permanent debt due from government, amounted to the sum of seventeen million five hundred and ninety-seven thousand two hundred and eighty pounds, so that there remained a surplus of three million eight hundred and twenty-six thousand eight hundred and ninety pounds; to which must be added the sum of eleven million six hundred and sixty-six thousand eight hundred pounds three per cent. stock, lent at different times to government on parliamentary security, which being estimated at fifty per cent. agreeably to the actual price at that time of the three per cent. consols, the whole of the

capital vested in the corporation of the bank, after the payment of all demands, amounted, at its then current value, to the enormous sum of nine million six hundred and sixty thousand two hundred and ninety pounds. On these reports Pitt grounded a bill, enabling the bank to issue notes in payment of demands upon them instead of cash, agreeably to the late order of council to that effect; and a clause of the utmost importance was introduced into the act, for preventing any person from being held to bail who offered bank of England notes in discharge of a debt; though this law, by leaving the creditor the option of demanding cash in payment instead of notes, did not actually constitute them a legal tender. From this time the circulation of gold coin in a great measure ceased; and notes, from twenty shillings and upwards, became the general medium of circulation.

ALARMING MUTINY IN THE NAVY.

THE alarm caused by the stoppage of cash payments at the bank was not much abated when a spirit of mutiny and disaffection broke out among the fleet at Spithead. Great dissatisfaction had for some time prevailed respecting the pay and provisions of the sailors; and, in the month of February, several anonymous letters were received by Lord Howe from the fleet, praying for his lordship's influence towards obtaining an increase of the seamen's pay, and an improvement in the quality and quantity of their provisions; at the same time a correspondence was going on, by letter, between the crews of the different ships, and a committee of delegates was appointed to obtain a redress of grievances. These proceedings were conducted with so much secrecy, that it was not till the fifteenth of April, when Lord Bridport made a signal to prepare for sea, that they began to be suspected among the superior officers of the fleet. Instead of weighing anchor, as the signal imported, the seamen of the admiral's ship all ran up the shrouds, and saluted the crews of the adjoining ships with three cheers, which being instantly answered in the same manner, it became manifest that the spirit of disobedience was general. The delegates then assembled in the cabin of the admiral's ship, and placed the officers in custody. A petition to the admiral was drawn up, and presented on the spot, accompanied with an intimation that, till the prayer of the petition for an increase of wages and a regulation in the ratio of provisions took place, they should not quit their present station "unless the enemy was known to be at sea." A committee of the admiralty, with Earl Spencer at their head, immediately repaired to Portsmouth to induce the refractory seamen to resume their duty; and the admiral returned to his ship, when, after hoisting his flag, he informed the crew that he had brought with him a redress of all their grievances, accompanied by his majesty's pardon for the offenders. After some deliberation these offers were cheerfully accepted, and it was now supposed that all cause of dissatisfaction was removed; but when Lord Bridport made the signal to put to sea, every ship at St. Helen's refused to obey. This second mutiny arose, it appeared, from a groundless apprehension on the part of the seamen that government did not mean to accede to their demands. A meeting of the delegates was again convened, to be held on board the London; but vice-admiral Colpoys, having determined to prevent the illegal assembly from being held on board his ship, ordered the marines to fire upon the boats as they approached, and five seamen were killed in the skirmish which ensued. The crew of the London, irritated by this resistance on the part of the admiral, now turned their guns towards the stern, and threatened to blow all aft into the water unless the commander submitted; and admiral Colpoys and captain Griffiths were both taken into custody by their crew, and confined for several hours in separate cabins. In this state of mutiny the sailors at Portsmouth remained till the fourteenth of May, when Lord Howe arrived from the admiralty with plenary powers to settle all differences; and as his lordship was the bearer of an act of parliament which had passed on the ninth, granting an additional allowance of pay to the seamen, and also of his majesty's proclamation of pardon, the flag of insurrection was struck, and the fleet prepared to put to sea to encounter the enemy. The public saw with infinite satisfaction

the extinction of this dangerous spirit of disaffection; but a new mutiny in another quarter, which for boldness and extent is without a parallel in the naval history of Britain, soon converted their pleasure into alarm and consternation.

The concessions made to the seamen were unfortunately enforced, not granted, and the same method lay open for obtaining further claims. The north sea fleet, as well as the ships lying at the Nore, imitating the dangerous conduct of the crews at Spithead, but greatly exceeding them in the extent of their demands, chose delegates from every ship, and appointed Richard Parker, a bold and enterprising seaman, as their president. The demands of these mutineers comprehended a greater freedom of absence from ships in harbour, a more punctual discharge of arrears of pay, a more equal distribution of prize money, and a general abatement of the rigours of discipline.

On the twenty-third of May the flag of admiral Bucker was struck on board the *Sandwich*, and the red flag, the symbol of mutiny, hoisted in its stead. Each man of war sent two delegates, and, there was a committee of twelve in every ship, who determined not only all affairs relating to the internal management of the vessel, but instructed their delegates, and decided upon their merits. The delegates went on shore daily, and, after holding their meetings, paraded the streets, and marched with music and flags. The arrival of Lord Keith and Sir Charles Grey at Sheerness at length put an end to these audacious proceedings. The mutiny had then risen to the most alarming height, and it was intimated to the seamen that no further concessions than what had already been made by the legislature would be granted. Some of the most desperate of their number suggested the idea of carrying the ships into an enemy's port; but the majority revolted at so treacherous a proceeding, alleging that a redress of grievances, as it was their primary, so it should be their ultimate object. For the purpose of extorting compliance with their demands, they proceeded to block up the Thames, by refusing a passage either up or down the river to the London trade; and, to supply their present wants, they took from a vessel three hundred sacks of flour, which they distributed throughout the fleet.

On the fourth of June the whole fleet at the Nore celebrated his majesty's birth-day by a royal salute; and on the sixth they were joined by four men of war and a sloop, which had deserted from the fleet of admiral Duncan, then in Yarmouth roads. This accession of strength swelled the mutinous fleet to twenty-four sail, consisting of eleven ships of the line and thirteen frigates. The appearance of such a fleet under the command of a set of common sailors, in a state of insubordination, formed a singular and awful spectacle. Government, in the mean time, were not inattentive to the obligations imposed upon them by the perilous situation of the country, and a proclamation was issued, offering his majesty's pardon to all such of the mutineers as should immediately return to their duty. This was speedily followed by two acts of parliament, the former for more effectually restraining the intercourse from the shore with the ships in a state of mutiny, and the latter for punishing with the utmost severity of the law any attempt to seduce seamen or soldiers into mutinous practices; but the master-stroke of policy was in the removal of all the buoys from the mouth of the Thames, and the neighbouring coast, by which any large ship that should attempt to sail away would be exposed to the most imminent danger of running aground; while furnaces and red-hot balls were kept in readiness at Sheerness, to repel any attack that might be made on that place by the mutineers. The last attempt at reconciliation by treaty was made through the Earl of Northesk, who commanded the *Monmouth*, to whom the delegates communicated the terms on which alone they would give up the ships, and requested that he would submit them to the king, and return on board with a clear and positive answer within fifty-four hours; intimating that the whole must be complied with, or they would immediately put the fleet to sea. These terms, which were submitted the next day to the king in council, were rejected, and the intelligence of their refusal was communicated by captain Knight, of the *Inflexible*. All hopes of accommodation being thus at an end, preparations

were making to enforce obedience to the laws, from the works at Sheerness; but the defection of several of the ships, on the ninth, with other symptoms of disunion amongst the mutineers, rendered the application of force unnecessary: on the tenth several of the mutinous ships, being reduced to great exigencies for want of fresh provisions and water, struck the red flag: on the twelfth all but seven of the ships hoisted the union flag, to signify their wish to return to obedience; and, on the following morning, five out of the seven remaining vessels ran away from the mutinous ships, and sought protection under the guns of the fort of Sheerness. All further resistance was now in vain, and, after a fruitless attempt to obtain a general pardon, the crew of the *Sandwich* steered that ship on the following morning into Sheerness, where Parker was arrested by a picket guard of soldiers, with a person of the name of Davies, who had acted as captain under him, and about thirty other delegates. One of the delegates, of the name of Wallace, more desperate than the rest, being determined neither to cullive his power, nor to submit to the ignominy of a public execution, shot himself dead on the appearance of the soldiers.—Thus all resistance to the authority of the officers ceased, and the public mind recovered its former composure, by the entire extinction of this alarming revolt.

The trial of Parker commenced on the twenty-second of June, before a court martial, of which Sir Thomas Pasley was president. The prisoner was charged with various acts of mutiny, committed on board his majesty's fleet at the Nore; of disobedience of orders; and of contempt of the authority of his officers. The facts being clearly established, the court adjudged him to death: on which, with astonishing composure, he addressed them as follows: "I bow to your sentence with all due submission, being convinced I have acted under the dictates of a good conscience. God, who knows the hearts of all men, will, I hope, receive me. I hope that my death will atone to the country; and that these brave men who have acted with me will receive a general pardon: I am satisfied they will all then return to their duty with alacrity." He was executed on board the *Sandwich*, and met his fate with fortitude. A great number of the other mutineers received sentence of death, and several of the ringleaders were executed; but a pardon was granted to the far greater number of those who were condemned. The French, whose revolutionary principles had certainly some weight in producing these commotions, exulted at the intelligence of the mutiny, and, while they lamented its extinction, conceived hopes of the eruption of future discontent in the same branch of the service, or in the military department; but the true-hearted seamen resumed their habits of order and submission, and the soldiers, who also received an augmentation of pay, preserved their loyalty unimpaired.

Ever since the recall of earl Fitzwilliam from Ireland the discontents of that country had continued to increase, and several parishes, baronies, and even counties, were declared to be out of the king's peace, and subject to martial law. The earl of Meira, on the twenty-first of March, moved in the house of lords for an address to his majesty, praying that he would be graciously pleased to interpose his paternal interference, to remove the discontents which prevailed in Ireland, and create the most serious alarm for that country, and for the dearest interests of Britain. Lord Grenville, in reply, insisted that the present motion could not be adopted, without tearing asunder every bond of union, and breaking the solemn contract subsisting between the two countries. Instead of remedying discontents, the motion now submitted to the house would increase them, and induce the Irish to imagine that their own legislature was regardless of their welfare. The motion was negatived; and a similar one, made two days afterwards in the house of commons, by Fox, was also lost.

On the twentieth of July, parliament was prorogued by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty intimated that he was again engaged in a negotiation for peace, which nothing should be wanting on his part to bring to a successful termination, on such conditions as were consistent with the security, honour, and essential interests of his dominions.

NAVAL OPERATIONS—JERVIS'S VICTORY.

THE French republic, having at her disposal the navy of Spain as well as that of Holland, proposed to her confederates that the greatest part of the Spanish navy should sail in the early part of the year to Brest, where, being joined by the French ships of war in that port, they should afterwards form a junction with the Dutch fleet; and that this armada, then swelled to upwards of seventy sail of the line, should bear down upon England, and having humbled the lofty pretensions of her naval power, should lay the foundation for her future subjugation. To frustrate this design, a fleet under Sir John Jervis was appointed to blockade the port of Cadix, and admiral Duncan was stationed off the coast of Holland, to watch the movements of the Dutch fleet in the Texel. Sir John Jervis having received intelligence, that the fleet under admiral Don Joseph de Cordova was at sea, immediately set sail in quest of it. At the dawn of the fourteenth of February the enemy was descried off Cape St. Vincent, but, as the weather happened to be extremely hazy, it was not until ten o'clock, that a signal from a British frigate announced the enemy's fleet to consist of twenty-seven sail of the line. The British commander, though his squadron comprised no more than fifteen ships, resolved to bring them to action, and at half past eleven o'clock formed in the most complete order of sailing in two lines. By carrying a press of sail the British came down upon the enemy before they had time to form in order of battle; and, notwithstanding their immense superiority, the admiral ordered the fleet to bear directly through them, which was gallantly performed. They then tacked, and, by this bold and skilful manœuvre, separated about one-third of the Spanish ships from the main body, which, by a partial cannonade, were prevented from a junction, and obliged to fall to leeward. By the great exertions of the ships which had the good fortune to come up with the main body of the enemy on the lar-board tack, four of their ships of the line were captured by the British, and the action ceased about five o'clock in the evening. This brilliant victory ranks among those which have most conspicuously illustrated the superior skill and courage of British seamen; and much to the credit of the commander-in-chief, to whom the *Salvador del Mundo*, of one hundred and twelve guns, struck. Only a few English ships were engaged in the contest. Commodore Nelson, in the *Captain*, of seventy-four guns, distinguished himself greatly, by boarding the *San Nicolas* and *San Josef* in succession, in which he only lost one officer, twenty seamen, and three marines; and, although the slain and wounded in the Spanish ships could not be less than twelve hundred, more than half that number being diminished in the crews of the captured ships only, the loss of the British did not exceed three hundred. Great rejoicings took place throughout the nation on the intelligence of this well-timed victory; the fleet was honoured with the thanks of both houses of parliament; the king conferred the title of Earl St. Vincent, with a pension of three thousand pounds a year, on the admiral-in-chief; vice-admiral Thompson, and rear-admiral Parker, were created baronets; commodore Nelson was invested with the order of the Bath; captain Robert Calder was knighted; and gold medals and chains were presented to all the commanders.

DUNCAN'S VICTORY.

THE French directory having embarked a body of troops on board the Dutch fleet in the Texel, a powerful squadron was sent to the North Sea, under the command of admiral Duncan, to intercept the enemy. In October, when the British admiral had returned to Yarmouth to refit, the Dutch fleet put to sea, on which the English commander suddenly returned to his station. The command of the enemy's fleet, which was somewhat inferior in weight of metal to that of the British, was confided to admiral De Winter, who had distinguished himself in the army under general Pichegru; and, on his receiving orders to risk an engagement, the troops were disembarked. No sooner had De Winter quitted the Texel than Captain Trollope, who had been stationed with a light squadron of observation at the mouth of that river, gave notice of his approach; and, on the eleventh of October,

admiral Duncan gave orders for a general chase, and the Dutch ships were soon discovered drawn up in a line of battle on the larboard tack, between Camperdown and Egmont, the land being about nine miles to leeward. Admiral Duncan, whose fleet consisted of sixteen sail of the line, exclusive of frigates, finding there was no time to be lost, made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which the British squadron placed itself between the enemy and the land, whither they were fast approaching. The admiral's signal being obeyed with promptitude, vice-admiral Onslow, in the *Monarch*, bore down on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner, his division following his example; and the action commenced about forty minutes past twelve o'clock. The *Venerable*, which was admiral Duncan's flag ship, soon got through the enemy's line, and a close action was begun on their van, which lasted nearly two hours and a half, when all the masts of the Dutch admiral's ship were observed to go by the board: she was, however, defended for some time longer in a most gallant manner; but, being overpowered by numbers, her colours were at length struck, and admiral de Winter was brought on board the *Venerable*; soon after, the ship bearing the vice-admiral's flag was also dismasted, and surrendered to vice-admiral Onslow; and these, with three of sixty-eight guns, two of sixty-four, two of fifty-six, and two frigates, were taken possession of by the English. In the early part of the action, rear-admiral Storey, who commanded the centre division of the Dutch fleet, fled for the Texel, in the *States-General*, of seventy-four guns, with part of his division, and afterwards made a merit of having saved part of the fleet. The British squadron suffered much in their masts, yards, and rigging, and many of the ships lost a great number of men, but in no proportion to that of the enemy: the carnage on board the two ships that bore the admiral's flags was beyond all description, and did not amount to less than two hundred and fifty men killed and wounded on board each ship. The total loss of the British was one hundred and ninety-one killed, and five hundred and sixty wounded, while the loss of the enemy must have been more than double. When the battle ended the English fleet was within five miles of the shore, from whence thousands of Dutch spectators witnessed the destruction of their navy, every manoeuvre being distinctly seen. The votes of both houses of parliament greeted the arrival of the gallant sailors; many of the captains were gratified by medals; the venerable admiral was rewarded by the king with the dignity of viscount Duncan of Camperdown, and a pension of three thousand pounds per annum; vice-admiral Onslow was created a baronet, and captains Trollope and Fairfax knights banneret.

Rear-admiral Nelson bombarded Cadix on the twenty-third of June, and on the fifth of July, but without materially advancing the objects of the war.

CAPTURE OF TRINIDAD—FAILURE AT PORTO RICO AND SANTA CRUZ.

The Spanish island of Trinidad capitulated to an expedition consisting of six sail of the line, and a number of troops fitted out at Port Royal, in Martinico, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie and admiral Harvey. On the approach of the English, the Spaniards, who had a squadron of four ships of the line and one frigate lying at anchor in the gulph of Paria, set fire to their ships; and one line-of-battle ship only, escaping the conflagration, fell into the hands of the victors: the governor and the garrison were made prisoners of war. The same commanders made an attempt, in the month of April, on Porto Rico; but this island being found too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main*, the enterprise totally failed.

On the fifteenth of July a British expedition arrived before the port of Santa Cruz, commanded by rear-admiral Nelson, and having effected a landing, took possession of the town; but they learned, when too late, that the force under their command was utterly unequal either to carry the fort of Santa Cruz, or to contend with the military force of the island now assembled to oppose them. They prepared for a retreat, but had the misfortune to find that the violence of the surge on the beach had

staved their boats, and reduced them to a mere wreck. In this situation they were summoned by the Spanish commander to surrender, which was disdainfully refused by captain Troubridge, who commanded on shore after rear-admiral Nelson had been severely wounded; but he added, that if he were allowed to re-embark, the squadron before the town would not injure it. To this the captain received a polite answer, stating that, for the purpose of sparing the effusion of blood, facilities would be afforded to himself and his followers to return to their ships. The loss of lives in this attempt was equal to that sustained in the battle off Cape St. Vincent.

FRENCH LAND IN WALES.

THE French government now menaced the territory of Britain itself by assembling troops on the coasts of the channel, under the designation of the army of England; and Buonaparte was appointed to its command. In the early part of this year, an attempt, of a nature quite incomprehensible, was made on the coast of Wales, by an expedition fitted out at the port of Brest. On the twenty-second of February an enemy's force, which entered the small port of Llanacombe, in Devonshire, scuttled some merchant vessels, and made an unsuccessful effort to destroy all the ships in the harbour. This invading squadron, which consisted of two frigates and two sloops, next steered its course for the bay of Cardigan, where, on the following day, they disembarked about fifteen hundred criminals, attired as French troops, and provided with a proportionable quantity of arms and ammunition, but without field-pieces. On receiving information of this event, the Welsh peasantry, animated by the geanty of the country, seized their scythes, sickles and pitch-forks, and marched forth to meet the invaders. Lord Caydon had assembled, in the course of a single day, a local force, consisting of seven hundred militia, fencibles, and yeomanry cavalry; and the French commander, perceiving his situation to be desperate, after having despatched a letter to his lordship, proposing a capitulation, surrendered himself and his followers prisoners of war on the twenty-sixth. The two frigates which accompanied the expedition were captured on their return to Brest, and the whole proved as unfortunate in the execution as it was unaccountable in its plan.

SURRENDER OF MANTUA—EXPULSION OF THE AUSTRIANS FROM ITALY.

At the commencement of the year, the Austrian general Alvinzi, at the head of fifty thousand well-appointed troops, and a formidable train of artillery, formed the determination to raise the blockade of Mantua, and, having attacked and carried the French position, suddenly passed the Brenta, stormed the town of Cortona, and obliged a body of troops under Joubert to fall back upon Rivoli. Buonaparte, who had been for some time at Bologna, was no sooner apprized of this irruption than he repaired to the heights of San Marco, and made such judicious dispositions that Alvinzi, who expected an easy conquest, soon found himself surprised and defeated. The garrison of Mantua, now despairing of success, capitulated, after a long and brave resistance, on the second of February; and on the fall of this important fortress, by which the imperial arms were expelled from Italy, Buonaparte published a proclamation to his army, in which he stated that they had proved victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and in seventy engagements; that they had taken from the enemy more than one hundred thousand prisoners, five hundred field-pieces, and two thousand large cannon; that the contributions raised in the countries conquered by them had supported, maintained, and paid the army, during the whole campaign; while thirty million of livres had been sent to the minister of finance for the increase of the public treasure; and, after glancing at their achievements against the kings and princes of Italy, he declared it to be his intention to carry the war into the hereditary states of Austria, and requested them to recollect that it was liberty they were about to present to the Hungarians, whose sovereign had disgraced himself by submitting to be in the pay and at the disposal of England.

The pope had imprudently resumed hostilities against the French, and was now menaced with sud-

den ruin. Buonaparte published a proclamation, in which, after reproaching the holy father with subterfuge and perjury, he threatened all who opposed the progress of the republican columns with the most exemplary vengeance. General Victor immediately entered Imola, and the pontifical army, abandoning the fertile plains of Romagna, took refuge on the summits of the Apennines, towards the sources of the Arno and the Tiber; the towns of Cesena, Forlì, Ravenna, and the March of Ancona submitted. When the French general arrived at Tolentino, and began to establish a republican form of government, his holiness, apprehensive lest he should march to the capital, at length determined to negotiate. He was consequently obliged to renounce all claim to Avignon and the Venaisin; to relinquish the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; to furnish the statues, pictures, and treasure stipulated in the former convention; and to pay a large sum of money towards the expenses of the war.

THE FRENCH COMPEL THE EMPEROR TO MAKE PEACE—TREATY OF CAMPO FORMIO.

A GREAT and last effort was, however, made by the emperor, in collecting a powerful body of troops between the Tagliamento and the Falve; while the French, who occupied the right bank of the latter river, and the left border of the Ariato, were prepared to oppose their progress. A variety of movements and minor actions having taken place, general Joubert penetrated to the banks of the Ariato, where he engaged the Austrians, and after a long and bloody action, during which he took four thousand prisoners, obtained possession of the bridge of Neumarkt: a second battle, equally unfortunate, was fought soon after at Traves, and the French now rushed into the hereditary dominions of the emperor: Massena seized the fort of Chiusa, the bridge of Caracola, and the town of Tarvis, while Bernadotte took possession of Gradisca, the capital of the Friuli, the capture of which rendered the French masters of all the Austrian possessions from the Alps to the sea. Goritz submitted without resistance; Trieste, the only port in the Adriatic pertaining to the emperor, followed its example; and, while scaling the Norick Alps, still covered with snow, Buonaparte endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the inhabitants by proclamations, in which he declared that the French armies were fighting for peace, and that they would not fail to extend protection to the peaceable Tyroleans. On the twenty-sixth of March the Austrians were again beaten, and on the thirtieth the whole of the French army arrived in the capital of the duchy of Carinthia. The greatest consternation now prevailed in Vienna, which was the avowed object of the French arms: and the other hand, though Buonaparte had beaten the Austrians in six different engagements, and destroyed one-half of their army, during a campaign that had lasted only twenty-one days, his situation was highly critical. The natives of the mountainous districts were attached by habit to the dominion of the house of Austria; and the offer of liberty, which exhibited so many charms to the fascinated inhabitants of the valleys, possessed but few blandishments for a people whose patriarchal manners were as yet unchanged. The numerous defiles of those dreary regions; the marked enmity of the peasantry; the difficulty of obtaining supplies; the danger of being surrounded;—all operated powerfully on the mind of the conqueror, and he found it necessary to affect the language of moderation. He accordingly, on the thirty-first of March, addressed a letter to the archduke, making overtures of peace, to which the Austrian commander replied that he was not furnished with any powers to negotiate; he, however, immediately transmitted Buonaparte's letter to Vienna, and in a few days received full powers from the emperor; a suspension of arms took place; and on the eighteenth of April a preliminary treaty of peace was signed at the castle of Eckenwald, in Styria, which has since been known by the appellation of the treaty of Leoben, and which served as the foundation of the definitive treaty of Campo Formio.

The intelligence of the preliminaries of peace being signed put a stop to the progress of the French armies on the Rhine, where they had also been victorious. After this treaty, Angereau, at the head of

twenty-five thousand men, marched into Venice, and, seizing on the arsenal and foris, demanded the three inquisitors, and ten principal members of the senate, who were accused of having instigated their countrymen to an assassination of the French soldiers. In a few days a democratical municipality was installed; and the members of the government, finding neither commiseration nor respect from the people, were happy in being allowed to retire from their native country. In Genoa, also, the nobles were friendly to the Austrian cause, but the people were desirous of a popular government. Buonaparte, in consequence, soon after the revolution of Venice, established a democratical government in Genoa; but as the nobles had never shown an active hostility, and made no material resistance to the change, they escaped exactions.

By the definitive treaty the emperor renounced all right and title to the Austrian Netherlands; and consented that the French republic should possess in full sovereignty the *ci-devant* Venetian islands, viz. Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, and the other islands dependent thereon, together with their settlements in Albania. The French republic consented that the emperor should possess in full sovereignty, Istria, Dalmatia, the Venetian islands in the Adriatic, the mouths of the Cataro, the city of Venice, the Venetian canals, and the countries lying between the hereditary estates and the Adriatic seas; the emperor acknowledging the Cisalpine republic, founded on the union of the Cispadane and Transpadane commonwealths, as an independent power, which republic composed the *ci-devant* Austrian Lombardy, the Bergamasque, the Brescian, the Cremonese, the Venetian states to the east and south of the Legner, the Modenese, the principalities of Massa and Carrara, and the three legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna. This treaty, which was concluded with the emperor only as king of Hungary and Bohemia, the pacification of the empire with the French republic being referred to a congress, to be held at Rastadt, was immediately promulgated, but fourteen secret articles, highly important in their nature, were for a time concealed. By one of these it was agreed, on the part of the emperor, to use his influence that the French republic should, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain as its boundary the bank of the Rhine, from the confines of Switzerland, below Basle, to the branching of the Netze, above Andernach, including the head of the bridge of Mannheim, the town and fortresses of Mentz, and both banks of the Netze, from whence that river falls into the Rhine, to its source near Bruch. His imperial majesty also agreed to use his good offices to obtain for France the free navigation of the Rhine, the Moselle, and the Meuse; while, on the other hand, the republic was to endeavour to acquire for the house of Austria the archbishopric of Salzburg, and part of the circle of Bavaria. On the injustice of the contracting parties, in combining to appropriate to themselves the territories of independent states, over which they possessed no other right or power than that which always appertains to the strongest, no censure can be too severe.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF FRANCE.

SOON after the appointment of the Directory, the two councils coalesced for a time with the terrorists, in order to crush their mutual enemies, the men of moderate principles; but the success of this plan was defeated by the still greater enmity which subsisted between those terrorists who adhered to Robespierre to the last, and those who brought him to the scaffold. After the conspiracy of May, 1796, the directors were more circumspect in their conduct and language; and no difference occurred between them and the councils till the new election, which took place in the spring of 1797, when, notwithstanding all the intrigues of the Directory, and all the manoeuvres of the Jacobins, nearly the whole of the new deputies were adverse to the present system. At length the time came for one of the directors also to go out by lot; and, by dint of management, it was contrived that the lot should fall upon Latorneau, one of the weakest characters among them. He accordingly received a large sum of money, was appointed to the post of ambassador, and Barthelemi was chosen to succeed him in the Directory. From this time there was a majority in the two councils opposed to the Directory,

and, during the summer of 1797, a regular warfare was carried on between them, in messages and in speeches. The majority of the nation sided with the councils, and, if their energy had been equal to the goodness of their cause, there could have been little doubt that they would have succeeded in their efforts to give a better constitution to France and peace to Europe: their opponents, however, were better versed in the revolutionary tactics, and were masters of the army, and of the executive power of the state. An article of the constitution expressly prohibited the army from deliberating on any subject whatever; but in consequence of applications from the Directory, who had conspired at all their plunder and extortion, they loudly declared themselves in their favour. Buonaparte made all the divisions of the army of Italy present petitions, of a threatening nature, against the councils: Moreau and Hoche did the same with their armies on the Rhine, and the latter was pitched upon by the Directory to command a body of troops, which they had ordered to Paris to destroy their enemies in the councils. Another article of the constitution prohibited the approach of troops to within a certain distance from the place at which the legislative body held its sittings; but this article was disregarded by the Directory. Hoche alarmed at the state in which he found the public mind on his approach to the capital, was induced to decline the commission; and Augereau, who was originally a private soldier in the Neapolitan army, but now a favourite general with Buonaparte, was employed in his stead. Augereau had no sooner taken the command of the troops, than he moved forward, and passed the limit prescribed by the constitution; and the councils acted with firmness and decision, they might still have succeeded: but while they

wasted time in ascertaining with precision, whether the troops had really passed the constitutional limit, the hall in which they sat was suddenly surrounded, and most of the chiefs of the party in opposition to the Directory, together with the new director, Barthelemy, were arrested without the smallest resistance or difficulty, and, being placed in carriages, resembling iron cages, previously prepared for the purpose, were sent to Rochefort, where a frigate waited to transport them to the penal deserts of Guiana. The remains of the two councils, who no longer constituted a legitimate body of representatives, and who were not competent to perform any one act of legislation, now assembled at the Odeon, and conferred on the Directory, by a formal decision, that absolute power which they had usurped, in breach of the constitution. The immediate consequence of this event was the triumph of Jacobinism, and the re-establishment of a revolutionary government.

The princess royal of England, Charlotte Augusta Matilda, eldest daughter of the sovereign, was married on the eighteenth of May, to Frederic William, hereditary prince of Wirtemberg, on which occasion a portion of eighty thousand pounds was voted by parliament for the royal bride. On the eighth of July, Burke, whose talents as a political writer and parliamentary orator were of the first order, died at his seat at Beaconsfield, in the sixty-eighth year of his age: and on the tenth of November also died, after a reign of eleven years, Frederic William the Second, king of Prussia, in his fifty-fourth year. He was succeeded by his son Frederic William the Third, who, on his accession, adopted such measures of justice and prudence, as inspired confidence in his subjects, and augured a happy reign.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Negotiations for Peace renewed and broken off—Meeting of Parliament—Address on the King's Speech—On the late Negotiation—Finance—Triple Assessment—Voluntary Contributions—Redemption of the Land Tax—Plans for National Defence—Dual between Pitt and Tierney—Second Estimate of Supplies—Slave Trade—Tender of extended Service by the Militia—Volunteer Corps—Origin and Progress of the Rebellion in Ireland—Severe Contests between the Military and Insurgents—Suppression of the Rebellion—Trials and Executions for Treason—Lord Cornwallis appointed Viceroy—Act of Amnesty—Objects of the Rebellion—French Land at Killybegs, and surrender—Naval Victory of Sir J. B. Warren—Close of the Insurrection in Ireland.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE RENEWED AND BROKEN OFF.

BY the treaty of Campo Formido, Great Britain was left alone in her contest with France; and, on the first of June, an official note from lord Grenville to de la Croix, the French minister for foreign affairs, communicated the desire of the British government to negotiate preliminaries, which might be definitely arranged at a future congress. The French government replied, that the directory would receive with eagerness the overtures and proposals which should be made to it by the court of England, but required, for the purpose of avoiding delay, that the negotiations should be rather for a definite than for a preliminary treaty. The British government rejoined, that it would depend upon the progress and turn of the negotiations, whether preliminary or definitive articles should be signed. The directory, in three days after the date of lord Grenville's last note, transmitted the necessary passports for a minister, furnished with full powers from his Britannic majesty, for the purpose of negotiating and concluding a definitive and separate treaty of peace; and fixed upon the city of Lisle as the place of meeting for the respective plenipotentiaries. On the seventeenth of June, lord Grenville informed de la Croix, by letter, that his majesty had again made choice of lord Malmesbury to represent him; to which the French minister assented, intimating, however, that another choice would have appeared to the directory more favourable for the speedy conclusion of peace. On his arrival at Lisle, his lordship was met by the French plenipotentiaries—Letourneur, late member of the directorial council, Pleville le Pelley, and Hugues Maret, when he opened the business by submitting the plan of pacification which he had received from the British ministry. This *projet* required the cession of the colony of Trinidad, on the part of Spain; and of the Cape of Good Hope, Cochin, in the East Indies, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, on the part of Holland; in return for which it was proposed that Great Britain should cede all the other settlements taken from France and her allies in the course of the war: our minister further required the restoration of his personal property to the Prince of Orange, or an equivalent in money; and that France should engage to procure for him, at the restoration of peace, an indemnity for the loss of the United Provinces; that Portugal should be included in the treaty, and that no demand should be made upon that country by France.

To these proposals the French answered, that, previously to entering on the main business, it was necessary that three concessions should be made: first, that his Britannic majesty should resign the title of *king of France*; secondly, that the ships taken and destroyed at Toulon should be restored, or restitution made for them; and thirdly, that any mortgage which England might have upon the Low Countries, in consequence of the money lent to the emperor of Germany, for the purpose of carrying

on the war against France, should be given up. On the first of these points lord Malmesbury observed, that on all former occasions a separate article had been agreed to, which appeared to answer every purpose they required, and which it was his intention, as the treaty advanced, to have proposed as proper to make a part of this: on the second, he replied, that the claim of restoring the ships was so perfectly unlooked for, that it was impossible for him to have been provided for it in his instructions; and, on the third, that, if the French republic had taken the Low Countries as they stood, charged with all their incumbrances, there could be no doubt what these words meant, and that, if no exception was stated in the first instance, none could be made with a retro-active effect. These were the observations that occurred to him on the first mention of the subjects to which they had adverted, but he would transmit the claims to his government for consideration. On the fifteenth of July the French plenipotentiaries addressed a note to lord Malmesbury, in which it was stated that the French government, unable to detach itself from the engagements which it had contracted with its allies, Spain and the Batavian republic, established, as an indispensable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the consent of his Britannic majesty to the restitution of all the possessions which he occupied, not only from the French republic, but, further and formally, of those of Spain and the Batavian republic. Lord Malmesbury replied, that this was, in effect, to declare the intention of France to put an abrupt termination to the treaty, as it proposed cessions on one side without any compensation on the other: if this were the resolution of the directory, the negotiation was at an end; and it only remained for Great Britain to persevere in maintaining, with an energy and spirit proportioned to the exigency, a war that could not be ended but by yielding to terms at once disgraceful and unjust.

It was then, however, notorious to all Europe, that the members of the Directory were at this period tottering in their seats; and that, during the delay of the negotiation, their attentions were confined to their own preservation. During this crisis, another revolution, as has already been related, took place in France, which expelled two of its members, Bartholemi and Carnot, from the office of directors. These events led to the recall of the French ambassadors, then at Lisle, and to the appointment of citizens Treillard and Bonnier d'Alois as their successors: a change not more unpleasant to the feelings of lord Malmesbury than unpropitious to the progress of the negotiation. Immediately after their first interview, on the thirteenth of September, lord Malmesbury was required to inform them whether he was empowered to concede, as a preliminary, that England should surrender all the possessions she had gained from France and her allies since the beginning of the war: and his lordship was further required to return an explicit answer in the course of the day. On the sixteenth his lordship addressed a note to the French plenipo-

tentaries, in which he intimated that he neither could or ought to treat upon any other principle than that of reciprocal compensation; a principle which had been formally recognised as a basis equally just, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers. On the same day the French ministers apprized his lordship of a decree of the executive directory, purporting, that in case lord Malmesbury should declare himself not to have the necessary powers for agreeing to all the restitutions, which the laws and the treaties that bind the French republic make indispensable, he shall return in four and twenty hours to his court, to ask for sufficient powers. The obvious answer to this imperative mandate was returned by his lordship in a note, demanding the necessary passports: previously to his departure, however, another meeting took place, in which his lordship urged every consideration that might induce the French ministers to recall their late unwarrantable proposals, but without effect; he therefore took his departure from Lisle on the morning of the eighteenth of September.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

ON the second of November parliament assembled, and his majesty expressed his firm conviction that the papers laid before the two houses would prove to them, and to the world, that in the late negotiations at Lisle every step had been taken on his part which could tend to accelerate the conclusion of peace; and that he still retained an ardent desire for the attainment of that blessing. When the king's speech came to be taken into consideration by the commons, the house presented an extraordinary appearance; the benches on the left of the speaker's chair no longer exhibited their usual occupants. Finding their counsels rejected, and their opposition unavailing, the opponents of ministers, with some few exceptions, had determined to withdraw for a time from their places in parliament, and to leave the members of administration to pursue their own system of policy without control, alleging that they were wearied with attending merely to be outvoted, and reproached by the ministerial hirelings as enemies of their country. Under these circumstances, the address on the king's speech was voted in both houses without a division.

An address passed both houses by an almost unanimous vote, highly applauding the conduct of government, and expressing a firm determination to support his majesty to the utmost, and to stand or fall with our religion, laws, and liberties. It was considered by the nation at large that the concessions offered by England at Lisle were as great as it was proper to make, and that the claims of France were highly unreasonable and unjust; a great portion of the people consequently evinced a renewal of ardour in the prosecution of the war; and, the secession of the opposition from parliament being disapproved of by many, the ministry acquired some increase of popularity.

FINANCE—TRIPLE ASSESSMENT—REDEMPTION OF THE LAND TAX.

THE existing restrictions on cash payments by the bank of England were continued by an act of this session, and on the twenty-second of November Pitt brought forward his annual statement relating to the public finances. The whole expense of the year amounted to twenty-five million five hundred thousand pounds, and, for the purpose of furnishing a supply equal to this immense demand, Pitt declared it to be his intention to have recourse to a perfectly new and solid system of finance. Of this sum, six million five hundred thousand pounds would arise from the unappropriated produce of the sinking fund, exchequer bills, and unmortgaged taxes. Of the nineteen million pounds then remaining to be provided for, he proposed to raise seven within the year, by a new impost, under the designation of a triple assessment, which should be regulated by the existing assessed taxes, in a tripartite proportion to their actual amount, limited, however, to the tenth of each person's income; and from the application of this principle of taxation arose, at subsequent periods, the income and property taxes. Of the remaining twelve million pounds, four might be borrowed without creating an additional debt, the produce of the sinking fund, old and new, appropriated to the purpose of liquidating the national debt, being equal to that amount; the remaining eight million pounds he proposed to pay by continuing the triple assessment till the principal and interest were discharged, which would be the operation of little more than another year. This plan, he said, would greatly damp the hopes of the enemy, and show to him, and to all Europe, that our national resources rose in proportion to the exigencies of our situation. He acquiesced in what had been so often said, that it would have been fortunate if the practice of funding had never been introduced, and affirmed that the period had arrived when an absolute necessity existed for some change of system. Fox, at the request of his constituents, now again appeared in parliament, and made the severest animadversions on the new scheme of finance, which was also opposed by Tierney, Sheridan, Curwen, and others. During the progress of this bill a clause was introduced, on the motion of the speaker, to admit of voluntary contributions towards the general defence of the country, now menaced with invasion by a powerful and enraged enemy; and the sum thus raised, under the sanction of parliament, amounted to one million five hundred thousand pounds, to which the bank of England contributed two hundred thousand pounds, the king twenty thousand pounds, and the queen five thousand pounds out of their private purses.

1798.—The redemption of the land-tax was brought forward on the second of April. The revenue at that time derived from the tax amounted to two million pounds. This Pitt proposed to sell at twenty years' purchase, when the three per cent. consols were at fifty, subject to a rise in the price to purchasers, according to the rise of stocks. Forty millions sterling, the present amount of the land-tax at twenty years' purchase, would amount to eighty million pounds three per cent. stock, affording an interest of two million four hundred thousand pounds, and leaving, by this operation, a clear annual gain to the public revenue of four hundred thousand pounds. The person who purchased his share of the land-tax would obtain a landed security of his property, and at a rate so favourable as to render it a very desirable object. What was of much more consequence to the interests of the state, eighty million pounds of capital would be taken out of the market. The proprietor of the land was of course to have the right of pre-emption; and, to simplify the operation, the purchase was to be made in stock, not in money. The bill further provided, that, if the owner of the land should not be able to make the purchase within a time to be limited, a further period should be allowed. In the absence of the leading members of opposition, this bill passed into a law, without encountering any considerable difficulties; but, from the radical defects of the plan, not more than about one-fourth part of the land-tax was, within the space of the three succeeding years, bought up, and the advantage to the public, in point of revenue, did not within that period exceed fifty thousand pounds a year. At the same time that the land-tax at four shillings in the pound was made perpetual, certain duties to the amount of that tax, on sugar and tobacco, were rendered annual, in order that the control which parliament previously possessed over the public purse might suffer no diminution.

DUEL BETWEEN PITT AND TIERNEY.

DUNDAS moved for the introduction of a bill, to enable his majesty to call out a portion of the supplementary militia; and a second bill was introduced for the encouragement of voluntary associations in defence of the country. This call was promptly obeyed; and no period in the history of Great Britain was ever distinguished by more striking manifestations of patriotic feeling and military ardour. A third bill was brought into the house by Dundas, for the revival of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, which, when a rebellion was impending in one kingdom, and another was in daily expectation of an invasion, could not with propriety experience any opposition. The alien bill, for removing all suspicious foreigners out of the realm, was also renewed; and on the twenty-fifth of May Pitt, convinced that the dangers of the country were continually increasing from the vast preparations accumulating on the coast of France, moved for a bill for more effectually manning the navy. The chief object he had in view was the temporary

suspension of the protections of seamen, and he expressed an earnest wish that the bill should pass that day through its different stages, with a suitable pause at each if required, and that it should be sent to the lords for their concurrence. Tierney expressed his belief that the augmentation of the navy might be provided for in the usual way. The very extraordinary manner in which the house was called upon to adopt this measure could not fail, he said, to create great and unnecessary alarm; and, indeed, from all he had lately seen, he must view the measures of ministers as hostile to the liberty of the subject. Pitt, with considerable warmth, said that, if every measure adopted against the designs of France was to be considered as hostile to the liberties of this country, his idea of liberty differed widely from that of the honourable gentleman. As a notice of the intended measure would enable those on whom it was meant to operate to elude its effects, how, he asked, could the honourable gentleman's opposition be accounted for, but from a desire to obstruct the defence of the country? Tierney then rose, and called him to order; on which the speaker observed, that whatever had a tendency to throw suspicion on the sentiments of a member, if conveyed in a language that clearly marked that intention, was certainly irregular: of this the house would judge from the right honourable gentleman's explanation. Pitt said that, if the house waited for his explanation, he feared it would wait a long time. He knew very well that it was not parliamentary to state the motives that actuated the opinions of members; but it was impossible to go into arguments in favour of a question, without sometimes hinting at the motives that induced an opposition. He submitted to the judgment of the house the propriety of what he had advanced by either retraction or explanation. Tierney immediately left the house, and the next morning sent Pitt a challenge. On Sunday afternoon, the twenty-seventh, at three o'clock, the parties met on Putney Heath, when two cases of pistols being discharged without effect, Pitt firing his second pistol in the air, the seconds interfered, and the matter was accommodated.

SECOND ESTIMATE OF SUPPLIES—VOLUNTEERING.

The chancellor of the exchequer found himself obliged, as in the last session, to lay before the house a second estimate of supplies, when he took occasion to state that the loan must be fifteen instead of twelve million pounds; and that the triple assessment, which was calculated at seven million pounds, would, it was apprehended, from the numerous modifications and abatements, be reduced to four million five hundred thousand pounds. The total of the increased loan and deficiencies he estimated at seven hundred and sixty-three thousand pounds, which he proposed to provide for by additional duties on salt, tea, dogs, horses and carriages, and by a tax on armorial bearings. The various duties on houses and windows were, at the same time, consolidated into one table.

A bill for regulating the shipping and carrying of slaves in British vessels from Africa, passed by a great majority.

On the nineteenth of June, a message from the king announced that various regiments of militia had made a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in aid of the regular and militia forces in Ireland, for the suppression of the rebellion unhappily existing in that country. In both houses, an address, empowering his majesty to accept any such offers, was carried after animated debates; and bills, founded upon the message, were passed, previously to the prorogation of parliament on the twenty-ninth of June.

England being thus deprived of about twelve thousand of its constitutional defenders, though still under the imminent apprehension of an invasion, a spirit of military ardour, equal to any exigency, at once seized and pervaded the whole kingdom; and all ranks and orders of men eagerly formed themselves into volunteer corps, commanded by officers of their own choice, acting under temporary commissions from the king.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE IRISH REBELLION.

BEFORE the rebellion of Ireland broke out into a

flame, it had been some time evident that a dark and dangerous connection was carrying on between the society of United Irishmen and the French government, having for its aim nothing less than the dissolution of the connection between the two kingdoms. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the changes which occurred in the royal dynasty, civil government, and religion of England, had involved Ireland, which had adhered to the ancient lineage and authorities, in the imputed guilt of rebellion, and subjected her to religious persecution, and the estates forfeited on the suppression of these insurrections were granted to English settlers, who generally differing in religious principles, and engrossing political power, were always regarded by the native Irish as intruders and plunderers, from whence arose a jealousy and antipathy which time has not yet been able to eradicate.

The British government, having seen the fatal effects of coercive measures in the case of America, had since adopted towards Ireland a more liberal and enlightened system of policy. The penal statutes against the Roman catholics were in a great degree repealed; they held their land on the like terms with the protestants; they enjoyed, in short, every right and franchise in common with the former, saving the offices of state, the privilege of sitting in parliament, the necessity of supporting the protestant church besides their own clergy, and the partiality with which, notwithstanding the late mitigation of the penal code, the government of Ireland continued to be administered. The society of united Irishmen, projected and organized by Theobald Wolfe Tone, an Irish lawyer of distinguished talents, proposed to connect the whole Irish nation together, for the purpose of obtaining a general melioration of their condition, by a reform of parliament, and an equalization of catholic with protestant privileges without any exception, civil or political. The protestants, persuaded that whatever their real purpose might be, the ferment they were agitating must be inimical to the existing establishments, formed counter associations, and assumed the name of Orange-men, in honour of king William, whom they consider as the vindicator of protestant security, and the establisher of protestant property and power in Ireland, although that monarch was more liberal and tolerant to the Irish catholics, than his ministers and some of his successors. The orange-men proposing to disarm the catholics, bodies of these associated to resist the attempt, and assumed the name of Defenders, and various feuds took place, accompanied with great disorder and some bloodshed. The united Irishmen did not immediately amalgamate with the defenders, who were rather violently outrageous than systematically designing; in them, however, they saw willing instruments when their own deep-laid schemes should be ripe for execution. Whether the designs of these associates were originally to effect a complete separation of Ireland from Britain has not been ascertained as a fact, but that in the progress of their concert, they had formed such a project is beyond all doubt; and in justice to the catholics it must be observed, that the conspirators were not exclusively, or even originally, of that community, the society of united Irishmen having been instituted chiefly among protestants, reform and catholic emancipation were used by the leaders of the malecontents rather to entrap the unwary, than as the true object of those under whose banners the great mass of the disaffected were preparing to shed their blood.

In the year 1794, the French government had sent an agent, named Jackson, a clergyman of the established church of England, and a native of Ireland, into these kingdoms, to acquire intelligence; and he at first took up his residence at the house of a merchant of the name of Stone, at Oldford, near London; but finding that the project of an invasion of England was hopeless, he repaired to Ireland, whence he carried on a correspondence with his friend, the English merchant. They were both, however, soon afterwards apprehended and tried on a charge of high treason, when Stone was pronounced not guilty, but Jackson was convicted; and at the moment when sentence of death was about to be passed upon him, he fell down suddenly, and expired in the court. On this conviction, Tone, Hamilton Rowan, and some other distinguished members of the society of united Irish-

men, absconded to France; but, soon after the departure of earl Fitzwilliam from Ireland in 1796, that society received an important accession of men of talents and influence, among whom were Arthur O'Connor, late a member of the Irish parliament, the nephew and presumptive heir of lord Longueville; Dr. M'Niven, chairman of the Catholic committee; Oliver Bond, an opulent Dublin merchant; and a barrister named Emmet—all of whom, except M'Niven, were protestants. About the close of that year, a regular communication was opened by the leaders of the Society with the French directory, through the medium of Tene and other Irish refugees; and early in the following year a proposition was received from the French government, and accepted by the secret committee of the society of United Irishmen, to send over an army to Ireland, to assist in the projected effort to subvert the monarchy, and to separate Ireland from the British connection. The first agents of the insurgents demanded from France any number of troops, not more than ten or less than five thousand; but the French showed a decided inclination to send an army sufficient to conquer and to retain possession of the country—fifty or sixty thousand at least. Three armaments, one from Spain, a second from France, and a third from Holland, were destined to sail for the coast of Ireland in the same year; but the defeat of the Spanish fleet by earl St. Vincent, and that of the Batavian fleet by lord Duncan, entirely disconcerted this plan of invasion. These disasters by no means discouraged the insurgents, who had their expectations buoyed up by an assurance, on the part of the French directory, that such succours as circumstances would admit should arrive in Ireland from France, in the month of April or May, 1798. At the commencement of this year a grand effort was resolved upon: in the month of February, a military commission was appointed by the executive council of the insurgents, and nocturnal assemblies were held in various parts of the kingdom, where the people were trained to the use of arms. At the same time, Arthur O'Connor, one of the pretended executive directory, repaired to London with an intention of proceeding to France, in company with Binns, a very active member of the London corresponding society, Coigley, an Irish priest, and two attendants of the names of Allen and Leary. Attempts had likewise been recently made, with some success, to form a society of United Englishmen on the model of the United Irish, and Coigley and Binns were the chief promoters of this design, which also extended itself to Scotland.

O'Connor and his associates were taken into custody at Margate, in an attempt to obtain a passage to France, on the twenty-eighth of February. After being confined some time in the Tower, they were removed to Maidstone, where they were tried by a special commission on the twenty-first and twenty-second of May, two days before the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland; and Coigley, on whose person was found a paper, purporting to be an address "from the secret committee of England to the executive directory of France," was capitally convicted, and died with heroic fortitude in what he considered the cause of his country. No evidence appearing against Allen and Leary, they were immediately set at liberty; but O'Connor and Binns were detained on another charge of high treason, proffered against them by the British government. On the twelfth of March, thirteen members of the provincial committee of Leinster, with other principals of the conspiracy, were arrested at the house of Oliver Bond in Dublin. This arrest was grounded on the information of Thomas Reynolds, of Kilkenny Castle, in the county of Kildare, who had associated with the conspirators, and was colonel of a regiment of United Irishmen, and provincial delegate for Leinster. In these arrests were included the most active and efficient leaders of the union,—Emmet, M'Niven, and Bond, being among the number.

A warrant was issued against lord Edward Fitzgerald, and a thousand pounds offered for his apprehension; but his lordship remained for several weeks concealed in the city of Dublin: however, he was discovered on the nineteenth of May; and in arresting him, he wounded Justice Swan dangerously, and captain Ryan mortally; he was himself so desperately shot in the shoulder, that, after languishing till the third of the following month, he

died in extreme agony. This young nobleman, who was brother to the duke of Leinster, and married to a daughter of the late duke of Orleans, was eminently qualified for the excitement and direction of revolutionary commotions, being a man of daring courage, a most active spirit, considerable powers of mind, and of a family highly respected for its ancient greatness by the lower classes of the Irish. The vacancies created in the directorial and other departments, by these arrests, were supplied without difficulty, but with men much less fit for the arduous task of overturning a settled government. Among the members of the new directory were two brothers, barristers, of the name of Sheares, to whom captain Armstrong, a government agent, found ready access, and, by a show of great zeal in the cause, obtained the confidence of the leaders, from whom he learned that a general rising must immediately take place; that the impudence of the people since the criminal prosecutions, could no longer be restrained; and that it was become necessary to make a great and immediate national effort, without waiting for French succours. The plan proposed was to seize the camp of Loughlin's-town, the artillery at Chapelizod, and the castle of Dublin, all on the night of the twenty-third of May; and it was further determined, that a simultaneous rising should take place at Cork: on the twenty-first, however, the two brothers, John and Henry Sheares, with some others of the principal conspirators, were apprehended; the city and county of Dublin were declared, by the lord-lieutenant and council, to be in a state of insurrection; the guards at the castle, and at all the great objects of attack, were trebled; and the whole city was, in fact, converted into a garrison. Amongst the precautions taken on this occasion by government was the augmentation of the several corps of armed yeomanry,—a species of force that was first embodied in the month of October, 1796, in a kind of independent companies. These yeomanry corps were mostly cavalry, and were generally commanded by a captain and two lieutenants; the infantry being armed like a regular army, and the cavalry furnished with a pistol and sword each, to which sometimes a carbine was added. In six months from their first establishment, the numbers increased to thirty-seven thousand; and, during the rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded fifty thousand.

Of the means accumulated by the disaffected, for carrying their revolutionary enterprises into effect, some estimate may be made from the following facts.—A paper, in his own handwriting, was given by lord Edward Fitzgerald to Reynolds, an informer, which purported to be a return made by a national committee, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1798, from which it appeared, that the number of armed men in Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, amounted to two hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and ninety six, and that the sum of one thousand four hundred and eighty-five pounds four shillings and nine pence, was in the hands of the treasurer. Another return made by a meeting of colonels, held on the twenty-eighth of March 1798, reported, that their adherents, even among the king's troops, were in the proportion of one in every three, and that the insurgents were in sufficient force to disarm all the military within the bounds of their own counties.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie having been appointed, on the twelfth of December, 1797, commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, his first step in the discharge of his public duty was to make a tour of observation throughout the island. The excesses committed by the military in the provinces, called down severe reprehension; and on his return to the capital he caused it to be notified, in general orders, "that the irregularities of the troops in Ireland had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state of licentiousness, which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy." The general, after the publication of his general orders, and under the influence of the observations he had made in his recent view of the country, endeavoured to impress the minds of those in power with his own opinions, that coercive measures to the extent determined upon were by no means necessary in Ireland. But not having succeeded in producing the effect he intended by these representations, and unwilling to tarnish his military fame, or to risk the loss of his humane and manly character by

leading troops to scenes of civil desolation, he resigned the chief command of the army in Ireland on the twenty-ninth of April, after holding that appointment little more than four months, and was succeeded by general Lake. In the month of March orders were issued to the army by the lord-lieutenant to proceed into the disturbed counties; and a manifesto, dated from head-quarters at Kildare, was on the third of the ensuing month addressed to the inhabitants, requiring them to surrender their arms in the space of ten days from the notice, on pain of large bodies of troops being distributed among them to live at free quarters; promising at the same time to reward such as would give information of concealed arms or ammunition, but denouncing exemplary severities if the country should continue in a disturbed state. On the advance of the military into the other counties, a similar notice was given to the inhabitants, and the troops in the county of Kildare, and part of those in the counties of Carlow and Wicklow, were quartered in the houses of the disaffected or suspected, in numbers proportioned to the supposed guilt and ability of the owners. Great numbers of houses with their furniture were burnt, where concealed arms were found, or whose occupants had been guilty of the fabrication of pikes, or other illegal practices for the promotion of the conspiracy. Many irregularities were of course committed by common soldiers, without the approbation or knowledge of their officers, and many other acts of severity by persons not in the army; some from an unfeigned zeal for the service of the crown, and others to promote sinister purposes, or to gratify a spirit of personal animosity.

The rebel chiefs had decided on open war, and the twenty-third of May was the day appointed for the general rising of the country.

The command of the rebel army after the arrest of lord Edward Fitzgerald, devolved upon Samuel Neilson, who meditated an attack upon Newgate, in the city of Dublin, for the purpose of rescuing his lordship. With this view he assembled fifteen of the insurgent colonels on the night of the twenty-second of May, and, having produced a map of the city, he assigned to each of them the post which they and their regiments were to occupy. The prison and the vice-regal residence were marked out as the first objects of attack, and the latter edifice was to be assailed in front and rear by different parties, while a select band was to ascend by ladders into the apartments of the principal members of government, and to secure their persons. Nor was it intended that the insurrection should be confined merely to the metropolis; the plan embraced the whole kingdom, and the signal for the general rising was to be the stoppage of the mail-coaches. This part of the project was indeed carried into effect, for, on the twenty-third, the Belfast mail-coach was detained and burnt at Santry, the Cork mail at Nass, and that travelling in the direction of Athlone at Louisa; but the rebels not satisfied with detaining the Limerick mail, barbarously murdered both the guard and coachman near the Curragh of Kildare. Early in the morning of the twenty-third, all the yeomen in the city, amounting to about three thousand five hundred, and the few military in the garrison, were ordered by general Lake to repair to the respective alarm-posts, while the lord-mayor placed the Cork militia, with two battalion guns, at the north side of Stephen's green. It fortunately happened that the royal canal and the grand canal, each fifty feet broad and eight feet deep, formed a complete fortification on the north and south sides of the city; and all the bridges being occupied by military, the communication with the disaffected from without was in a considerable degree cut off.

CONTESTS BETWEEN THE MILITARY AND INSURGENTS.

This operation was act, however, carried into complete effect, as nearly three thousand men entered the city to the north, on the evening of the twenty-third, for the purpose of joining the insurgents. A large body of rebels, armed with pikes and muskets, assembled in Eccles-street, and its environs, as well as in various other parts of the city, and great numbers were advancing towards Dublin, with an intention of rushing into the city, as soon as the insurgents had carried the castle.

At this crisis, Neilson, the rebel chief, was agitated in the streets, by one Greig, after a desperate struggle; and on their leader being conveyed to prison, several thousand rebels, who were waiting with impatience the signal of attack, dispersed in various directions. The plan of the rebels, it appeared, to assemble by beat of drum; and, well known, observes Sir Richard Musgrave, his Memoirs of the Rebellion, that, in another, the fate of the city and its loyal inhabitants were have been decided; for the mass of the people armed with pikes and other weapons, were lurk in lanes and by-places, ready to start forth on first beat of their drums, and would have occupied all the streets, and assassinated the yeomen, before they could have reached their respective stations. On the night of the twenty-third, and during the following day, several skirmishes were fought in the counties adjoining the seat of government, the towns of Naas, Clonsilla, Prosperous, Ballynasloe, and Kildare, were attacked by the insurgent force; and Carlow, Wicklow, and Monastereven, had to withstand similar assaults the two following days. These feeble and uncoordinated efforts were not countenanced by a general rising for Ulster, in which province alone a hundred and fifty thousand united Irishmen, it is said to have been enrolled and mustered, decided the contest, in consequence of the unpromising state of their affairs; and the progress of rebellion unassisted even by the formality of a manifesto had hitherto rather assembled the capricious frowns of a discontented mob, than the united efforts of a large portion of the nation. War being open, commenced by the conspirators, the lord-lieutenant issued a proclamation on the twenty-fourth, giving notice that orders were conveyed to all his majesty's general officers in Ireland, to punish according to martial law, by death or otherwise, all persons aiding the rebellion, and the following day presented an opportunity for carrying into effect these heavy denunciations. On the twenty-fifth of May, an unusually large assemblage of insurgents in the neighbourhood of Carlow, for miles southwest of Dublin, indicated that an attack on that place had been decided upon, and, on the day following, the garrison, consisting of about four hundred and fifty men, under colonel Mahon, was assailed by a body of one thousand or one thousand five hundred insurgents. On their advance into the town, they received so destructive fire from the garrison, that they recoiled, and endeavoured to retreat, but, finding their flight intercepted, numbers took refuge in the houses which being immediately fired by the soldiers they met a miserable fate. The loss of the rebels on this occasion could not be estimated at less than five hundred, while not an individual on the side of the loyalists was even wounded; and, after the defeat, about two hundred insurgents were hanging from the gallies.

On the night of the twenty-sixth of May, the standard of rebellion was hoisted between Corke and Wexford, and father John Murphy, a Romish priest, of Bodelvogue, placed himself at the head of the insurgents, two large bodies of whom, both men and women, were collected on the following day, being Whit-Sunday, one on the hill of Oula, the other on Kiltomas hill, the latter of which amounting to from two to three thousand, as commanded by Michael Murphy, another Romish priest, were attacked by about three hundred yeomen, who advanced intrepidly up the hill, where the rebel force, notwithstanding their superior numbers, retreated in disorder, leaving one hundred and fifty of their companions dead on the field. The assailants, not satisfied with a victory so honourable to their skill and courage, tarnish the laurels of the day by burning two Romish chapels, and about one hundred cabins, and far houses belonging to persons of that community, their line of march. Very different from the battle of Kiltomas was the result of another action fought on the same day, on the hill of Oula, where father John Murphy commanded in person the insurgents, finding their retreat cut off, attacked their opponents with an impetuosity that overthrew all opposition; and so successful were the efforts, that a whole picked detachment of one hundred and ten men, from the north Cork militia was slain, with the exception of colonel Foote a few of his men; while the loss of the rebels was

only three killed and six wounded. Father John, flushed with victory, advanced to Enniscorthy, and that place was attacked on the twenty-eighth by a rebel force amounting to seven thousand, of which about eight hundred were armed with muskets. Victory, which fluctuated for three hours, at length took her stand in the rebel ranks, and the military, having no cannon to support them, were driven to the necessity of sounding a retreat.

The next position of the insurgents was at Vinegar-hill, near Enniscorthy. While they halted at this place on the twenty-ninth, John Henry Colclough, of Ballyteig, and Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, who, with Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, of Bargycastle, had previously been committed by the loyalists to the prison at Wexford, on suspicion of having favoured the rebel cause, were despatched with a commission to endeavour to prevail on them to disperse. This unpromising mission entirely failed; and Colclough was ordered to return to Wexford, while Fitzgerald was detained. So prompt were the rebels in their movements, that before the evening of the same day their advanced guard was pushed forward to Three Rocks, within three miles of Wexford, and that eminence fixed upon as one of their future military stations. On their approach the consternation of the inhabitants of Wexford became extreme; suspicion haunted every bosom; and, as a measure of precaution, orders were issued to extinguish all the fires, even those of the bakers, and to unroof all the thatched houses in the town, to prevent the incendiary operations of the disaffected. In this extremity multitudes repaired for refuge on board the ships in the harbour; the shops were all shut, and many of the affrighted inhabitants sought security in flight. The military force at this time in Wexford amounted to about one thousand two hundred men, whilst the rebels were at least fifteen thousand. It was announced to the garrison, in the course of the evening, that general Fawcett was marching from the fort of Duncannon, and that his arrival with a strong reinforcement might be hourly expected. The general, having arrived in the night at Taghmon, pushed forward a small detachment, which was unfortunately intercepted on the morning of the thirtieth, near the camp at Three Rocks, and after a sharp engagement, in which a majority of their number was killed, the survivors fell into the hands of the enemy. The general, on receiving the account of this disaster, retreated precipitately towards Duncannon, with which the troops in Wexford were unacquainted for several hours; and colonel Maxwell, acting upon the supposition that the general would be able to take the rebels in the rear, while he attacked them in front, sallied forth from the town on the following morning, taking with him the principal part of the regular force at that time in the garrison; but this operation proved altogether unsuccessful. On the return of the troops a council of war was hastily assembled, when it was determined to evacuate the town, into which the insurgents poured by thousands, shouting, and exhibiting every mark of extravagant exultation. Their first step was to proceed to the prison, whence they instantly liberated Harvey, and insisted that he should become their commander. The inhabitants, rendered hospitable by their fears, entertained them with great profusion, and, after various scenes of disorder, naturally attendant on such an occasion, parties were despatched in boats to bring on shore all the men, arms, and ammunition they could find on board the vessels in the harbour; and those who were recognised as having rendered themselves obnoxious to these sanguinary wretches were pierced with pikes upon the beach.

The night of the thirtieth passed in comparative tranquillity; but early on the morning of the thirty-first the streets were again crowded, and the confusion and plunder of the preceding day recommenced. After much entreaty, the insurgent force was induced to move out of the town, and encamp on Windmill-hills, where they divided into two bodies; there remained, however, a kind of rebel authority in the place, which assumed the office of supplying the camps, and issuing proclamations.

By this time the insurrection had become general throughout the county, except where the people were kept down by the presence of the military; all the forges, both in town and country, were in consequence continually employed in fab-

ricating pike-blades; and four oyster-smacks were fitted out in the harbour, to cruise off the bay, and to bring in vessels laden with provisions, to supply the markets, which were totally deserted by the farmers. All specie seemed to have vanished during the insurrection; and bank notes were held in such low estimation, that great quantities of them were destroyed in lighting tobacco-pipes, and in wadding for firelocks. So much indeed was the value of paper money depreciated, and of specie advanced, that a pound of beef was regularly sold in the market of Wexford for one penny in cash, when a bank-note of the nominal value of twenty shillings would not purchase the same weight of that commodity. Whilst the southern part of the county of Wexford was in this horrible state of commotion, the northern baronies towards Gorey were all frightfully agitated. On the morning of the first of June, the garrison of Bunclody, three miles from Enniscorthy, consisting of five hundred men, was attacked by a detachment of rebels, from the camp at Vinegar-hill, amounting to about five thousand, and commanded by father Kern, a man of extraordinary stature, strength, and ferocity. After a sharp engagement, during which the loyalists were at one time obliged to quit the town, the assailants were at length defeated, with the loss of about two hundred slain, while that of the victors amounted only to two privates. This victory was of no small importance, as a different result would have opened a way for the Wexford rebels into the county of Carlow, the rising of whose inhabitants to co-operate with those of Wicklow and Kildare, already in arms, must have given great embarrassment to government.

A division of the Wexford rebels, under Beauchamp Bagnel Harvey, advanced to the southwest, for the purpose of attacking New Ross; but the capture of the town was an object of considerable difficulty, as the garrison consisted of one thousand two hundred effective men, exclusive of one hundred and fifty yeoman, who had been for some time prepared for the attack, and were all judiciously stationed. About five o'clock in the morning of the fifth of June, thirty thousand insurgents, about one-fourth armed with muskets, and the remainder with pikes, marched up to the place with great bravery, drove in the advanced guard, and took possession of the alarm post. The first onset was furious, but they were repulsed by a detachment of the fifth dragoons; they, however, instantly rallied, and notwithstanding cannon were planted at the cross lanes, so as to sweep the streets as they advanced, such were the weight and impetuosity of the column formed by the assailants, that the main body of the garrison fled over the bridge with great precipitation. The commanding officer, however, having re-animated his men, contrived to turn the rear of the assailants, who were now dispersed and overcome; and, as raw troops can never be rallied, they retreated with the utmost speed, after a contest of several hours, first to Corbet, and then to Carrickhyne-hills. The slaughter of the rebels was prodigious: the king's troops lost about ninety men killed, among whom was lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin militia, and the wounded and missing amounted to about one hundred and thirty. Enraged at this defeat, some dastardly rebels turned their fury against objects incapable of resistance, and more than one hundred protestant loyalists were wantonly and barbarously massacred in cold blood.

The army under father Michael Murphy, about twenty thousand strong, advanced against Arklow on the ninth of June. The attack, which continued for upwards of two hours, was fierce and irregular; but the incessant fire of the troops rendered all their efforts abortive, and they were never able to penetrate into the place. At length father Michael, after harranguing his followers, advanced with a standard on which a cross had been emblazoned; but, though he had represented himself to be invulnerable, he was killed by a cannon shot, on which his troops instantly retreated in disorder towards Coolegrange. The insurgent army, now under the command of general Byrne, next meditated an attack on Hackestown; but the approach of general Lake compelled them to abandon that design, and to commence their retreat, on the twelfth, for Vinegar-hill. The division of the army under general Needham moved from Arklow

to Corry on the nineteenth, and from thence towards Enniscorthy on the twentieth, for the purpose of co-operating in a plan formed by general Lake for surrounding the rebel station at Vinegar-hill. For this purpose different divisions of the army moved at the same time from various quarters—that under lieutenant-general Dundas from Ballynaglass; another, under major-general Sir James Duff and Loftus, from Tullow; that from Arlow under general Needham; and a fourth from Ross, under major-general Johnson and Eustace. On the march of the army from Ross, the rebel bands under father Philip Roche, on Lacken-hill, fled in the utmost confusion, and separated into two bodies, one of which directed its march to Wexford, and the other to Vinegar-hill. This famous eminence, with the town of Enniscorthy at its foot, and the country for many miles in circumference, had been in the possession of the rebels ever since the twenty-eighth of May, during which period continual apprehension of death had attended the hapless loyalists who had not succeeded in effecting their escape. The army commanded to march from different quarters to surround this post consisted, in the whole, of about thirteen thousand effective men, with a formidable train of artillery; and with such a strength, judiciously directed, the whole insurgent army, estimated at twenty thousand, might have been taken or destroyed. The troops, being divided into four distinct columns, advanced, early in the morning of the twenty-first, against the insurgents; while a fifth, under general Johnson, having carried the town of Enniscorthy, scaled the heights in different directions; but, notwithstanding these formidable preparations, the rebels were enabled, from the strength of their position, to defend the line during an hour and a half; and it was not till they were out-flanked, and nearly surrounded, that they gave way, leaving behind them thirteen light field-pieces. The slaughter was immense, for no quarter seems to have been given upon this occasion; and those who escaped the musket, when overtaken, perished by the bayonet; whilst the king's troops had not above one hundred either killed or wounded. The action was less bloody than might have been supposed, as the troops under general Needham, being unable to reach the position assigned them, left an opening through which the rebels retreated, and which, from that circumstance, was ludicrously called Needham's gap. Through this opening an immense column retreated by the east side of the Slaney, part of which entered Wexford; while another, and more numerous detachment, headed by the chiefs, Murphy and Roche, reached the Three Rocks, and, having held a hasty council of war, marched across the mountains to the county of Kilkenny. Wexford was relieved on the same day as Enniscorthy; brigadier-general Moore, whose troops had, on the preceding day, vanquished a rebel force of five or six thousand men at Goffbridge, near Horse-town, having, on the morning of the twenty-first, received a proposal from the inhabitants to surrender the town, and to return to their allegiance, provided he would guarantee their lives and property. This proposal general Moore felt it his duty to transmit to general Lake, and, marching directly for Wexford, he stationed his army within a mile of that place, the loyalists of which, like those of Enniscorthy, had, since it fell into the hands of the insurgents, been in a state of incessant apprehension and suffering.

SUPPRESSION OF THE REBELLION.

THE Wexford insurgents, in the hope that their offer of surrender would be acceded to by general Lake, and conscious that it was impossible to oppose any effectual resistance to the overwhelming force brought against them, liberated lord Kingsborough, who had been some time a prisoner, and on the twenty-first surrendered the town into his hands. Contrary to their hopes, general Lake insisted upon the unconditional surrender of the place; and, in his answer to their proposal, informed the inhabitants that no terms could be granted to rebels in arms against their sovereign. On the evacuation of the town by the main body of insurgents, part of them, under Fitzgerald, Perry, and Edward Roche, passed over the bridge to the eastern side of the river Slaney, and the rest, under father Philip Roche, in an opposite direction, into the barony of Forth.

The body of rebels which had retreated from Vinegar-hill; and penetrated into the county of Kilkenny by the Scullagh gap, which separates the counties of Carlow and Wexford, burned the village of Killeadmond, and proceeded to Gorebridge, under the command of father John Murphy, of Boulavogue. Having advanced in column, they were opposed by lieutenant Dixon, who in vain endeavoured to maintain his post against their overwhelming disparity of force; but their success was of short duration, for they were pursued by general Dunn and Sir Charles Agill, and totally defeated, on the twenty-sixth of June, at Kilconney-hill, with a loss of from two to three hundred slain, and ten light pieces of cannon taken, with seven hundred horses, and all the rest of their plunder. Murphy, the commander-in-chief, who fled from the field of battle, was taken soon after, and, being conducted to the head-quarters of general Sir James Duff, at Tullow, was hanged the same day, and his head placed on the market-house.

In the south the spirit of rebellion was now happily approaching to its termination; and in the north the disaffected protestants, shocked at the enormities perpetrated and the intolerance displayed, and scandalized by the pretended miracles wrought by the blood-stained priests, Roche and Murphy, determined to resist the seduction. They indeed found means to keep possession of Antrim for a few days, though, on being attacked with cannon and musketry on the seventh of June, they were driven out of the town with the loss of about two hundred slain, but not until lord O'Neill, who commanded a regiment of Irish militia, had been mortally wounded. They were also repulsed in an ill-concerted attack on Carrickfergus; and at Ballynahinch they received a total overthrow. On the subsiding of this minor rebellion in Ulster, another local rising took place in Munster, which was easily suppressed.

After the signal defeat of the rebels at Vinegar-hill, and their consequent expulsion from Enniscorthy, Wexford, &c., a considerable number dispersed, and returned to their usual occupations. The more desperate retired to the mountainous parts of Wexford and Wicklow counties, where, for a while, they waged a desultory warfare, but in the course of a few weeks were completely subdued; and those who still resisted might rather be considered as small companies of banditti, who lurked in the woods and mountains, and committed nocturnal depredations, than as an embodied force. At length the insurgent chiefs, Fitzgerald and Barry, surrendered to generals Dundas and Moore; and the sanguinary insurrection, which broke out on the twenty-third of May, and raged with intense fury till the twenty-second of the following month, was finally extinguished on the twelfth of July.

TRIALS AND EXECUTIONS FOR TREASON.

DUBLIN, having escaped the horrors of insurrection, now became the theatre of public justice. The first person brought to trial was a rebel chief of the name of Bacon, in an extensive line of business in the metropolis, and of the protestant persuasion, who, being found guilty of high treason, was executed; Edmond, a Roman catholic, of good estate and respectably connected, who was convicted of heading the rebel forces, also suffered about the same time; Henry and John Sheares, the sons of a banker at Cork, and educated for the bar, were condemned on the clearest evidence, and executed in the front of Newgate. The trial of John M'Cann, secretary to the provincial committee of Leinster, followed on the seventeenth of July, and he suffered with Michael William Byrne, delegate for the committee of Wicklow. Oliver Bond, a man of considerable fortune, and one of the principal conspirators, at whose house the Leinster delegates had been arrested on the twelfth of March, was arraigned for high-treason on the twenty-third of July, and his trial continued till seven o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fourth, when he was convicted. These trials were all by jury; but in Wexford, and other parts of the country, the more summary tribunals of courts-martial were resorted to. On the twenty-fifth of June Matthew Keogh, the rebel governor of Wexford; the Rev. Philip Roche, the general; and seven others, having been previously convicted, were brought to the bridge at Wexford, and exe-

cuted. Among the persons who suffered for high-treason on the same bridge were Beauchamp Bag-nel Harvey, John Henry Colclough, and Cornelius Grogan. The two former, who had quitted the rebel army soon after the battle of Ross, disgusted, as they declared in their last moments, with the cruelties and oppression which had been exercised on those who fell into the hands of the rebellious mob, were discovered and taken in a cave on one of the Saltee islands, or rather rocks, which lie in the entrance of Wexford harbour: Grogan, a penurious old gentleman, died possessed of an estate of eight thousand pounds a year. In the town of Wexford alone, not fewer than sixty-five persons were executed for the crimes of rebellion and murder.

LORD CORNWALLIS APPOINTED VICEROY —ACT OF AMNESTY—OBJECTS OF THE REBELLION.

THE marquis Cornwallis was appointed to succeed earl Camden, and made his entrance into the capital on the twentieth of June. He united conciliation with firmness; and, whilst displaying a system of moderation and mercy to the infatuated rabble, did not fail to make example of those who had misled them. On the third of July a proclamation from the new viceroy appeared in the Dublin gazette, authorizing his majesty's generals to afford protection to such insurgents as, having been simply guilty of rebellion, should surrender their arms, abjure all unlawful engagements, and take the oath of allegiance. To give the full sanction of law to this measure, a message was delivered from his excellency to the Irish parliament, on the seventeenth, on which was grounded an act of amnesty to all who, not being leaders, had not committed manslaughter, except in the heat of battle, and who should comply with the conditions of the proclamation. This act was followed by a treaty between the government and the chiefs of the United Irishmen, negotiated by Mr. counsellor Dobbs, a member of the house of commons, bearing date the twenty-ninth of July, and expressed in the following terms:—"That the undersigned state prisoners, in the three prisons of Newgate, Kilmalsham, and Bridewell, engage to give every information in their power of the whole of the internal transactions of the United Irishmen; and that each of the prisoners shall give detailed information of every transaction that has passed between the United Irishmen and foreign states; but that the prisoners are not, by naming or describing, to implicate any person whatever; and that they are ready to emigrate to such country as shall be agreed on between them and government, and give security not to return to this country without the permission of government, and not to pass into an enemy's country, if, on so doing, they are to be freed from prosecution; and also Mr. Oliver Bond (then under sentence of death) be permitted to take the benefit of this proposal. The state prisoners also hope that the benefit of this proposal may be extended to such persons in custody as may choose to benefit by it."

Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Edlis Emmett, Dr. M'Nevin, Samuel Neilson, and other principals of the conspiracy, gave details on oath, in their examinations before the secret committees of the two houses of parliament, from which it appeared that the rebellion originated in a system formed, not with a view of obtaining either catholic emancipation, or any reform compatible with the existence of the constitution, but for the purpose of subverting the government, separating Ireland from Great Britain, and forming a democratic republic; that the means resorted to for the attainment of these designs was a secret systematic combination, artfully linked and connected together, with a view of forming the mass of the lower ranks into a revolutionary force, acting in concert, and moving as one body; that, for the further accomplishment of their object, the leaders of the conspiracy concluded an alliance with the French directory in 1796, by which it was stipulated that an adequate force should be sent for the invasion of Ireland, subsidiary to the preparations that were making for a general insurrection; that in pursuance of this design, measures were adopted by the chiefs of the conspiracy for giving to their societies a military form; that, for arming their adherents, they had re-

course to the fabrication of pikes; that, from the vigorous and summary expedients resorted to by government, and the consequent exertions of the military, the leaders found themselves reduced to the alternative of immediate insurrection, or of being deprived of the means on which they relied for effecting their purpose; and that to this cause was to be attributed the premature breaking out of the rebellion, and probably its ultimate failure.

The principal prisoners, however, being found to abuse the lenity of government, by secretly labouring to revive the expiring flame of rebellion, were not liberated, but sent to Fort George, in the north of Scotland, where they continued in confinement till the conclusion of the war. They were then permitted to enjoy their liberty, on condition of withdrawing from his majesty's dominions. Oliver Bond died, by a stroke of apoplexy, in prison.

Robberies and assassinations would probably have ceased on the granting of protections, if some desperate marauders, reinforced by deserters from several regiments of Irish militia, had not remained in arms in the mountains of Wicklow, and the dwarf woods of Killangrim, near Enniscorthy. These banditti continued for many months to infest those parts of the country; but, after a little time, the woods, being scoured by the army, were cleared of their predatory inhabitants, who had ludicrously styled themselves *The Babes in the Wood*. The party in the Wicklow mountains continued, under two chiefs of the names of Holt and Hacket, to annoy the country for a longer time, and in a more formidable degree.

FRENCH LAND AT KILLALA AND SURRENDER.

THOUGH the French directory had contemplated the progress of the civil war in Ireland with tranquillity; yet when only the faint sparks of expiring rebellion could be perceived, an expedition under general Humbert, consisting of about eleven hundred men, embarked from Rochelle, in three frigates, and landing on the twenty-second of August, in the bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo, took up their head-quarters at the bishop's palace. Although a green flag was erected, accompanied by the emblem of a harp, encircled with the motto of *Erin go Bragh*, (Ireland for ever,) but few of the peasantry could be prevailed on to join the invaders. Having left a small garrison under colonel Charost at Killala, to keep up the communication, and receive supplies, general Humbert clothed and armed those who repaired to his standard, and immediately marched towards Castlebar, experiencing no obstacle in his route. The army collected there, under general Lake, commander-in-chief of the forces in Connaught, consisted of from two to three thousand regulars; and Humbert, relying chiefly for success on his own troops, contrived to post his new levies on the flanks in such a manner as to protect his column from the fire of the enemy. The field of battle, to which he advanced on the morning of the twenty-seventh, consisted of a hill, at the north-west extremity of the town, where the English forces were drawn up in two lines, which crowned its summit; a small reserve was stationed in the rear, in a valley; and some guns posted in front, commanded a rising ground, over which the enemy must necessarily pass. By an unfortunate precipitancy, the fire of the English lines, instead of being reserved, was expended before it could be available—a mistake of which the enemy taking advantage, rushed forward with his main body; and the sharpshooters evincing a design to penetrate into the rear, the detachment posted for the purpose of supporting the guns abandoned their charge in a panic. The earls of Ormond, Longford, and Granard, endeavoured to rally their men, and so far succeeded as to impede the progress of the assailants, but they were pursued with alacrity; and the royal Irish artillery, who had gallantly defended the bridge by means of a single gun, were nearly cut off. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded exceeded two hundred, and that of the British was still more considerable.

Castlebar, a place of some importance, on account of its situation, now became the head-quarters of the invaders. Aware of the danger that might arise to the country from the presence of an invading army, lord Cornwallis determined to take the field in person, and, quitting Dublin on the twenty-

fourth of August, arrived on the twenty-eight at Athlone, where he received the unwelcome intelligence of the defeat of general Lake; and, after a halt of two days, proceeded in the direction of Hollymount, where he arrived on the fourth of September: but on finding that the invader had quitted Casloebar, his lordship repassed the Shannon at Carrick; and the French forces, being surrounded by a British army amounting to twenty thousand men, surrendered after an ineffectual resistance. The rebel auxiliaries, now accumulated to about fifteen hundred, who had accompanied the French to this fatal field, being excluded from quarter, fled in all directions, and about five hundred of their number were slain in the pursuit, exclusive of about one hundred taken prisoners; among whom were found Teeling, Blake, and Roach, three of their chiefs. The number of French troops who surrendered on this occasion amounted to ninety-six officers, and seven hundred and forty-eight non-commissioned officers and privates; having sustained a loss of two hundred and eighty-eight since their first landing at Killala.

Previously to the march of general Humbert from Castlebar, on the fourth of September, he had called in all his forces, with the exception of three officers left at Killala, and one at Ballina, in command of the rebel garrisons at those places. At length, on the twenty-second of September, the king's forces arrived at Ballina, and obliged the garrison to retreat to Killala, where a large body of troops under general French arrived on the following day, and a contest ensued, in which about four hundred of the rebel forces were slain. The courts-martial assembled the day after the battle of Killala, and were not dissolved till they had disposed of one hundred and eighty-five prisoners: among others general Bellow, of an ancient Irish family, who had served eighteen years in Germany, was found guilty of treason, and executed. The French officers taken at Killala were sent to Dublin, and thence to London, where three of their number, Charcot, Boudot, and Ponson, were, on the favourable report of Dr. Stock, the Bishop of Killala, set at liberty, and sent home without exchange. In other parts of the country, also, a number of rebel chiefs and inferior insurgents were tried and executed; among whom were two Irishmen by birth, who had been in the military service of France before the invasion, and had come to Ireland in the French fleet.

The little army landed at Killala had been intended, it appears, only as a van-guard to a much more formidable force, which was in a short time to follow: providentially, however, for the safety of the British empire, the French government had been as tardy in seconding the operations of Humbert as they had been in sending succours to the support of the rebel force in the south of Ireland. The want of money is assigned as the cause of delay in the equipment of the second fleet, and, in the interim, before its appearance on the Irish coast, the *Anacrona* brig from France arrived at the little island of Rutland, from which were landed three boats full of men, and a number of officers, among whom was James Napper Tandy, one of the Irish emissaries to the French directory, and who had attained to the rank of general of brigade in the French service. This brig was full of arms and accoutrements, and contained a train of artillery; but when the adventurers found that the people, instead of joining them, fled to the mountains, and that the rebellion in Ireland was entirely suppressed, they re-embarked, after distributing a number of inflammatory papers. Some time afterwards, Napper Tandy, and two other Irish rebels, were apprehended by the agents of Great Britain at Hamburg, and conveyed to Ireland, where Tandy was indicted for high treason, in the year 1801, when, having pleaded guilty, by previous arrangement, he was suffered to lose the kingdom, and take up his residence in France.

SIR J. B. WARREN'S NAVAL VICTORY— CLOSE OF THE INSURRECTION.

ANOTHER attempt of the French to revive a lost cause was equally unsuccessful. A squadron from Brest, consisting of one ship of the line, eight frigates, a schooner, and a brig, with a strong reinforcement, intended to co-operate with the force under general Humbert in Ireland, was fallen in with on the eleventh of October off the north-western coast of that island, by Sir John Borlase Warren, who was cruising with seven sail of the line off Lough Swilly. The British admiral instantly threw out the signal for a general chase, and gave orders to form in succession as each ship of war reached her antagonist; but it was found impossible to commence the action before the next morning, at which time it was discovered that the enemy's large ship had lost her main top mast. Still confident in their own strength, the French squadron bore down, and formed a line of battle in close order; on which an action of three hours and forty minutes ensued, when the enemy's three-decker, the *Hoche*, and three of the frigates, hauled down their colours after a gallant resistance: five of the frigates, the schooner, and the brig, escaped, but three of the former were afterwards captured. The whole squadron, it appeared, was entirely new, and full of troops, stores, and every other equipment for the support and establishment of the invading force in Ireland. Amongst the prisoners taken in the *Hoche* was Theobald Wolfe Tone, the projector of the society of United Irishmen, long considered as the most active and able negotiator among the Irish fugitives at Paris, and as the great adviser of most of the measures pursued by his rebellious countrymen. He was no sooner landed in Ireland than he was conveyed to Dublin, and put upon his trial by a court-martial, before which he defended himself with considerable ability and firmness, not attempting either to deny or to palliate his offence. The plea on which he rested was that of being a denizen of France, and an officer in the service of the republic; but, when he found that this defence was unavailing, he requested that he might die like a soldier, and not as a felon; and be shot, according to military usage, rather than hanged. The court, however, did not judge it proper to accede to his request, and the unhappy culprit attempted to escape the ignominy that awaited him, by cutting his throat in the prison. The wound was at first supposed not to be mortal, but, after languishing a short time, it terminated his existence. He, the last of the rebel chiefs, obtained the boon of his forfeited life, by exiling himself for ever from his native country.

Thus ended the insurrection in Ireland, in which it is estimated that not less than thirty thousand lives were sacrificed, and property was destroyed to an amount of which it is difficult to speak with accuracy; but some idea may be formed from the conflagrations that took place in different towns, and from the compensation claimed by one class of sufferers. The towns of Carnw, Tinealy, Hacketstown, Donard, Blessington, and Killeadmond, were all destroyed by fire; in Ross about three hundred houses, mostly those of the labouring classes, were consumed; the greater part of Rosinacorthy was laid in ashes; and in the open country a vast number of cabins, farm-houses, and gentlemen's seats, were destroyed. By a message delivered to the house of commons by lord Castlereagh, on the seventeenth of July, it was proposed to afford compensation to the suffering loyalists, on their claims being duly verified before commissioners; and an act of parliament soon after passed, under which the claims of the loyalists alone amounted to upwards of a million pounds—a sum of great magnitude, but, it is supposed, not equal to more than one-third of the entire property destroyed by a rebellion, in support of which it is believed that seventy thousand men were at one time in arms.

CHAPTER XXX.

Hostile Movements of the French against Switzerland—They enter Berne, after several Contests—New Constitution—Revolution at Rome, and Subversion of the Papal Government—Grand Expedition to Egypt under Buonaparte—Malta taken—Alexandria and Rosetta subdued—Severe Engagements with the Mamelukes—Cairo taken—Victory of the Nile—New Coalition against the French—Turkey, Russia, and Naples, severally declare War against France—The Neapolitan Troops, after advancing to Rome, signally defeated, and Ferdinand IV. compelled to quit the Continent—Expedition against Ostend—Capture of Minorca—Evacuation of St. Domingo—Meeting of Parliament—Finance—Income Tax first imposed—Union with Ireland proposed—Proceedings thereon.

**FRENCH MOVE AGAINST SWITZERLAND—
ENTER BERNE—NEW CONSTITUTION—ST.
DOMINGO EVACUATED.**

THE congress of Rastadt, in which it was proposed to discuss and settle all the disputes between the French republic and the German empire, assembled at this period; the emperor, as the head of the Germanic body, in his capacity of king of Hungary and Bohemia, had acceded to the demands of the directory, to render the Rhine the boundary of the commonwealth, and surrender Ehrenbreitstein and Mentz; and it was imagined that the system of sacrifices and indemnities might be speedily adjusted. But, whilst the French plenipotentiaries were giving the most solemn assurances that their government panted for tranquillity, a war was suddenly declared against Switzerland, which, after a peace that had lasted for ages, was now condemned to experience all the horrors of hostility. Towards the end of the year 1797, certain menacing demands had been made by the French directory on the Swiss cantons, under some alleged pretexts of insults or injuries, and the government of Berne, in particular, was accused of having publicly enrolled emigrants, and given shelter to French deserters. The Helvetic diet, assembled at Aarau, showed an intention of resistance, by ordering a levy of twenty-six thousand men, while the armed force of two cantons, under the command of colonel de Weisse, was sent, on the fourteenth of January 1798, into the Pays de Vaud, to suppress a popular tumult, which had for its object the establishment of a democratic government. As soon as the French executive learned that Berne and Friburg had despatched a body of soldiers and a train of artillery into the Pays de Vaud, a division of French troops just returned from Italy was put in motion, and general Menard appeared upon the Genevan frontier. The Vaudois in the mean time adopted a democratical form of government, and assumed the appellation of the Republic of Leman: the cantons of Basle, Zurich, and Soleure, followed their example; but the senates of Berne and Friburg persisted in maintaining their ancient form of government.

The management of the war being confided to the French general Brune, he entered the territories of Berne on the twenty-fifth of January, and published a proclamation, containing professions which appear to have been made only to be violated. Some unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain a truce; but a body of the invaders, having advanced against the castle of Dornach, seized that little fortress, while thirteen thousand troops summoned Soleure, which immediately opened its gates. Friburg, better prepared for resistance, determined to oppose the French; but Brune, having advanced at the head of a column, took it by assault, and on the fifth of March, after several well contested actions, the French army entered Berne. The ruling families were immediately displaced, the nature of the government was changed, the most respectable of the senators were sent

into exile, and, although the French professed to come in the character of protectors and deliverers, the treasures of the state were confiscated, and large military contributions exacted for the supply of the invading army. The directory, determined on the subjugation of Switzerland, resolved to change the government from the federal into an united republic, which, by means of a close and intimate union with France, might be kept in continual dependence. After some opposition from the smaller states of Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden, Glaris, and Appenzel, all Switzerland subscribed to the new constitution; Lucerne was chosen as the seat of government; and an alliance, offensive and defensive, entered into between the French and Helvetic republics: the French directory, however, still continued to levy contributions and impose exactions to an enormous extent.

**REVOLUTION AT ROME—PAPAL AUTHOR-
ITY SUBVERTED.**

THE same thirst of dominion prompted the French to erect the territories of the pope into a commonwealth dependent on their power. On the twenty-eighth of December, 1797, a mob, consisting of about one hundred persons, assembled at the palace of the French ambassador, Joseph Buonaparte, and demanded the assistance of France, for the purpose of overthrowing what they termed the papal tyranny, and establishing a republic in its stead. The ambassador despatched general Duphot to disperse the insurgents, and to prevail upon the papal troops to retire from the precincts of his court; but in the affray he was shot by a Roman fusilier, and Joseph Buonaparte retired into Tuscany. This outrage, for which every possible satisfaction was offered, afforded a pretext for sending general Berthier to Rome with a large body of troops; and on the eleventh of February, 1798, the castle of St. Angelo, containing the pope and the greater part of his cardinals, surrendered on the first summons. The inhabitants, encouraged by the presence of the French army, assembled in the Campo Vaccino, the ancient Roman forum, planted the tree of liberty in the front of the capital, proclaimed their independence, and instituted the Roman republic. All the splendour and magnificence of which the catholic worship is susceptible were employed to celebrate this memorable victory over the head of its faith; every church in Rome resounded with thanks to the Supreme Disposer of events for the glorious revolution that had taken place; and, while the dome of St. Peter's was illuminated without, fourteen cardinals, dressed in the gorgeous apparel appertaining to functions they were fated soon after to abdicate, presided at a solemn *Tu Deum* within the walls of that superb temple. The deposed Pontiff was conveyed, by order of the directory, first to Briançon, and afterwards to Valence, in France, where he terminated his existence, on the twenty-ninth of August, 1799, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his pontificate.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT UNDER BUONAPARTE—MALTA TAKEN AND ALEXANDRIA.

THE directory, eager to find employment for armies which the plunder of Piedmont and Lombardy had sharpened rather than satisfied, and for a general in whose presence and by whose talents and popularity, all their power seemed to be eclipsed, committed to general Buonaparte the conduct of a vast and romantic expedition, to attempt the subversion of the British dominion in Hindostan, to which the invasion and occupation of Egypt was deemed necessary, although the sublime Porte had kept its faith with the French republic inviolate. The ports of Marseilles and Toulon were busied in refitting and launching ships, the fabrication of cordage, and the preparation of military stores; and, while all Europe was contemplating the extent and destination of the armament, general Buonaparte, accompanied by a few of his chief officers, and a multitude of artists and men of learning, hastened from Paris to the borders of the Mediterranean.

He set sail from Toulon on the twentieth of May, with a formidable veteran army, and an immense quantity of artillery and military stores, and, leaving Sicily on the left, was joined by a squadron of Venetian men of war; rear-admiral Bruys was intrusted with the command of the fleet. This armament, consisting of about three hundred sail, including ships of the line, frigates, and transports, descried Malta on the ninth of June, and at break of day the next morning commenced a general landing of troops and artillery upon the coast, without encountering any very formidable opposition. At the dawn of the succeeding morning the enemy had encircled the city of Valetta, and on the twelfth the French entered the city, and became masters of the whole island, this almost impregnable place surrendering with so little resistance as to furnish reason to suspect a previous concert between the captors and the Knights. The grand master, Hompesch, who had ranked as a sovereign prince, quitted the island, and received a sum of money at his departure, with an engagement for a pension from the French treasury, so part of which was ever paid. Thus Buonaparte contrived to obtain possession of the island of Malta, containing a population of sixty thousand souls, and affording one of the most advantageous stations in the Mediterranean sea; while the ancient order of St. John of Jerusalem beheld itself bereaved of its territories, after possessing them nearly three centuries. Having appointed a provisional government, and intrusted the care of his new acquisition to general Vaubois, the fleet again put to sea, and in the evening of the thirtieth of June anchored in the roads of Alexandria.

As soon as the French admiral had cast anchor on the coast of Egypt, Buonaparte disembarked his troops, and attacked and entered Alexandria on the fifth of July. General Desaix was despatched towards Cairo, and Buonaparte, in the mean time, issued orders for the fleet to shelter itself from the enemy in the old port of Alexandria; but on sounding the channel it was found that there was not sufficient depth of water for the Orient, and the road of Aboukir was therefore chosen as the fittest anchorage.

Buonaparte having defeated the Beys, Mamelukes, and Fellahs in several actions, which he skillfully exaggerated into heroic exploits, basely conciliated the confidence of the sheiks and the principal inhabitants, by proclamations in which he distinctly professed himself a Mahometan, asserting that he revered, more than the Mamelukes themselves, God, his prophet Mahomet, and the Koran, that having thrown down the cross in the west, he was come to establish the true religion; and having organised a provisional government, Buonaparte marched against Murad Bey, whom he forced to take refuge in Upper Egypt, while Ibrahim Bey, taking a contrary direction, fled towards Syria.

VICTORY OF THE NILE.

THE object of Buonaparte's expedition appears to have been altogether unknown in England at the time of its sailing; but instructions were in consequence sent to earl St. Vincent, then stationed off Cadix, to select a sufficient number of line of battle ships to defeat his armament, whatever

might be its destination; and a despatchment of ten ships of the line, under captain Troubridge, was ordered to join Sir Horatio Nelson, who had been despatched to the Mediterranean with a flying squadron. Rear-admiral Nelson, thus invested with the command of a fleet of fourteen ships, thirteen of which carried seventy-four, and one fifty guns, steered his course towards Malta, and arrived off that island on the twenty-second of June, when he found that the enemy had quitted that place five days before, taking an eastward direction. Conjecturing that Egypt must be the place of their destination, he sailed for the port of Alexandria, where he arrived on the twenty-eighth; but, as they had not been seen on that coast, he shaped his course northward for Caramania, and thence returned to Sicily. After obtaining supplies in the bay of Syracuse, he once more sailed for Alexandria, and, on the first of August, discovered the enemy's fleet, moored in a strong and compact line, in the bay of Aboukir, the headmost vessel being close to the shoals on the N. W. and the rest forming a kind of curve along the line of deep water, so as not to be turned on the S. W. The advantage of numbers, both in ships, guns, and men, was in favour of the French; they had thirteen ships of the line, and four frigates, carrying eleven hundred and ninety guns, and ten thousand eight hundred and ten men. The English had the same number of ships of the line, and one fifty gun ship, carrying in all ten hundred and twelve guns, and eight thousand and sixty-eight men. The English ships of the line were all seventy-fours; the French had three eighty-gun ships, and one three-decker of one hundred and twenty guns; and the enemy's squadron was, in the opinion of the French commissary of the fleet, moored in such a situation as to bid defiance to double their force. Nelson decided for an immediate attack, and at six o'clock in the evening of the first of August the engagement commenced.

Captain Foley, who led the British van in the Goliath, darted ahead of the enemy's foremost ship, Le Guerrier, doubled her larboard side, and, having poured a destructive fire into the Frenchman, moved on to the Conquerant, whom he charged with tremendous fury, and in ten minutes shot away her masts: next followed the Zealous, captain Hood, which attacked the Guerrier on the side next the shore, and in twelve minutes totally disabled her: the Orion, Sir James Saumarez, took her station between the enemy's fifth and sixth ships, the Theseus, captain Miller, following the same example, encountered the third ship of the enemy; the Adacious, captain Good, moved round to the fifth; then advanced the Vanguard, carrying the heroic Nelson, and his no less heroic captain, Berry, and anchored on the outside of the enemy's third ship, with six colours flying in his rigging, lest they should be shot away. Having veered half a cable, he instantly opened a tremendous fire; under cover of which the other four ships of his division, the Minotaur, Bellerophon, Defence, and Majestic, sailed on ahead of the admiral. In a few minutes every man stationed at the first six guns, in the fore part of the Vanguard's deck, was killed or wounded; and three times in succession did the destructive fire of the enemy sweep away the seamen that served these guns. Captain Louis, in the Minotaur, nobly supported his commander, and, anchoring next ahead of the Vanguard; took off the fire of the Aquilon, the fourth in the French line. The Defence, captain Peyton, took her station ahead of the Minotaur, and engaged the Franklin, of eighty guns, the sixth ship of the enemy, which bore the flag of admiral Blanquet de Chazard, the second in command. Thus, by the masterly seamanship of the British commanders, nine of our ships were so disposed as to bear their force upon six of the enemy's. The seventh of the French line was the Orient, the admiral's ship, a vessel of immense size, bearing one hundred and twenty guns: this stupendous adversary was undertaken by the Bellerophon, captain Darby; while the Majestic, captain Westcott, who engaged the Houx, the ninth ship on the starboard bow, received also at the same time the fire of the Tonant, which was the eighth in the line. The other four ships of the British squadron, having been detached previously to the discovery of the French, were at a considerable distance when the action commenced, and the shades of night began to close

in upon them before they reached the scene of action. Captain Troubridge, in the *Culledon*, took the lead of these ships; but the increased darkness having greatly augmented the difficulties of the navigation, that vessel suddenly grounded on a shoal, and could not be got off in time to share in the danger and the glory of the action. It was, however, some satisfaction to captain Troubridge, that his ship served as a beacon to the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, which would otherwise have gone considerably farther in on the reef, and have been inevitably lost. These ships took their stations in a manner that commanded general admiration; and at this juncture the *Bellerophon*, overpowered by the huge *Orient*, her lights extinguished, nearly two hundred of her crew killed or wounded, and all her masts and cables shot away, was drifting out of the line towards the lee side of the bay, when the *Swiftsure*, which at first mistook her for a ship of the enemy, but was soon undeceived, came up, and taking her station, opened a steady fire on the quarter of the *Franklin*, and the bows of the French admiral. At the same instant, captain Ball, with the *Alexander*, passed under the stern of the *Orient*, and, anchoring within side of his larboard quarter, raked him, and kept up a severe fire of musketry on his decks. The last ship which arrived to complete the destruction of the enemy was the *Leander*, captain Thompson, who took his station in such a position as to rake both the *Franklin* and the *Orient*.

The conflict was now carried on in the darkness of the night, and the only light to guide the operations of the fleets was derived from the flashes of their cannon. The two first ships of the French line had been dismasted within a quarter of an hour from the commencement of the action, and others had suffered so severely that victory was already certain—its extent was the only remaining question. The third, fourth, and fifth ships of the enemy, were taken possession of at half-past eight. While the battle raged with its utmost fury, the British admiral received a wound on the head from a piece of lancebrig shot, which cut a large flap of the skin of the forehead from the bone, and, falling over his only remaining eye, left him in total darkness. The great effusion of blood occasioned an apprehension that the wound would be mortal: Nelson himself thought so, and desired his chaplain to deliver his dying remembrances to lady Nelson; but the surgeon, on examining the wound, pronounced it to be merely superficial. The French admiral Bruys, who sustained the honour of his flag with undiminished firmness, and had been three times wounded during the engagement without quitting his station, now received a shot which almost cut him in two. Soon after nine o'clock the *Orient* struck her colours, and appeared in flames, which spread with astonishing rapidity, and by the prodigious light of which the situation of the two fleets could be distinctly seen from the minarets of Rosetta, a distance of fifteen miles. About ten o'clock the ship blew up with a tremendous explosion, which was succeeded by a silence not less awful. The firing instantly ceased on both sides, and the first sound which broke the portentous stillness was the dash of shattered masts and yards falling into the water from the vast height to which they had been cut by the explosion. Only about seventy of the crew could be saved by the English boats. The *Orient* had on her board nearly to the amount of six hundred thousand pounds.

After a lapse of about ten minutes the fire recommenced with the ships to the leeward of the centre, and continued without intermission till three o'clock the next morning. It then grew very faint till about five, when it was resumed with redoubled fury; but it was, on the enemy's part, the resistance, not of hope, but of despair. At day-break, the *Guillaume Tell* and the *Genereux*, the two rear ships of the enemy, were the only French ships of the line that had their colours flying, and in the forenoon they cut their cables and stood out to sea, taking along with them two frigates. The *Zealous*, worthy of her name, instantly commenced the pursuit, but, as there was no other ship in a condition to support captain Hood, he was recalled. The firing continued in the bay with some intermission till two o'clock in the afternoon, when it entirely ceased.

Thus ended an engagement which will ever rank amongst the most distinguished achievements in na-

val annals. The result was, that, out of a fleet of thirteen sail, the admiral's ship of a hundred and twenty guns, and the *Timoleon* of seventy-four, were burnt; while two eighty gun ships, and seven seventy-fours, were captured; and it was the firm persuasion of the British admiral, that, had he been more amply provided with frigates, all the enemy's transports and smaller vessels in the bay would have shared the fate of the ships of the line. This deficiency of frigates he deeply regretted, and in his usual forcible way of expressing himself, said—"Should I die at the present moment, *seventy frigates* would be found written on my heart." The British loss in killed and wounded amounted to eight hundred and ninety-five. Of the French, three thousand one hundred and five, including the wounded, went on shore by cartel, and five thousand two hundred and twenty-five perished—constituting a loss, during that glorious, but fatal night, of upwards of five hundred human beings an hour! One British officer of the rank of captain only fell: this was the brave captain Westcott, who was killed early in the action.

Throughout England the victory was celebrated with every mark of rejoicing. His majesty conferred the dignity of baron, with a pension of three thousand pounds a year, on the admiral, who was called to the house of peers by the style and dignity of Baron Nelson of the Nile. The Grand Seignior also transmitted a superb diamond chalcab, or plume of triumph, taken from one of the imperial turbans; and the king of Naples, at a later period, granted the title of duke of Bronte, with an estate in Sicily. Captains Berry and Thompson received the honour of knighthood, and the other commanders were presented with gold medals. The Turkish sultan sent a purse of two thousand sequins to be distributed amongst the wounded, and the English nation raised, by public subscription, a considerable sum for the widows and children of those who fell in the action.

NEW COALITION AGAINST THE FRENCH.

At Rastatt the effect of this victory became evident. The deputies of the empire had already agreed to a plan of indemnities, by means of which forty-four of the secular and ecclesiastical states were to make immense sacrifices to obtain peace; but the attack on Switzerland and Rome, and the expedition of Buonaparte into Egypt, joined to the opposition he had there encountered, and the recent disaster of the French navy, encouraged the congress to delay the negotiations, and evidently rendered a new contest unavoidable. At this juncture too, and partly from the same causes, the Turks declared war against France; and Russia became an efficient member of the new coalition preparing against the French nation, the co-operation of the emperor Paul being secured by a subsidy, stipulated in a treaty concluded in December between him and the king of Great Britain, wherein each party engaged not to make a peace or armistice without including the other. This alliance was extended rather than strengthened by the activity of the king of Naples, who, after issuing a declaration of war against the republic on the twenty-second of November, put his army in motion against the French on the twenty-third of that month, and on the twenty-ninth succeeded in making himself master of the Roman capital. This success, however, was of short duration; for on the fifteenth of December the Neapolitan troops suffered a signal defeat at Civita Castellana, and this disaster was followed by the immediate evacuation of Rome. After a series of defeats, during a continued retreat, Ferdinand IV. was obliged, on the last day of the year, to abdicate all his continental dominions, and to take refuge on board an English man of war.

EXPEDITION AGAINST OSTEND—CAPTURE OF MINORCA.

An expedition was fitted out in England against Maritime Flanders, early in this year, for the express purpose of blowing up the basin, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal, as well as destroying the internal navigation, by means of which transport-schuyts, instead of risking a sea voyage, were enabled to keep an internal intercourse between Holland, France, and Flanders. An armament accordingly sailed for the purpose from Margate Roads, on the eighteenth of May, under captain

Popham, with a body of troops, consisting of twelve hundred men, commanded by major-general Coote. Having landed on the following day without opposition, they proceeded to burn several boats, demolish the sluice-gates, and effect a great explosion, by which it was intended to destroy a great national work, which had cost the States of Bruges an immense sum of money, and had not been completed with a labour of five years. Thus having, as was supposed, rendered the Bruges canal unserviceable, the commander-in-chief attempted about noon to return on board the shipping, but the wind was so high, and the surf so much increased, as to render it impracticable. Upon this it was deemed proper to occupy a position upon the sand hills, at a little distance from the beach, and, by way of gaining time, the governor of Ostend was summoned to surrender; but this fate was unhappily reserved for the invaders themselves, as that officer found means in the course of the night to assemble a great force, with which he hemmed in the English early in the morning; and, all resistance being in vain, they surrendered, after a gallant defence, in the course of which the major-general was wounded. Captain Popham endeavoured, without effect, to obtain an exchange of prisoners; and it appears at first to have been the intention of the French government to oblige the British troops to labour at the reparation of the works they had destroyed, but it was found on inspection that the damage was but trifling.

A small armament was despatched against Minorca, under the command of admiral Duckworth and general Stuart, and a descent was made near the creek of Addaya. As the invaders had few of the requisites of a siege, their adversaries might, with a small share of spirit, have made a considerable resistance; intimidated, however, by the movements of the troops, and the appearance of the squadron, the garrison capitulated on the fifteenth of November, and the whole island was reduced without the loss of a single man. About the same time the tale of Goza, near Malta, capitulated to a detachment of admiral Nelson's squadron.

In St. Domingo disease made such alarming havoc among the English troops, that at length major-general Maitland was instructed to surrender Fort-au-Prince and St. Marc to Toussaint L'Ouverture, a negro commander, who had nearly annihilated the dominion of the French in the island; and in the course of the year they evacuated every other post. Such were the chequered scenes of the campaign of 1793; but the balance of victory, of disinterested policy, and of success in arms, (the affairs of Egypt taken into the scale,) certainly preponderated in favour of England.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—INCOME TAX.

On the twentieth of November parliament assembled. The great and continually increasing expense of the war had induced the minister, in the course of the last session of parliament, to bring forward, for the sanction of the house, a new system of finance, the principle of which was to raise within the year a large proportion of the necessary supplies, which, aided by the operation of the sinking fund, should prevent any material addition being made to the public debt. The tax proposed for this purpose, called the triple assessment tax, was, however, found so inadequate to the object, that the minister determined to substitute in its stead a tax on income. Accordingly, on the third of December, the house having formed itself into a committee, Pitt stated that the supplies which would be necessary for the service of the present year amounted to about thirty million pounds, towards which the usual ways and means would produce six million one hundred thousand pounds. It remained then to be considered in what way the deficiency should be raised. Here two leading principles occurred for the guidance of the house—either to raise the whole by loan upon the old funding system, or to raise a considerable part of the supplies within the year upon the principle adopted in the last session of parliament. Pitt then proceeded to state his new plan of finance, which was a tax on income. The commissioners, who should be vested with the power of determining upon the rate of every one's income, should be persons of respectable situations in life, removed from any suspicion of partiality; and, in case the party was

dissatisfied with their decision, another body of commissioners should be formed, to whom an appeal might be carried. The next point for consideration was the mode of contribution that should be adopted. Under this head it was his intention to propose that no income under sixty pounds a year should be called upon to contribute, and that the scale of modification, up to two hundred pounds a year, as in the assessed taxes, should be introduced with restrictions. The quota which should then be called for should amount to a full tenth of the contributor's income. The returns to be made by the person assessed, subject to the inspection of a surveyor, who should lay before the commissioners such grounds of doubt as might occur to him on the fairness of the rate at which a party might have assessed himself. The party, however, should not be compelled to answer; his books should not be called for, nor his confidential clerks or agents examined; but, if he declined to submit to such investigation, it should be competent for the commissioners to fix the assessment, and their decision should be final. The national income, after deducting one-fifth for modifications, he calculated at one hundred and two million pounds, on which amount a tax of ten per cent. would produce ten million pounds a year.

The unfairness and inequality of the proposed assessment having been ably contended by several members, Pitt observed that an honourable gentleman had said, that if two persons had each five hundred pounds per annum, one of whom derived his income from land, and the other from industry, they ought not both to be taxed equally at fifty pounds; but to complain of this inequality was to complain of the distribution of property—it was to complain of the constitution of society. The consequence of this tax would be to all alike; and whoever contributed a tenth of his income, under the bill, would have a tenth less to spend, to save, or to accumulate. The house then divided: for the further consideration of the report, one hundred and eighty-three; against it, seventeen; majority, one hundred and sixty-six. After undergoing several amendments, the bill was passed into a law, on the eighteenth of March 1799, and the fifth of April was fixed as the time for making the returns. The remaining supplies were to be made up from the new imports on sugar, coffee, and stamps, aided by the recently imposed conveyance tax. About two hundred and fifty thousand land forces, of different descriptions, and a hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines, were also voted. A bill to enlarge the time prescribed by an act of the last session, for the redemption of the land-tax, and to make certain regulations respecting ecclesiastical property, and the property devised for lives and for long terms, was also carried into a law.

UNION WITH IRELAND PROPOSED—PROCEEDINGS THEREON.

1799.—On the twenty-second of January the following important message was delivered by secretary Dundas: "His majesty is persuaded, that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament; and his majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating this design, by disposing the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in a manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential to their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire." This message was taken into discussion on the following day, when Dundas moved an address, importing that the house would proceed, with all due despatch, to the consideration of the several interests recommended to their serious attention.

The chancellor of the exchequer contended that a permanent connection between Britain and Ireland was essential to the true interests of both countries, and that, unless the existing connection should be improved, there was, he had strong reason to believe, great risk of a separation.

The same day on which the message on the Union was delivered to the British senate, the session of the Irish parliament commenced at

Dublin; and a speech on this occasion was made by the lord-tenant, which concluded with a hope that the parliaments in both kingdoms would be disposed to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection essential to their common security; and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire. The address in the house of peers was opposed chiefly by the lords Powerscourt and Bellamont, who severally moved amendments, expressive of their disapprobation of a legislative union with Great Britain. On the first division the numbers were forty-six to nineteen, and on the last thirty-five to seventeen, in favour of the court. But in the house of commons, after a debate of twenty hours, the contest was so close, that only a majority of one appeared against the amendment; the numbers being, on the division one hundred and six and one hundred and five; and, when the question was put for agreeing to the address, the ministry had in their favour only one hundred and seven against one hundred and five voices. The address was reported two days afterwards, when Sir Lawrence Parsons strenuously opposed its being received, and, after a violent debate, his motion was carried by a majority of one hundred and eleven to one hundred and six voices. The exultation of the Irish metropolis at this defeat of the ministry was unbounded: the unionists were insulted and calumniated by every possible mode of attack; and the chief speaker of opposition acquired a sudden and extraordinary increase of popularity. The vehement enthusiasm of the capital, nevertheless, did not extend to the nation at large; the weight of the landed interest was in favour of the measure; and Cork, the second city of the kingdom, and the commercial towns in general, though greatly agitated and divided, were, upon the whole, rather friendly than hostile to it.

On the thirty-first of January the subject was again brought under consideration by Pitt, who said that, when he proposed to the house to fix that day for the further consideration of his majesty's message, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication to the parliament of Ireland would have opened a more favourable prospect than at present existed of the speedy accomplishment of the measure then in contemplation: he had, however, been disappointed by the proceedings of the Irish house of commons. He admitted that the parliament of Ireland possessed the power to accept or reject a proposition of this nature; a power which he by no means meant to dispute; but he felt it his duty to express his general outline of the plan, which, in his estimation, would tend to ensure the safety and the happiness of the two kingdoms. Should parliament be of opinion that it was calculated to produce mutual advantages, he should propose it, in order to its being recorded on the journals, leaving the rejection or adoption of the plan to the future consideration of the legislature of Ireland. Pitt remarked that the union with Scotland was as much opposed, and by nearly the same arguments, prejudices, and misconceptions; creating the same alarms as had recently taken place in respect to Ireland: yet, could any man now doubt of the advantages which Scotland had derived from it? One of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of Ireland was the want of industry and the want of capital, which were only to be supplied by blending more closely with that country the industry and capital of this. In the present state of things also, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, no reasonable person would affirm that full concessions could be made to the catholics without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. At the conclusion of a very able speech, he proposed a series of resolutions, and moved that the house resolve itself into a committee to discuss the same.

The plan proposed that the two islands should be united into one kingdom, by the name of "the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;" that the succession to the crown should be limited and settled as at present; that the united kingdom should be represented in one and the same parliament, and that such a number of lords and commons as shall be hereafter agreed upon shall sit and vote on the part of Ireland; that the churches of England and Ireland be preserved as now by

law established; that the king's subjects in Ireland be entitled to the same privileges, in respect of trade and navigation, with those of Great Britain, subject to certain regulations, to be agreed upon previously to the union, and regulated from time to time by the united parliament; that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively; that, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom in peace or war should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previously to the union; and that all laws in force at the time of the union, and all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require.

Sheridan avowed his utter disapprobation of the measure, and stated his intention of moving two resolutions, declaring that no measures could have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity which had not for their basis the fair and free approbation of the parliaments of the two countries; and that whoever should endeavour to obtain such approbation, by employing the influence of government, was an enemy to his majesty and the constitution. The house divided on the question of the speaker's leaving the chair; ayes, one hundred and forty, noes fifteen; and, after some further debates on the subject, Pitt's resolutions were carried by large majorities. On the fourteenth of February the report of the committee was brought up, when it was ordered that a message be sent to the lords, requesting a conference respecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connection between the two kingdoms.

The subject had previously been introduced into the house of peers by a message from the king, delivered by lord Grenville. The address in answer to this message was voted unanimously by the house, which then adjourned. From this period the business remained dormant in the upper house till the eighteenth of February, when the message from the commons was delivered by earl Temple. A conference accordingly taking place in the painted chamber, the lords deputed on this occasion soon returned with a copy of the resolutions moved by the house of commons. On the nineteenth of March, their lordships having been summoned, lord Grenville moved that the house do agree with the same; and this motion, though strenuously opposed, was agreed to without a division.

On the eleventh of April, the house having been again summoned, lord Grenville moved an address to the throne, which was also carried without a division; but a protest was signed against it by the lords Holland, Thanes, and King. A committee was then named, consisting of lord Grenville, lord Minto, lord Auckland, and the bishop of Llandaff, to draw up an address conformable to the motion; which having been effected, the commons, in a second conference on the following day, were invited to join in the same, and to agree that it should be presented to his majesty as the address of both houses of parliament, which was accordingly done in the most solemn manner.

In Ireland the further consideration of the bill was postponed till the first of August. It was, however, manifest that the court were determined to persevere; and the lord-tenant, on the termination of the session, announced that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain had been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland; and he further declared that his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his subjects in both kingdoms, they may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution.

Wilberforce's annual motion for the abolition of the slave trade had in this session to encounter

an additional opposition, arising from the existence of a negro army in St. Domingo, and the efforts made to propagate democratical principles through the West India islands. It was consequently negatived by a majority of eighty-four to fifty-four.

Parliament was prorogued on the twelfth of July, 1799, when his majesty was pleased to declare that the decision and energy which distinguished the councils of his ally, the emperor of Russia, and the intimate union and concert so happily es-

tablished between them, would enable him to employ, to the greatest advantage, the powerful means intrusted to him by parliament, for establishing, on permanent grounds, the security and honour of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe. On this occasion he also expressed his satisfaction in seeing that internal tranquillity was in some degree restored to Ireland, the ultimate security of which could alone be ensured by its intimate and entire union with Great Britain.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Affairs of Egypt—Capture of Jaffa—Siege of Acre—Gallant Defence—The French raise the Siege and return from Syria to Egypt—Tippeco Sahb, at the instigation of Buonaparte, conceals measures against the India Company, who declare war in consequence—Serlingapatam taken by General Harris; Death of Tippeco—Partition of the Mysore Territory—Buonaparte returns to France—Naples proclaimed a Republic—The Austrian and French Forces take the Field—Encounters on the Rhine—Campaign in Italy and Switzerland—Retreat of the Russians under Suworow—Expedition to North Holland—Capture of Surinam—Party Conventions in France—The Directory overthrown, and Buonaparte nominated First Consul—He proposes a Negotiation for Peace, which is rejected by the British Government—Meeting of Parliament—Debate on Buonaparte's Pacific Overture—Subsidiary Treaties—Finance—Subsidy to the Emperor—Union with Ireland completed—Scarcity of Corn—Attempt on the King's Life.

AFFAIRS OF EGYPT—CAPTURE OF JAFFA.

BUONAPARTE, being repatriated from France, by the total defeat of the French fleet at Aboukir, exerted himself to secure the affection of the Egyptians by flattering their religious prejudices; by recalling their ancient greatness, and asserting that he wished to restore them to their pristine grandeur; by professions of regard for his ally, the grand seignor; and by pretending that the invasion of Egypt, and the expulsion of the boys, were measures which merited or had obtained his assent. These arts, however, failed to produce the desired effect, and his arms alone could ensure the obedience which he courted, or avert the danger which he dreaded. An insurrection at Cairo had nearly proved fatal to his cause; and some hundreds of the French, including general Dupuis, their commander, were killed before it could be suppressed: a much larger number of the insurgents of course perished, and not a few afterwards fell by the hands of the executioner: for Buonaparte, wherever he went, treated all who opposed him as traitors and rebels. Various skirmishes and some sharp actions took place between the invaders and the Mamelukes, under the command of the boys, in different parts of the country, particularly in Upper Egypt, in all of which the superior discipline and tactics of the French baffled the rude courage and desultory attacks of their opponents. It could not, however, be supposed that the porte would leave them in quiet possession of a portion of her territory, or that England would make no effort to wrest it from their hands: Buonaparte was aware that if an army was sent from Europe to attack him on one side, while a Turkish force from Asia assailed him on the other, he might not be able to extricate himself from the difficulties with which he would be surrounded, and he therefore resolved to attack the Turks in the first instance, in the hopes of subduing them before they could receive assistance from other quarters. He accordingly made preparations for an expedition against Acre, and sent his train of artillery, destined for the siege, by sea. The army, in four divisions, under the command of Kleber, Bon, Regnier, and Lanues, proceeded to El Arsch, where an action was fought, in which the French were successful. They then moved forward to Jaffa, anciently called Joppa, a seaport town on the coast of Palestine, which was carried by assault, with great loss, after a vigorous defence. Numbers of the garrison were put to the sword; but the greater part having taken refuge in the mosques, and implored mercy from the French, their lives were spared.

Being encumbered with nearly four thousand prisoners, from the care and maintenance of which, it is said, Buonaparte found it necessary to relieve himself, he ordered them to be marched to a rising ground near Jaffa, where volleys of musketry and grape-shot were played upon them by a division of French infantry, and each of the Turks as were not

killed by the shot were put to death by the bayonet (1). The accumulation of unburied bodies occasioned the visitation of the plague, by which a great number of the French soldiers were soon infected, the hospitals crowded, and the medical staff embarrassed. In this crisis Buonaparte found an apothecary who consented to administer poison to the sick. A sufficient quantity of opium was accordingly mixed with pleasant food, of which the unsuspecting victims freely partook; and in a few hours five hundred and eighty soldiers, who had suffered so much for the tyrants of their country, thus miserably perished (2).

SIEGE OF ACRE—GALLANT DEFENCE.

BUONAPARTE then marched at the head of his troops for Acre, which at this moment contained within its walls two men, who, with the romantic herosm of the days of chivalry, united all the knowledge appertaining to the modern art of war—Sir W. Sidney Smith, a British naval officer of distinguished enterprise, and colonel Philippon, an emigrant officer of engineers. After rescuing his friend, Sir Sidney, from bondage in the temple, and restoring him to liberty at the hazard of his life, Philippon accompanied him in a small squadron to which he had been appointed, and, after cruising with him in the Levant, had embarked for Syria to afford assistance to the Pacha. On the thirtieth of March, 1799, the trenches were opened, about one hundred and fifty fathoms from the wall; and soon after the enemy advanced to storm the fortress. It was soon discovered, however, that a ditch of fifteen feet was to be passed, while the counterscarp was almost untouched; and the breach, which was not large, had been effected upwards of six feet above the level of the works. Notwithstanding these obstacles a body of grenadiers descended into the ditch, and attempted to scale the wall; but nothing could be achieved. The garrison was at first seized with terror, and many of the Turkish soldiers ran towards the harbour; but no sooner did they discover that the opening in the wall was several feet above the rubbish, than they returned to the charge, and showered down stones, grenades, and combustibles upon the assailants, who were obliged to retire, after losing two adjutants-general, and a great number of men. This event afforded so much encouragement to the troops of the pacha, that they made a sally, in which they killed several of the besiegers. In the interim the English squadron discovered, in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, a corvette and nine sail of gun-boats, laden with artillery and ammunition, intended to assist in the reduction of Acre, seven of which, containing all the battering train, were captured; and this fortunate incident contributed greatly to save the city. At this period of the siege Ghecmar Oglo, the pacha, dispersed his firmans among the Napoléonists, as well as into the towns in the Said, requesting the true believers to rise and overwhelm the infidels. The

British squadron, which had been driven from the unsheltered anchorage of St. Jean d'Acre by the equinoctial gales, had no sooner resumed its station than another sortie was determined upon, for the purpose of destroying a mine made by the enemy below the tower. In this operation, the British marines and seamen were to force their way into the mine, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place just before daylight; and Lieutenant Wright, who commanded the seamen-pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all that could be destroyed in its present state.

The Samaritan Arabs having made incursions even into the French camp, Buonaparte proceeded against them in person; and he found Robert's division, consisting of two thousand Frenchmen, who had previously been detached as a corps of observation, fighting at the foot of Mount Tabor, and nearly encircled by a large body of horse, which he obliged to retire behind the mount, where a great number were drowned in the river Jordan.

Buonaparte hastened to return to the camp before Acre, and the invaders at length completed the mine destined to destroy the tower, which had so long withstood all their efforts; but, although one of the angles was carried away, the breach remained as difficult of access as before. About this period the garrison sustained the loss of Philippeaux, who died of a fever, contracted by want of rest, and extraordinary exertion. On the first of May, after many hours heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery, brought by the enemy from Jaffa, a fourth attempt was made; but the Tigre, moored on one side, and the Thesens on the other, flanked the town walls; and the gun-boats, launches, and other row-boats, continued to flank the enemy's trenches to their great annoyance, till at length they were obliged to desist from the attack. Notwithstanding their various repulses the enemy continued to batter in breach with progressive success, and made nine several attempts to storm, but had as often been beaten back. The garrison had long been in expectation of a reinforcement, under Hassan Bey, who had originally received orders to advance against Alexandria, but was afterwards directed to proceed to the relief of Acre; it was not, however, till the fifty-first day of the siege that this fleet made its appearance. The approach of so much additional strength was the signal to Buonaparte for a vigorous assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement could disembark; and on the night of the eight of May he succeeded in making a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower. Daylight on the ninth showed the French standard unfurled on the outer angle; and at this most critical point of the contest Hassan Bey's troops were still in their boats, not having advanced more than half-way towards the shore. Sir Sidney Smith, whose energy and talents gave effect to every operation, landed the crews of the gun-boats on the mole, and marched them to the breach, each man being armed with a pike. A heap of ruins between the besieged, and besiegers served as a breast-work for both; the muskets of the muskets touched, and the spear-heads of the standards locked. General Pacha, hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing cartridges with his own hands. This energetic old man, coming behind his British allies, pulled them down with violence, saying, "If any harm happen to our English friends, all will be lost." The whole of the reinforcements being now landed, the Pacha, with some difficulty, so far subdued his jealousy as to admit the Chifflick regiment, of one thousand men, into the garden of his seraglio, from whence a vigorous sally was made with an intention to obtain possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench; but the Turks, unequal to such a movement, were driven back into the town with loss; and although the sortie did not succeed, it had the effect of obliging the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, and the flanking fire of the garrison, aided by a few hand-grenades, dislodged them from the tower. Determined to persevere, the enemy effected a new breach by an incessant fire directed to the south-

ward, every shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall, much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition. At the suggestion of the Pacha the breach was not this time defended, but a certain number of the enemy was let in, and then closed upon according to the Turkish mode of war, when a sabre in one hand, and a dagger in the other, proving more than a match for the bayonets, the survivors hastened to sound a retreat. Thus ended a contest, continued with little intermission for five-and-twenty hours: and in which nature, sinking under the exertion, demanded repose.

Chagrin began to be visible in the conduct of Buonaparte, who, for the first time in his life, beheld himself foiled, and that too by a town scarcely defensible according to the rules of art; while the surrounding hills were covered with spectators, awaiting the result of the contest, to declare for the victor. The plague also found its way into the French camp, and seven hundred men had already fallen martyrs to that terrible malady. In this deplorable situation the French commander-in-chief determined to make a last effort, and general Kleber's division was recalled from the fords of Jordan, to take its turn in the daily efforts to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and about three-fourths of their officers. Before this reinforcement could commence its operations, another sally was made on the night of the tenth of May by the Turks, who succeeded in making themselves masters of the enemy's third parallel, and advanced to the second trench; but after a conflict of three hours they were driven back, leaving every thing in *status quo*, except the loss of men, which was considerable on both sides.

SIEGE RAISED—FRENCH RETURN FROM SYRIA TO EGYPT.

DETERMINED, at length, to raise the siege, Buonaparte first ordered his sick and wounded to be sent away, and to keep the besieged in check, increased the fire of his cannon and mortars. General, remarking these dispositions for retreat, made frequent sallies, which were repulsed with vigour. The aspect of the field of carnage was horrible, the ditches and the reverses of the parapets were filled with the slain; the air was infected, and the proposition for a suspension of arms to bury the dead remained unanswered. After sixty days' continuance, Buonaparte, in a proclamation, announced to his army the raising of the siege, and resolved to return to Egypt; to defend its approach in the season of landing against the force assembled at Rhodes. On the twentieth of May, the very day on which the army began its march, general Le Grange repulsed two sallies, and forced the Turks back into the town. General Lannes' division led the march; Raguzier evacuated the trenches; Kleber formed a strong rear-guard; whilst Junot covered the left flank. Buonaparte threw into the sea the artillery, which he could not carry back through the desert; and his battering train, amounting to twenty-three pieces, fell into the hands of the English. After blowing up the fortifications of Jaffa and Gaza, and inflicting a terrible vengeance on those who had defended their country against the invaders, the French passed over the desert, and were received by the inhabitants of Cairo, ignorant of recent events, as victors.

TIPPOO SAIB'S HOSTILE PREPARATIONS—SERINGAPATAM TAKEN, AND DEATH OF TIPPOO.

BUONAPARTE, after his arrival in Egypt, apprized Tipptoo Saib of his arrival on the shores of the Red Sea, and requested him to send some confidential person with whom he might confer on the subject of their mutual plans for expelling the English from their Indian possessions. This sovereign had negotiated with Zeman Shah, a native prince of great power and influence, in order to concert such a formidable attack upon the English, as it was hoped, they would be unable to resist; but the governor-general, the earl of Mornington, afterwards marquess Wellesley, having assembled an adequate force, communicated to Tipptoo the knowledge which he had acquired of his hostile designs, and offered, if he would forego those projects, to send an officer to

treat with him for the establishment and preservation of a friendly intercourse between him and the British government. The sultan sent an equivocal answer to this communication, and sought to elude the vigilance of the English policy; but lord Morlinton did not suffer the least abatement of the spirit of naval or military preparation, and at the commencement of the year 1799 he ordered the British army to take the field. It was commanded in chief by lieutenant-general Harris, who, after a series of successful operations, set himself down before the capital of Tippecoo's dominions at the latter end of April; and on the 4th of May, a practical breach having been effected, Seringapatam was taken by assault. Tippecoo himself, and several of his chiefs perished in the action.

The East India company obtained additional territory by this conquest; other parts were allotted to the Nizam and the Mahrattas, and the remaining portion of the Mysore was conferred on a descendant of the ancient Rajahs, who had been dispossessed by Hyder. The British dominion in the east, by annihilating the most dangerous of all the native powers, was now established on a permanent foundation.

BUONAPARTE RETURNS TO FRANCE.

BUONAPARTE, ruminating on his repulse at Acro, where he had, for the first time, experienced defeat and disgrace, resolved to repair to a country more congenial with his disposition and pursuits. This resolution to abandon his post, and to desert those gallant men who had braved every danger at his command, was only equalled by the mode in which it was accomplished. Leaving a sealed packet addressed to general Kieber, nominating that officer to the command of the army in Egypt during his absence, he embarked suddenly, on the twenty-fourth of August, with generals Berthier, Lannes, Murat, and Andreossi, accompanied by Monge, Bouthoiet, and Arnaud, members of the Egyptian Institute, and attended by several Mamelukes, the future guards of his person. He communicated his design to none but those whom he intended to accompany him; and he left the army in a deplorable state. He was a deserter too, in every sense of the word; for he quitted his command without orders, and even without permission. That singular good fortune, however, to which he was so often indebted, attended him on this occasion; for, after repeatedly escaping the vigilance of the English cruisers, he landed, first at Ajaccio, and then at Frejus; and on his arrival at Paris, on the sixteenth of October, he was courted by all parties, and invited by the directory to a grand festival.

NAPLES MADE A REPUBLIC—ENGAGEMENTS BETWEEN THE AUSTRIAN AND FRENCH ARMIES ON THE RHINE.

THE late expedition into the Roman territory having proved eminently disastrous to the king of Naples, now an exile from his kingdom, an armistice was signed by prince Pignatelli, on behalf of the Neapolitan government, on the seventh of January, 1799, by which the French forces under Championnet obtained possession of the city of Capua, and thence advanced to the capital, which they entered on the twenty-third, after a gallant but unavailing resistance. Naples was then proclaimed a republic, under the designation of the Parthenopean commonwealth; and the provisional government was confided to twenty-one citizens, chosen by the French general Championnet. At the same time, the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, in front of Coblenz, was obliged, after a memorable defence, to capitulate, on the twenty-fourth of January, to the French general D'Allemagne.

The emperor Paul, of Russia, entered into the new confederacy against the French republic with all zeal. An appearance of negotiation was still kept up at Rastadt; but the emperor of Germany, dissatisfied with the provisions of the treaty of Campo Formio, and certain of powerful co-operation in the event of a renewal of the contest, no longer concealed his sentiments. The French, by their unbounded encroachments on the rights of other nations, gave him a plausible pretence for re-arming; and in a short time a powerful force was in the field. The Archduke Charles assembled fifty-five thousand men between the Inn and the

Lech; generals Starrray and Hotze headed about twenty thousand more in the Palatinate and the country of the Grisons; general Bellegarde occupied the Tyrol with about twenty-five thousand; and an army of about sixty thousand, under general Kray, prepared to enter Italy, and to conquer Lombardy. The command of the French "Army of the Danube" was confided to general Jourdan, who, on the first of March, crossed the Rhine in three places; and, whilst general Bernadotte blockaded the fortress of Philippsburg, Manheim opened its gates to another body of French troops; on the twentieth, however, the Archduke determined to give them battle, and the day was contested with great bravery on both sides, Jourdan maintaining his position until night put an end to the action, when, under cover of darkness, he retreated to a station near Engen. On the twenty-fifth a second battle was fought on the plain of Lieblingen, in the midst of woods; and such was the eagerness on both sides, that the two commanders in chief, after reconnoitring in person, instead of assuming, as usual, a centre position in the rear, fought at the head of their respective troops. Night, which again put an end to the combat, left the victory undecided; and on the ensuing morning the invaders renewed their attack; being, however, once more foiled, general Jourdan, after sustaining a loss of about four thousand men, retreated before the Archduke, and recrossed the Rhine at Lautenbourg and Strasburg. Massena, to whom the command of the army of Switzerland was confided, had taken the field for the purpose of driving the Austrians from the mountainous regions inhabited by the Grisons; but the defeat of the grand army in Suabia checked his career.

CAMPAIGN IN ITALY AND SWITZERLAND.

GENERAL SCHERER, to whom the chief command of the French armies in Italy had been transferred, directed his first efforts against Tuscany. Having obtained possession of the capital, the port of Leghorn was at the same time seized by general Miolla, and all the property appertaining to the subjects of Britain, Portugal, Austria, Russia, the Ottoman Porte, and the states of Barbary, subjected to sequestration; while the grand duke and his family were furnished with a guard of honour, and allowed to proceed to the German capital. Scherer then marched to Mantua, where it was determined to attack the enemy before they could receive any reinforcements from Suabia, or effect a junction with the Russians. The Austrians, under general Kray, at this time occupied Verona and its vicinity. On the twenty-sixth of March the action commenced in the neighbourhood of Castel Nuovo, when, after a most severe contest, the French were driven across the Adige. Three days after this sanguinary conflict, Scherer again attacked the Austrian posts, and was again defeated.

The Russian general Suworow arrived at Verona in April, and took upon himself the command of the Austro-Russian army, now estimated at one hundred thousand men. Scherer resigned to Massena the command of his reduced and dispersed army; and, a retreat having become absolutely necessary, the fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua were abandoned to their fate, and generals Kray and Klana blocked them with twenty-five thousand men. Suworow hastened to avail himself of the advantages he enjoyed over a retreating foe; the town and citadel of Brescia, with a garrison of a thousand men, capitulated to the troops under his command; and an engagement, fought on the twenty-seventh of April, determined the fate of the Cisalpine republic: on the following day the conquerors entered the city of Milan, and about the same time count de Bellegarde obtained an uninterrupted series of successes in the mountainous regions of the Engadine; while Hotze dislodged the French troops in the Grison country from all their positions between Lucerne and Coire. In Switzerland several partial insurrections against the French authorities took place; the canton of Uri was in arms; the Valais had risen in mass; and a great part of the Valais was in possession of the imperialists. Peschiera also surrendered, after a short siege, to count St. Julien; and Massena, yielding to superior numbers, was obliged to abandon his strong position between the Po and Tevere, after defeating general Vukassovich on the banks of the Bernarda. The disasters of the French

in Italy were productive of extraordinary changes in the southern part of that peninsula, and subjected those who had taken part in the revolutions in Naples and Rome to the most terrible responsibility.

In Calabria, cardinal Ruffo, on receiving information that the French troops had retreated from Naples, raised a number of new levies round the royal standard, collected the wreck of general Mack's army, and, being joined by a body of English and Russians, marched against the capital, when the executive directory, and all those who had countenanced the Parthenopean republic, were obliged to take shelter within the fortresses, which fell in succession into the hands of the royal forces; and, on the thirteenth of July, fort St. Elmo, the strongest of them, was obliged to capitulate to the allies, assisted by a body of British seamen under captain Troubridge. In Tuscany forty thousand of the inhabitants, on learning the disasters of Moreau and Macdonald, attacked the republicans on every side; the garrison of Florence abandoned the capital; and the ancient magistrates assumed their functions. A few days after, a column of Austrians obliged the invaders to abandon Lucca; and Leghorn was evacuated by capitulation: Rome, however, remained unconquered, but the most vigorous measures were now taken to subdue that city; and, while a body of Tuscan and Neapolitan troops invested the ancient capital of the world, captain Troubridge, who had appeared off the mouth of the Tiber, summoned general Grenier, the commander of the garrison, to surrender. On the twentieth of September a convention was concluded, by which it was agreed to evacuate Rome, Civita Vecchia, and the posts adjacent, on condition that the troops should be sent to France.

General Macdonald, having reached Florence, collected the scattered French forces throughout Tuscany; and, finding himself at the head of thirty-eight thousand troops, he determined immediately to act on the offensive. After forcing the allies to raise the siege of Fort Urbino, he despatched Olivier against Modena, of which he obtained possession on the twelfth of June, and drove the Austrians beyond the Po; while general Kray, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, drew off his heavy artillery from before Mantua, and posted himself in such a situation as to prevent that city from being relieved. Macdonald continued to advance; and having arrived at Piacenza, and formed a junction with general Victor, he obliged general Ott to fall back on the castle of Giovanni. As soon as Suworow had obtained intelligence of the victorious career of the French general, he proceeded to Alexandria, leaving general Kaim to prosecute the siege of Turin; and advanced to the support of general Ott, who was in full retreat. At a village, six miles from Piacenza, a general engagement took place on the seventeenth, which, having been continued through the following day, terminated in favour of the allies. The vanquished army took advantage of the approach of night to retire in two columns to Piacenza, where four French generals, with several field officers, and between four and five thousand soldiers, who had been wounded in the late murderous actions, fell into the hands of the enemy.

General Moreau, taking advantage of Suworow's absence, left Genoa at the head of twenty-nine thousand men, and on the twentieth of June attacked and beat field-marshal Bellegarde, who had been left to superintend the blockade of Alexandria. The Russian field-marshal immediately abandoned the pursuit of Macdonald, and endeavoured by a rapid countermarch to overtake Moreau, who, after fighting another battle, retreated within the Ligurian territory. Suworow, however, was consoled in this disappointment by the intelligence of the surrender of Turin on the twenty-second of June, and with the capture of Bologna, which fell into the hands of the allies eight days afterwards. Macdonald then entered the Genoese territory, and formed a junction with Moreau.

The surrender of Fort Urbino, St. Leon, and Alexandria, was followed by the capture of the almost impregnable fortress of Mantua on the twenty-eighth of July. Suworow, having now conquered the greater part of Italy, began to menace the southern departments of France; but Moreau still occupied his formidable position in the neighbourhood of Genoa, and prevented the advance of

the allies by threatening to fall upon their rear. The young men of the requisition were, at the same time, put in motion on the frontier, and Championnet was employed in assembling an army of forty thousand men in the vicinity of Genoa. Supplies were also sent to the army of Italy, and the chief command of that force was transferred from general Moreau to general Joubert, who advanced at the head of thirty-six thousand men, and encamped on the fifteenth of August, upon the heights of Novi. The allies were superior in numbers; Suworow and Melas were at the head of thirty-five thousand troops, of their respective nations; fifteen thousand Piedmontese, who had formerly obliged the garrison of Cevi to surrender, now acted as light troops; while general Kray entered the camp on that very day with eighteen thousand men, set at liberty by the fall of Mantua. Suworow, determined to anticipate the French, whom he knew to be most formidable when they were the assailants, attacked their left wing. General Joubert, in advancing at the head of his staff, was struck with a ball, which pierced his heart; but the loss of their general diminished not the ardour of the soldiers: thrice did Suworow charge the enemy in person, at the head of his gallant veterans, and thrice was he repulsed by the French legions, of which Moreau again took the command; but, in the mean time, general Melas succeeded in turning the right flank of the French army, which decided the victory. The danger of being surrounded compelled the French general to abandon the field of battle to the allies, who took four generals and four thousand prisoners; and night alone enabled him to rally his scattered forces, and once more to occupy his former position near Genoa.

No sooner did the French cease to be formidable than the fatal effects of jealousy began to be visible, both in the councils and in the camps of the two nations; and the suspicion and distrust of the armies had at length attained such an alarming height, that it was deemed impolitic to confine their exertions to the same theatre: it was consequently resolved that Melas should continue the war in Italy, while the Russians, under Suworow, should enter Switzerland, and, after defeating Massena, penetrate the territories of the French republic. The commencement of the campaign in Switzerland was peculiarly auspicious to the French, but their successes were of short duration; for in April Schaffhausen and Peterhausen fell into the hands of the Austrians, who, after a succession of engagements, established their head-quarters at Zurich on the seventh of June, and obliged Massena to retreat to Mount Albis. That general, however, having received fresh supplies of men and provisions, recommenced operations against the archduke; and a column of republicans, detached across the Lunat, penetrated the Austrian camp on the fourteenth of August. To relieve Massena, general Muller established his head-quarters at Mannheim, and pushed his advanced guard as far as Heidelberg, while Baraguay d'Hilliers imposed a contribution upon Frankfurt, passed the Maine, and joined his countrymen in the territories of Darmstadt. When the archduke learnt that a body of French troops, after entering Suabia, was levying contributions, and seizing on the rich harvests of Germany, he conferred the command of the Austrian army in Switzerland on general Hotze, and recrossed the Rhine in person. Massena, availing himself of the absence of the prince, and determined to obtain a superiority in Switzerland before the arrival of Suworow, approached Zurich on the twenty-fourth of September, and on the following morning the battle commenced. General Hotze, however, received a mortal wound early in the engagement; and general Petrasch and prince Koraskow were obliged to give way; on which the French troops carried Zurich by assault, and captured a considerable body of Russians posted in that city.

SUWOROW RETREATS.

SUWOROW, having crossed the plains of Piedmont, and possessed himself of the heights of St. Gothard, was now about to enter the canton of Uri, when he received an imperfect account of the defeat of the allies at Zurich; and this disastrous intelligence was speedily confirmed by the approach of the retreating troops. Unaccustomed to

see the Russian legions fly before their adversaries, he intimated to prince Korsakow that he should answer with his head if he made another retrograde step. Eager to vindicate his character to so gallant a chief, the prince immediately reassembled the wreck of his troops; and, having been joined by a body of Austrians, the corps of Condé, and the Bavarian contingent, determined to attempt a diversion in favour of his commander, by reassuming his former position before Zurich, during the absence of Masséna; but the latter proved his superiority by securing all the intermediate passes. At length, amidst incessant toils and continual combats, the Russians arrived, on the third of October, in the valley of Muttan, and took possession of the bridge after a most obstinate resistance. The post of Brannen was also carried the next day: but here ended the progress of the Russian hero. Suworow, after penetrating into the canton of Schwytz, was so conscious of his critical situation, that he determined, for the first time in his life, on a retreat, and effected it in a masterly manner.

The emperor Paul, indignant that the Germanic states were not actuated by a zeal ardent as that with which he was inspired, issued an official notification, addressed to all the members of the Germanic empire, calling upon them to unite their forces with his, and expressing his determination, if properly supported, never to sheath the sword till he had seen the downfall of the monster which threatened to crush all legal authorities. Scarcely had this declaration reached those to whom it was addressed, than Suworow, alike discontented with his allies and his colleagues, and tired of incessant combats, where valour was unavailing, and even victory was unattended with its usual advantages, collected the wreck of his army at Colre, ordered the remains of Korsakow's troops and the corps of Condé to form a junction with him at that place, and, after some delay, proceeded to Bohemia, where he spent the winter. Of one hundred thousand men, who had either left Russia with him eight months before, or joined his army within that period, scarcely fifty thousand reached the banks of the Lech. Thus the co-operation of Russia terminated, and Suworow, overwhelmed with grief and disappointment, retired to his native country, where he did not long survive the frowns of fortune. He was coldly received by the emperor, and died on the eighteenth of May, 1800, aged seventy-one.

The French had become once more masters of Switzerland, had retaken St. Gothard, and begun to menace the country of the Grisons. General Müller again penetrated into Germany, seized on Francfort, Mannheim, and Heidelberg, and threatened to lay all that portion of the empire under contribution.

No sooner had the Austrian army, under Melas, advanced into the neighbourhood of Guni, and prepared to lay siege to that fortress, than general Championnet, collecting his whole force, marched to Savignone to give him battle; but on the fourth of November a furious attack, directed against the column of general Grenier by general Ott, forced the republicans to retreat towards Genoa, and the approach of night again saved the French army from ruin. The siege of Guni was now prosecuted with vigour, and on the second of January, 1800, the French commander agreed to capitulate, when two thousand five hundred republicans became prisoners of war. The success of the allied arms in Italy served to compensate the sovereigns of Europe for the losses they had this year sustained in other quarters; but, on the whole, the campaign was less auspicious in its conclusion than at its commencement; and the defection of the emperor of Russia damped the future expectations of the court of Vienna.

EXPEDITION TO NORTH HOLLAND—CAPTURE OF SURINAM.

THE English government, after a long course of preparation, caused a descent to be made, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1790, to the south-west of the Helder point, on the coast of North Holland. A body of seven thousand men, French and Dutch, encountered the English, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, who with difficulty gained the advantage. Above one thousand of the enemy were killed or wounded, and of the British about four hundred

and fifty. It was the intention of Sir Ralph to attack the Helder fort the next morning; but it was evacuated in the night, and he found in it a considerable train of artillery. Vice-admiral Mitchell then made arrangements for entering the harbour of the Texel. Having summoned the commander of the Dutch fleet to hoist the flag of the prince of Orange, and accept the friendship of Great Britain, he received an answer from rear-admiral Story, promising to deliver up his squadron, as the men refused to fight. The ships were twelve in number, and eight of them mounted from fifty-four to seventy-four guns.

While the invading army waited for the arrival of reinforcements, about twelve thousand French and Dutch attacked them with vigour on the tenth of September: but so strong was the post of the Zuypp, and so firmly did the English defend it, that about eight hundred of the assailants were killed or wounded, while only two hundred suffered on the part of their opponents. The duke of York now landed with three brigades, and a Russian army also disembarked. As the allied army amounted to thirty-five thousand men, the duke and general d'Hermann ventured upon a speedy action. The Russians, by an impetuous onset, September the nineteenth, made great havoc, and pushed forward to Bergen; Abercrombie's column penetrated to Moers; and the two other columns were successful in their attacks; but the rash confidence of the Russians exposed them to such danger, that the retreat of the whole force soon became necessary.

The battle of Egmont, on the second of October, was severe, but indecisive. The evening put an end to the engagement, and the troops rested upon their arms. At day-break the retreat of the enemy gave the English and Russians an opportunity of taking several posts; but, though they pushed forward for that purpose, they were retarded by fatigue from effectually harassing the republican troops. The killed and wounded of the British amounted to about fifteen hundred and fifty; of the Russians about six hundred suffered or were captured, and of the French and Dutch the loss exceeded three thousand. The English officers seemed to be marked out, as an unusual proportion received wounds.

The enemy having taken a very strong position, and being in expectation of a reinforcement, the duke of York resolved upon another attack before the erection of new works, and when he had no knowledge of the arrival of fresh troops to oppose him. The Russians had a greater share in this action of the sixth of October than in the preceding; and they were so vigorously resisted, that Sir Ralph Abercrombie was obliged to advance with a strong body to their relief. The whole hostile force then put itself in motion, and the action, which became general along the line, from Liramen to the sea, terminated to the honour of the invaders, as they were left masters of the field; but the loss on both sides was very severe, and the enemy, who soon after received a reinforcement of six thousand troops, maintained their position between Beverwyk and Wyck-op-Zee.

The allied army now found itself placed in a situation so critical as to require the greatest military talents, united with the most mature experience, to direct its future operations. Directly opposite lay the enemy, in a position almost impregnable, and rendered confident by the accession of strength just received. A naked, barren, and exhausted country, scarcely affording shelter for the wounded, extended all around. The right wing of the allied army was indeed protected by the ocean; but a considerable body of troops, occupying an almost inaccessible position, threatened the left. The weather, too, since the evening of the sixth of October, had set in with increased inclemency; and it was with extreme difficulty that the urgent necessities of the troops could be supplied. To these complicated evils the whole army lay exposed on the unsheltered sand-hills of North Holland, while the stadtholderian party remained inactive, and apparently indifferent to the success of the common cause. Under these circumstances, the duke of York, in the evening of the seventh, the night being extremely dark, and the rain descending in torrents, issued an unexpected order for the troops to assemble, and at ten o'clock the whole army was in full retreat towards

Pollen and Alkmaar. As they could not, however, be embarked in the face of a superior army without considerable loss, the duke of York and admiral Mitchell entered into a negotiation with general Bruce, and on the seventeenth of October an armistice was agreed upon, in which it was stipulated that the combined English and Russian army should evacuate the territories of the Batavian republic by the thirtieth of November; that the Dutch admiral, De Winter, should be considered as exchanged; that the mounted batteries at the Heider should be restored in their present state; that eight thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, should be restored without conditions to their respective countries; and that major-general Knox should remain with the French to guarantee the execution of this convention. The proposition of restoring the Batavian fleet surrendered by admiral Story, which was advanced by general Bruce, was received with indignation; and the duke threatened, in case of perseverance on this point, to cut the sea-dyke, and inundate the whole country. Nearly four thousand Dutch deserters were brought to England with the British troops, who were embarked without delay; and the Russians were landed and quartered in Guernsey and Jersey.

In this year, the flourishing settlement of Surinam was wrested from the Dutch by a body of troops, collected in the islands of Grenada, St. Lucia, and Martinico, by lieutenant-general Trigue, and embarked on board two line-of-battle ships and five frigates, under the command of vice-admiral lord Hugh Seymour. On their arrival off the mouth of the river Surinam, governor Frederici capitulated, on the twentieth of August, without firing a gun. The British navy, during the whole of this year, did not lose a single vessel of war; while twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers, belonging to France, and ten to Spain, were either taken or run ashore. The Dutch navy may be said to have been annihilated. In addition to the ships of war seized by admiral Mitchell in the Nieuwe Diep and the Texel, the Batavian republic lost a forty-gun ship, the *Hortog Van Brunswick*, in the Straits of Sunda; and as the sailors were obviously disaffected to the new government, all further exertions by sea, on the part of that power, were interdicted.

THE FRENCH DIRECTORY OVERTHROWN—BUONAPARTE MADE FIRST CONSUL.

THE French directory, which had long been in the enjoyment of supreme power, was rapidly verging towards its dissolution, when Buonaparte arrived from Egypt, and was received in Paris with every possible demonstration of public favour. The Abbe Sieyes, constantly intriguing, was secretly gratified with the popularity enjoyed by Buonaparte, and, after disclosing to him certain projects which he entertained, solicited his powerful aid, for the purpose of carrying them into execution. At five o'clock in the morning of the eighteenth of Brumaire, (November the ninth,) by a manoeuvre of the conspirators in the council of Ancients, it was proposed, without communicating with the directory, that the assembly should adjourn to St. Cloud; that general Buonaparte should be charged to put the decrees in execution; and that for that purpose he should be appointed commander of all the forces; which being passed by a great majority, the sitting was then dissolved. Buonaparte instantly issued two proclamations, announcing his appointment to the command of the city guard and of the army, and inviting them to support their general in his endeavours to restore to the public the blessings of liberty, victory, and peace. He then marched ten thousand troops to the Thuilleries, and guarded every avenue to that place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass. Three of the directors, and all the citizens of Paris, were, for the first time, acquainted with the proceedings that had taken place by the proclamations with which the walls of the capital soon became plastered. The director, Barras, who had refused to give in his resignation, was exiled to his country seat under a guard of cavalry, while Gohier and Molins remained almost passive spectators of the events which deprived them of power, and imposed a new form of government upon their country. In the mean time the council of Five

Hundred had assembled, filled with astonishment and distrust; and although Lucien Buonaparte, brother to the general, was at this time its president, an uproar arose on the entrance of the latter, in which even his life was endangered, until general Lefebvre at length rushed into the hall with a body of armed grenadiers, and rescued their chief from the dangers with which he was environed. The members instantly decreed that the council of Ancients had no power to invest Buonaparte with the command, as that authority could be conferred by the directory alone, and an outlawry was proposed; but the president refused to pronounce the decree against his brother, and quitted the chair. Immediately pistols and poignards were presented to his breast to compel him to resume his office, but he remained inflexible until the military arrived to his protection. The chamber was soon cleared of the members of the council, and cries of "Long live the republic!" "Long live Buonaparte!" sent forth by the military, announced the event and the means by which it was accomplished. The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with apprehension; but no sooner were the circumstances attending this military usurpation made known, than the Parisians appeared overjoyed at the final subversion of the Jacobin power, and cherished the hope of a new and better government.

The existing constitution being dissolved, a provisional government was appointed, consisting of three consuls, Sieyes, Ducos, and Buonaparte, who were invested with the full powers of the directory, and, on the following day, entered upon the public functions at the palace of the Luxembourg. The legislative commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. In forming the new administration, Lucien Buonaparte was constituted minister of the interior, and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of minister for foreign affairs. A new constitution was shortly after submitted to the French nation, and almost unanimously approved. It consisted of an executive composed of three consuls, one bearing the title of chief, and in fact possessing all the authority; a Conservative Senate, composed of eighty members, appointed for life, and nominated by the consuls; and a Legislative Body of three hundred members, with a tribunate of one hundred. Buonaparte was nominated first or chief consul for a term of ten years.

BUONAPARTE MAKES PROPOSALS OF PEACE—REJECTED BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

THE new sovereign of France, as he had now in effect become, finding himself quietly placed in possession of supreme power, and of the palace of the Bourbons, addressed a letter to the king of Great Britain, on Christmas day, for the purpose of entering on a negotiation for peace. "Called by the wishes of the French nation," said he, "to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty. The war which has for eight years ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice, to ideas of vain grandeur, commerce, prosperity, and peace? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first importance, as well as the highest glory? These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation with the sole view of rendering it happy. Your majesty will see in this overture my sincere wish to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, perhaps necessary to disguise the independence of weak states, proves, in those that are strong, only the desire of deceiving each other. France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted; but, I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war, which involves the whole world."

1800.—On the fourth of January, 1800, a letter was sent by lord Grenville to Talleyrand, containing an official note, in which it was observed, that the

king had given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe. He never was, nor had been, engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory. He had no other view than that of maintaining, against all transgression, the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he had contended against an unprovoked attack, and, for the same objects, he was still obliged to contend; nor could he hope that this necessity would be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution had so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage could arise from such negotiation to the great and desirable object of general peace, until it should distinctly appear that those causes had ceased to operate which originally produced the war, and by which it had since been protracted, and, in more than one instance, renewed. The same system, to the prevalence of which France justly ascribed all her present miseries, was that which had also involved the rest of Europe in a long and destructive warfare, of a nature long since unknown to the practice of civilized nations. For the extension of this system, and for the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France had, from year to year, and in the midst of the most unparalleled distress, been lavished and exhausted. To that indiscriminate spirit of destruction the Netherlands, the United Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, (his majesty's ancient friends and allies), had successively been sacrificed. Germany had been ravaged; Italy, though then rescued from its invaders, had been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty had himself been compelled to maintain an arduous and burdensome contest for the independence and existence of his kingdom. Nor had these calamities been confined to Europe alone; they had been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and to countries so remote, both in situation and interest, from the present contest, that the very existence of such a war was perhaps unknown to those who found themselves suddenly involved in all its horrors. While such a system continued to prevail, experience had shown that no defence, but that of open and steady hostility, could be availing. Greatly, indeed, would his majesty rejoice, whenever it should appear that the dangers to which his own dominions, and those of his allies, had been so long exposed, had really ceased; whenever he should be satisfied that the necessity of resistance was at an end; that, after the experience of so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles had ultimately prevailed in France; and that all the gigantic projects of ambition, and all the restless schemes of destruction, which had endangered the very existence of civil society, had, at length, been finally relinquished; but the conviction of such a change could result only from experience, and from the evidence of facts. The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad; such an event would at once have removed, and would at any time remove, all obstacles in the way of negotiation for peace. His majesty made no claim to prescribe to France what should be the form of her government, or in whose hands she should vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation: he looked only to the security of his own dominions, and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever he should judge that such security could, in any manner be obtained, he would eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of immediate and general pacification.

In the reply to this answer of the British cabinet, dated the fourteenth of January, Buonaparte renewed the assertion that France was not the aggressor in the war; that, so far from having provoked it, she had, from the commencement of her revolution, solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, her disinclination to conquests, and her respect for the independence of all governments; and it was not to be doubted that, occupied entirely at that time with her own internal affairs, she would have avoided taking part in those of Europe, and would have remained faithful to her declarations: but,

from an opposite disposition, as soon as the French revolution had broken out, almost all Europe had entered into a league for its destruction. Assailed on all sides, the republic could not but extend universally the efforts of her defence; and it was only for the maintenance of her own independence that she had made use of those means which she possessed in her own strength, and the courage of her citizens.

In the answer which lord Grenville forwarded on the twentieth of January, the king expressed his concern in observing that the unprovoked aggressions of France, the sole cause and origin of the war, were systematically defended by her present ruler, under the same injurious pretences by which they were originally attempted to be disguised. His majesty refused to enter into the refutation of allegations then universally exploded, and, in so far as they respected his conduct, not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they related, and also by the express testimony (given at the time) of the government of France itself. The French minister was referred to the first note of the British government for his majesty's opinion of the present overtures.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—FINANCE—SUBSIDIES—DEBATES ON THE WAR.

AFTER the adjournment, the first subject of importance that engaged the attention of parliament was the correspondence which had recently taken place between the British and French governments. Ministers inquired what possible advantage could result from a negotiation with France at this moment, and asked whether the consular government presented a greater certainty of a favourable termination of a treaty than any of the revolutionary governments which had preceded it: the minority, on the other hand, animadverted on the precipitation of ministers in closing the door at once to all hopes of pacification. The rejection of the overtures made by the first consul was, however, approved by decided majorities in both houses; and it was accordingly determined to carry on the war on an extensive scale. To enable the allies to bring the greatest possible number of troops into the field, negotiations were immediately entered into with the emperor, the duke of Württemberg, and the elector of Bavaria: the army of Condé and the Swiss regiment of Rovera were also taken into the pay of England; and it was proposed, and agreed to by parliament, to enable the treasury to advance the sum of five hundred thousand pounds until the subsidiary treaties had been signed and adjusted.

The military and naval forces deemed necessary for the service of the year 1800 were nearly the same as in 1799. Pitt, in detailing the means for raising the supply, estimated the income tax at five million three hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of one million seven hundred thousand pounds, appropriated to the payment of interest for thirty-two million five hundred thousand pounds; but he expressed the strongest expectation that it would turn out to better account. He had negotiated a loan of eighteen million five hundred thousand pounds; the surplus of the consolidated fund he reckoned at about four million pounds; exchequer bills three million pounds; and an advance of three million pounds, bearing no interest for six years, from the bank, as a premium for the renewal of the charter for twenty-one years, with the incidental source of revenue, made up the required sum of thirty-nine million five hundred thousand pounds. These financial proposals, which underwent a variety of strictures from the vigilant observation of Tierney, were ultimately carried.

Pitt having moved, on the seventeenth of February, for an advance of five hundred thousand pounds to the emperor of Germany, it was opposed with great energy by Tierney, who conjured the house to recollect that the war had now continued seven years, at the expense of two hundred million pounds, on the pretext of its being just and necessary. Just it could not be, if the object of it were to force upon the French nation the restoration of the Bourbons; nor necessary, because we had refused to negotiate when the opportunity was presented to us. If this sum were granted, much larger

demands would follow; and thus we were to lavish our blood and treasure in a cause for which no satisfactory or intelligible reason could be assigned, and he defied the ministers to name one. Pitt found no difficulty in stating the object of the war in a single word—security; security against a danger the greatest that had ever threatened the world—a danger which never existed before in any period of society—which had been felt and resisted by all the nations of Europe, but by none so successfully and uniformly as our own. Our resistance had not been confined to external force; it had joined internal policy and wise legislative measures to oppose Jacobinism in the bosom (he was sorry to have found it there) of our own country. How was it discovered that Jacobinism had disappeared in France? It was now centred in one man, nursed in its school, who had gained celebrity under its auspices, and was at once the child and the champion of its atrocities. Granting that two hundred million pounds had been expended for the words "just and necessary," they had been expended, he said, for the best of causes, to protect the dearest rights, to defend the most valuable privileges, the laws, the liberties, the happiness of our country; and, for such objects, as much more would we spend, and as much more could we find.

On the fifteenth of January, 1800, the Irish parliament met at Dublin; and, on the fifth of February, a message from the lord-lieutenant intimated the king's desire that the resolutions passed by the parliament of Great Britain should be submitted to the attentive consideration of the Irish legislature; and expressed his hope that the great object to which they related might be matured and completed by the wisdom of the two parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of the people. On this occasion the secretary of state, lord Castlereagh, to whose management the business was intrusted, entered into a comprehensive view of the measure proposed, recommending it by arguments analogous to those of Pitt, and other advocates of the Union in the British parliament. On moving the first resolution, after a vehement debate, the numbers were, in favour of the measure, one hundred and fifty-eight, against it one hundred and fifteen. The tumults of the populace of Dublin were, upon this occasion, very alarming; and a military guard was found necessary to preserve the advocates of the Union from personal violence. In the house of peers the earl of Clare, late lord Fitzgibbon, chancellor of Ireland, on moving the first resolution, declared himself satisfied, from an attentive observation of what had passed in Ireland for the last twenty years, that the existence of her independent parliament had gradually led to her recent and bitter calamities; and avowed that he had, for the preceding seven years, pressed upon ministers the urgent necessity of union. Lords Dillon, Fowkecourt, Farnham, and Bellamont, declared their disapprobation of the measure, which was defended by the law lords, Carleton and Kilwarden, and various other peers; after which the question upon the first resolution was put, and carried by seventy five against twenty-six voices. The succeeding resolutions were in the course of a few weeks passed through this house with the same or greater facility. In the course of these debates, three different protests, drawn with vigour and ability, were entered upon the journals, signed by the duke of Leinster, the marquis of Downshire, lords Pery and Moira, the bishop of Down, and about twenty other peers, expressive of their highest indignation at these proceedings. On the seventeenth of February, the house of commons being in a general committee, Corry, chancellor of the exchequer, made an able speech in vindication of the measure, blundered, however, agreeably to the too frequent custom of the Irish parliament, with virulent party and personal reflections. The reply of Grattan, who had opposed the measure throughout with all the powers of eloquence, was so pointed and severe, that the chancellor thought proper to resent it by a challenge, and a duel ensued, in which five shots were exchanged; and Corry was wounded, though not dangerously. On the twenty-seventh of March, the whole business being completed, lord Castlereagh moved an address to his majesty from the commons, declaring their approbation of the resolutions transmitted to them, which they considered as wisely calculated to form the basis of a complete and entire union of the two legislatures; that by

those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings; and that the resolutions now offered were those articles, which, if approved by the lords and commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments. This address, being agreed to by the two houses, was immediately transmitted to England by lord Cornwallis.

UNION OF IRELAND COMPLETED.

On the second of April the joint address of the Irish legislature was the subject of a message from his majesty to both houses of the British parliament. The measure was opposed, in the house of peers, by lord Holland; but, on a division, only the earl of Derby, and the lords Holland and King, voted against the motion, whilst eighty-two supported it. In the commons Pitt discussed the particular manner of carrying the measure into effect. As to the propriety of allowing one hundred Irish members to sit in the imperial parliament, though the particular number might not be of the first importance, he thought it sufficiently suited to the proportional contribution of the two countries to the public exigencies of the empire, and the selection was rather calculated to favour the popular interest. The members for counties and principal cities would be sixty-eight; the rest would be deputed by towns the most considerable in population and wealth, thus providing at once for the security of the landed interest, and for the convenience of local information; and, as the proposed addition would make no change in the internal form of British representation, it would not expose us to the dangers of political experiments, under the specious name of reform; experiments which, whatever his opinion respecting reform might once have been, he was now convinced would be hazardous in the present circumstances. As it might be wished that very few of the members thus sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number entitled to be placemen should be limited to twenty, and that the imperial parliament should afterwards regulate this point as circumstances might suggest. The number of peers who should represent the whole body of the Irish nobility was fixed at thirty-two. Four would suffice to inform the parliament of the state of the church; and the rest would form a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland, and the number of the Irish commons. The election of the temporal peers for life he recommended, as more conformable to the spirit of nobility than that which was settled at the Scottish union. The right reserved for Irish peers to sit in the house of commons as representatives for Great Britain, would render them apter to serve their country when called to a higher assembly. The permission of creating new peers for Ireland he also justified; for, though in Scotland the peerage might long maintain itself without any accession, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the patents, there was a risk of the Irish peerage fast diminishing, on account of the very limited nature of the successions. In the article respecting the church, he noticed the clause introduced by the parliament of Ireland, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be held in this island, and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of the claims of the catholics to future emancipation. The next article, he observed, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exceptions as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular fears and prejudices: almost all prohibitions would be repealed, and only protecting duties to a small amount imposed on some few articles.

Grey strenuously opposed the plan of the union. His principal objections were founded on its unpopularity among the Irish people; on the means of corruption and intimidation which had been used to accomplish the measure; and the great dissimilarity between the case of Ireland and that of Scotland, with respect to incorporating with England. He concluded by moving that the number of Irish placemen who should sit in the united parliament be limited to nineteen, instead of twenty, which was negatived without a division. Early in May, the remaining articles having been severally investigated and approved by decisive majorities

Pitt moved that an humble address be presented to his majesty, acquainting him that the house had proceeded through the great and important measure of a legislative union, which they had the satisfaction to see was nearly in strict conformity with the principle laid down in his majesty's message. This was carried without a division; and, the address and resolutions being forthwith transmitted to the house of peers, the assent of that assembly was obtained without any material alteration. A joint address, as usual on great occasions, was presented to the throne; and a bill, grounded upon the resolutions, to take effect from the first of January, 1801, the first day of the nineteenth century, immediately passed through both houses. On the second of July the royal assent was given to this important bill; and on the twenty-ninth the session was terminated by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed the peculiar satisfaction with which he congratulated the two houses of parliament on the success of the steps they had taken for effecting an entire union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, declaring that he should ever consider this measure as the happiest event of his reign. The Irish session also, which had been prolonged till the union bill passed in England, in order to its ratification with the several alterations and additions made by the British parliament, with other necessary regulations respecting the election of the Irish representatives to the imperial legislature, was terminated on the second of August, and with it the existence of the parliament of Ireland.

GREAT SCARCITY—ATTEMPT ON THE KING'S LIFE.

THE harvest of the two preceding years had been very unproductive; and the evil being enhanced by the consumption and waste of war, a prodigious rise on every article of provision took place, the consequence of which was very widespread and real distress. The interference of the legislature, in attempting to remedy, or at least to

palliate, the public calamity, was judiciously confined to recommendatory, rather than coercive measures. The committee appointed to deliberate upon the subject suggested such methods of relief as appeared most effectual for diminishing the consumption of corn by economy and substitution, and held out encouragement to the extended growth of potatoes at home, and the importation of corn from foreign countries. The committee at the same time suggested the granting of bounties for the encouragement of fisheries, and proposed the temporary but entire disuse of corn in the distilleries. To give effect to the proceedings of the legislature on this important subject, his majesty issued a proclamation towards the close of the year, recommending the greatest frugality in the use of every species of grain, and exhorting and charging all masters of families to reduce the consumption of bread, in their respective families, by at least one-third of the quantity consumed in ordinary times, and in no case to suffer the same to exceed one quarter loaf for each person in each week.

Another insane attempt on the life of the king was made this year, from which he providentially escaped. On the fifteenth of May, just at the moment when he had entered the royal box at Drury-lane theatre, and while bowing to the audience with his usual condescension, a person in the pit fired a horse pistol apparently at his majesty. For some seconds the house remained in silent suspense; but no sooner had they begun to recover from their surprise, than the man who fired the pistol, and who proved to be a discharged soldier of the name of Hadfield, was secured. On the twenty-sixth of June he was arraigned for high treason, but it was clearly proved that he had for some years laboured under a degree of insanity, in consequence of several desperate sabre wounds in his head, which he had received when acting as a sergeant in the British army in Holland, in 1794: he was therefore pronounced "Not guilty, being under the influence of insanity at the time the act was done;" but he was, of course, ordered to be kept in custody.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXXI.

¹ THE writer of this heard a confirmation of this dreadful massacre, from the lips of chef d' brigade D'Armagnac, an eye witness.

² See Buonaparte's remarks on this accusation, as given by Mr. O'Meara and count Las Casas, in their respective works.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Recall of the Russian troops—Genoa evacuated by the French—Buonaparte crosses the Alps, and gains the battle of Marengo—Armistice concluded in Italy—Campaign in Germany, and Armistice—Preliminaries signed—Disavowed by the Emperor—Naval Armistice proposed to England by France, and rejected—Armistice with Austria prolonged—Hostilities resumed—Treaty of Peace concluded at Lunenburg between Austria and France—Affairs of Egypt—Assassination of General Kieber—Naval operations—Unsuccessful attempt on Ferrol and Cadix—Reduction of Malta—War with Russia—Confederacy of the Northern Powers—Parliament assembled on account of the scarcity of corn—Population Bill—New royal title—Meeting of the Imperial Parliament—King's Speech, and Debates on the Address—Dispute in the Cabinet on the Catholic Question—New Ministry—The King's return of illness—Parliamentary Proceedings—Prerogative—Embargo on Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels—Measures of the Northern Powers, and Occupation of Hanover—Nelson's Victory at Copenhagen—Armistice—Death of the Emperor Paul—Final adjustment with the Northern Powers—Invasion of Portugal by Spain, and subsequent Pacification—Madeira occupied by the English—Expedition to Egypt, and final expulsion of the French—Projected Invasion of England—Convention between Buonaparte and the Pope—Naval actions—Attack on the Boulogne Flotilla—Peace between Great Britain and France.

RECALL OF THE RUSSIAN TROOPS—GENOA EVACUATED—BATTLE OF MARENGO.

THE Russian emperor, Paul, little inclined to listen to a calm investigation of facts, and easily led away by the hasty impulses of passion, conceived an insuperable disgust at the unexpected disasters which had befallen his troops in Switzerland and in Holland, at the close of the last campaign, and recalled his whole army from the scene of action. The archduke Charles, too, who gave fair promise of emulating the example of the most renowned warriors, had, by the crooked policy and ruinous influence of the Aulic council, which had controlled his operations and thwarted his views, been deprived of the command of the Austrian troops; and they were now led by the veteran general Kray in Germany, while Melas continued to command the imperial force employed in Italy. The first operation of any consequence was the siege of Genoa by the Austrians, who were assisted by an English squadron under the command of lord Keith. Massena defended the city with a vigour and resolution which have seldom been surpassed; and, after the loss of many thousand lives on both sides, famine alone induced him to enter into a treaty, which was concluded on terms honourable to the defenders, and, on the fourth of June, Genoa was evacuated. In the mean time Buonaparte collected a powerful army of reserve in the plains of Burgundy, of which he took the command early in May, and immediately prepared for crossing that formidable mountain, the Great St. Bernard. Having effected the passage, although a design so vast had not been attempted since the days of Hannibal, he pursued his march into Italy, and, clearing all obstacles, obtained possession of Milan and Pavia. Crossing the Po, he defeated the Austrians at Montebello; and on the sixteenth of June, on the plain between Alessandria and Tortona, was fought the famous battle of Marengo. Here the vigour of the Austrians seemed long to promise victory to their efforts. They turned the wings of the French, and forced the centre to fall back; and Melas even flattered himself with the hope of cutting off the retreat of the disordered troops. But when the chief consul, who was in the heat of action, almost despairing of success, general Desaix appeared with a *corps de reserve*, and changed the fortune of the day; he fell, however, in the attempt. A new line was formed; the Austrians were checked in their career; and, though they still exhibited marks of obstinate courage, they were at length totally routed. In this memorable battle, which might well decide the fate of Italy, about ten thousand of their number were killed, wounded, or made prisoners, but not without a loss equally severe on the part of the conquerors. This defeat ruined the hopes of the em-

peror, and was followed by a proposal from the vanquished general for an armistice, which he purchased by the restitution of Genoa, and the surrender of the citadels of Milan, Turin, Tortona, and other fortresses. Buonaparte then went to Milan to re-establish the Cisalpine republic, which he declared a free and independent nation.

The French army under Moreau had entered Suabia at the latter end of April, where it was opposed by general Kray, and, after various movements of little importance, they at length compelled the Austrians to retire, took possession of Munich, levied contributions on the Elector of Bavaria, and threatened the hereditary states of the emperor. Thus pressed, the Austrians deemed it expedient to consent to an armistice (that in Italy not extending to Germany), which was concluded with Moreau on the fifteenth of July. Count St. Julien was sent to Paris by the Austrian court, where he signed preliminaries of peace with France on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio; but the emperor, having entered into a new compact with Great Britain, by which it was agreed that neither party should conclude a peace which did not comprehend the other, formally disavowed it, and refused to conclude any treaty, unless England was included in it. At the beginning of September a proposal was made through M. Otto, the French commissary, residing in London, to the British ministers, for concluding a naval armistice, on which condition alone the first consul would consent to prolong the one with Austria, and a long correspondence took place on the subject; but it evidently appearing that the only object of Buonaparte was to obtain an opportunity of sending supplies to Malta and Alexandria, both of which were strictly blockaded by an English squadron, and as a new armistice was, during the negotiation, concluded with Austria, on condition of the surrender of the three important fortresses of Philipburgh, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, by which the French secured an opening into the hereditary states of Austria, the proposal was ultimately rejected on the ninth of October. This armistice terminated on the twenty-ninth of November, when Moreau resumed offensive operations, and the archduke John at first obtained some advantage; but in a general attack on the lines at Hohenlinden, on the third of December, the Austrians were entirely defeated, and in consequence the French gained possession of Salzburg. In the space of twenty days from the commencement of hostilities, the Austrians lost forty thousand men, killed, wounded, and prisoners, while that of the French was comparatively small.

PEACE BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND FRANCE.

THE archduke Charles, who now took the supreme command, seeing no hope of an effectual

resistance, proposed another armistice, which was agreed to; and, the alarming situation of the emperor having induced the British government to release him from the terms of his alliance, a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Lunéville on the ninth of February, 1801, by which France obtained a cession of all the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine, making that river, from the place where it leaves Switzerland to that where it enters Holland, the boundary of the new republic; thus realizing the original projects of the first revolutionists. The acquisition of this territory destroyed one of the chief barriers against the encroachments of France in the north of Europe. But, that no doubt might be left of the determination of France to overawe the empire, by the continual fear of hostile incursions into Germany, the restitution of Düsseldorf, Ehrenbreitstein, Philippsburgh, Cassel, Kehl, and Bismarck, on the right bank of the Rhine, were rendered of little value, by a stipulation that they should remain in the same state in which they were at the moment of their evacuation, that is, in ruins. France, therefore, retained the power of interposition in the affairs of Germany, by the right which she had reserved to herself, by this treaty, to settle the indemnities to be secured to the German princes, who were proprietors of the territory ceded to her on the left bank of the Rhine, and by her ability, in consequence of these concessions, to make sudden irruptions into the heart of the hereditary states of Austria. Istria, Dalmatia, and the Venetian isles in the Adriatic, were secured to Austria, together with Venice, the Bocca di Cattaro, the canals and the country included between the hereditary states of Austria, the Adriatic sea, and the Adige, from the Tyrol to the mouth of that sea; the towing-path of the Adige to form the line of limitation. France took to herself, and for her vassal, the Italian republic, or kingdom, as it was soon destined to be, the dominions of the grand duke of Tuscany, and the Modenese, whose sovereigns were to be indemnified, for the territory thus wrested from them, by other territories, to be wrested in like manner from the sovereign princes of Germany.

AFFAIRS OF EGYPT—NAVAL OPERATIONS —MALTA TAKEN.

AFTER Buonaparte's flight from Egypt, general Kleber entered into a convention, at El Arish, with the commander of the Turkish forces, by which he agreed to evacuate that country, on the condition of the unmolested return of the French troops to Europe. This convention, which was signed on the twenty-fourth of January, having been referred to Sir Sidney Smith by the Turks, it received his sanction; but the British cabinet, without being aware of Sir Sidney's share in the transaction, considered that it would be highly impolitic to suffer such a French force to arrive in Europe, to act against the emperor, their ally, and therefore instructed lord Keith, the commander of the British fleet in the Mediterranean, not to ratify it. That admiral accordingly sent a letter to Kleber, acquainting him that he had received positive orders not to agree to any capitulation with the troops under his command, unless they should consent to surrender themselves prisoners of war, not to go to France until exchanged, and to deliver up all the ships and stores in the port of Alexandria. Kleber, indignant at this unexpected turn of affairs, apprised the Turks that there was an end to the convention; after which hostilities were renewed, and some considerable advantages were gained by the French. After dispersing the army of the grand Vizier, and quelling an insurrection in Cairo, he was assassinated by a Turkish emissary, and was succeeded in his authority by general Menou.

In the course of the summer, the western departments of France were frequently menaced by the appearance of hostile armaments. Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Impetueux*, with a flying squadron, and three troop-ships, made an attack on Quiberon on the fourth of June, in which some batteries were destroyed, but Fort Penhieu proved too strong to be reduced. The same commander also, in an attempt upon the Morbihan, seized several sloops and gun-vessels, and burnt a corvette. Sir John Borlase Warren likewise succeeded in an attack on a convoy at anchor near a fort within the Penmarks, and in the destruction of fifteen sail of merchantmen and four armed vessels within the sands

of Boverneuf Bay. These exploits, combined with many others of a similar nature, put an actual stop to the coasting trade of the enemy, and intercepted the supplies intended for the fleet at Brest.

In August an expedition was fitted out, under the command of Sir James Murray Pulteney and Sir John Borlase Warren, whose first destination was against the Spanish port of Ferrol. After the troops were landed, however, the place was found too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success, and the attempt was therefore relinquished. A more formidable force, both naval and military, was sent against Cadix, under lord Keith and Sir Ralph Abercrombie; but as a pestilential disorder raged in the city, which was nevertheless capable of making a long resistance; and as the army had another and more important object in view, the expulsion of the French from Egypt, the intention of attacking Cadix was also abandoned.

Malta, so unjustly seized by Buonaparte, in his voyage to Egypt, had now experienced a blockade of two years both by sea and land, during which time general Vauchois, the French governor, had been summoned no less than eight times. At length, all hopes of receiving supplies from France having vanished, a part of the garrison left the port with two French frigates, one of which was taken, but the other escaped the vigilance of the British squadron. A few days after this, the magazines of provisions being exhausted, general Vauchois assembled a council of war, when it was determined to capitulate, and on the fifth of September the island was surrendered into the hands of the British.

In April the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa, surrendered to commodore Sir Charles Hamilton, without resistance; and in September the island of Curoasa, in the West Indies, one of the few remaining colonies of the Batavian republic voluntarily placed itself under the protection of his Britannic majesty.

WAR WITH RUSSIA—NORTHERN CONFEDERACY.

NOTWITHSTANDING these successes, the close of the eighteenth century was marked by circumstances of a gloomy and discouraging nature to England. France had reduced the continent of Europe to that situation which enabled her, almost without the fear of opposition, to parcel out its various states at her pleasure, a very large portion of the territory included between the Tiber and the Bay of Naples being occupied by her tributaries and vassals, or by princes who trembled at her frown. Prussia, indeed, and Russia, had not yet bent beneath the weight of her arms, nor sunk before the machinations of her intriguing spirit; but the emperor Paul, forsaking his alliance with England, had become her enemy, and complaining of her maritime encroachments, he stopped all the British vessels in his ports, on the idle allegation of the detention of Malta, to which he claimed a right, in consequence of the assumed authority of grand master of the order of knights of St. John of Jerusalem. He even sent the seamen into confinement, sequestered all British property on shore, and put seals on all warehouses containing English goods. The Prussian monarch, who had for some time held the scale of victory in his hands, indulged his ancient jealousy of the house of Austria, contemplated her humiliation with pleasure, and passively looked on while France was trampling on the institutions of surrounding states, vainly imagining that he possessed the ability to stop her career whenever her efforts should be directed against himself, and, more effectually to favour her views, joined a hostile confederacy of the northern powers, which had been recently formed against England.

The principles of this compact had been adopted and acted upon by Denmark and Sweden; the right of search had been actively resisted; and all the communications which had taken place between Great Britain and the northern powers only seemed to demonstrate the firm resolution of the latter to persist in a line of conduct, which must reduce this country to the necessity of either submitting to a violation of her acknowledged rights, or of resisting the assertion of these hostile principles by arms. This confederacy, aiming a deadly blow at the maritime power of Great Britain, at a period of severe pressure, when forsaken by her continental allies, and threatened with famine at home, was

a counterpart of the memorable armed neutrality of 1793, which had the same object in view. An acquiescence in such claims, which went the length of maintaining the right of a neutral power, however insignificant, to carry on, in time of war, the trade of a belligerent, and to supply her with whatever was necessary for the support of the contest in which she was engaged, would have been equally dangerous and dishonourable; for if the principle were once admitted, that free bottoms made free goods, and that no merchantmen could be subjected to search which were under the protection of a ship of war, a Danish or a Swedish frigate might cover the whole trade of France, and exempt her from the expense of insurance, and the risk of capture. It was a claim which took from maritime superiority all its lawful advantages—sheltered weakness beneath the flag of fraud—and contravened all the principles which, for a century, had regulated the conduct of naval powers. It was, therefore, resolved to resist this combination to the utmost; and every attempt at procuring redress by negotiation having failed, the most active preparations were made to extort it by arms.

GREAT SCARCITY—POPULATION RETURNS.

THE British parliament assembled for the last time on the eleventh of November, 1800, previously to which the increased price of provisions had been productive of a degree of public distress almost unequalled. The crop of this year, like that of the preceding, had been generally deficient in every country in Europe, and the scarcity bore every symptom of long continuance. The sober and industrious classes of the labouring poor sustained their hardships with laudable patience; and though there were some riots in the metropolis, and various parts of the country, no general ebullition burst forth that required to be suppressed by bloodshed. To alleviate the public distress, the dangerous measure of a maximum was, on the fifth of December, brought forward in parliament by the earl of Warwick, who proposed to fix the highest value of wheat at ten shillings per bushel, although the actual price was at that time more than twenty shillings; but the false and mischievous notion of an artificial scarcity, upon which this proposal proceeded, was exploded by the calm wisdom of parliament; the motion was rejected with marked disapprobation; and the legislature confined its efforts to suggesting expedients for diminishing the consumption and encouraging the foreign supply. High bounties were granted on importation; the baking of mixed and inferior flour was enforced by act of parliament; the distillation of spirits from grain was prohibited; and, to the honour of the wealthier part of the community, the hand of charity was also liberally opened.

Among other causes of dearth, the great increase of the population was repeatedly mentioned; and in the course of the session a bill was brought into parliament, by Abbot, for ascertaining the fact, when it appeared, upon an actual enumeration of the people of Great Britain, that they amounted to nearly eleven million, a result exceeding the highest previous conjecture; and it is probable that the aggregate population of Great Britain and Ireland amounted at this period to seventeen millions.

The discussion of the late negotiations, which occupied a part of this short session, produced no debates of importance; and, the supplies having been granted, parliament was prorogued on the last day of the year by the king in person. His majesty, before he retired, ordered the chancellor to read a proclamation, declaring that the individuals who compose the expiring parliament should be members, on the part of Great Britain, of the new or imperial parliament.

NEW ROYAL TITLE.

1801.—On the first of January, 1801, a royal declaration was issued concerning the style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of Great Britain and Ireland, and also to the ensigns, armorial flags, and banners thereof. In the new heraldic arrangement the fleur-de-lis was omitted, the title of king of France was expunged, and the royal dignity was in future to be expressed in the Latin tongue by these words:—“*Georgius Tertius, Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex, Fidei Defensor*,” and, in the vernacular language, “George the Third, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great

Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.” On the same day the great seal of Britain was delivered up and defaced, and a new seal for the empire was given to the lord chancellor. A new standard also, combining the three crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, was hoisted, amidst the discharge of artillery, in each of the three capitals of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—DEBATES ON THE ADDRESS—CATHOLIC QUESTION OCCASIONS A CHANGE OF MINISTRY—RETURN OF THE KING'S ILLNESS.

THE Imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled on the twenty-second of January, and proceeded to elect a speaker, when Addington, who had long and ably filled the chair of the lower house, was again placed in that elevated situation. On the second of February, the king, in a speech from the throne, congratulated parliament on the Union which had been so happily effected; the other topics were the state of the continent, and the dispute with the northern associated powers relative to the maritime code. The debates on the address were highly interesting. In the peers, earl Fitzwilliam, who had hitherto contended strenuously for the continuance of the war, and the restoration of the Bourbons, treated the contest as hopeless; he, however, insisted on the propriety of an inquiry into the causes of the failure, when such large and almost unbounded powers had been intrusted to ministers, and when they had the aid of all Europe in the common cause; it was also necessary to be informed why, instead of succeeding against an ancient enemy, they had at once plunged the nation into a contest with her allies. The new conflict in which we were about to engage was, he added, as far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned, one of our own seeking, as we had it in our power to suspend the discussion of the question relative to the neutral code, in the same manner as in 1796, when this country was in a less difficult situation than at present. Lord Grenville defended the conduct of ministers, and maintained that the claim of searching neutral vessels originated in the law of nations and the rights of nature; and that the assertion of this right constituted the foundation of our commerce and our wealth, and was the bulwark of the naval and military glory of Great Britain. On a division the address was carried.

In the commons, Pitt insisted that our very existence as a nation depended on the right of searching neutral vessels; he maintained that our claims on the present occasion arose not only out of positive treaties, but out of the law of nations; and he asked, if we were to permit the navy of our enemy to be supplied and recruited—to suffer blockaded ports to be furnished with stores and provisions, and allow neutral nations, by hoisting a flag on a sloop or a fishing-boat, to convey the treasures of South America to Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or to Toulon? When the house divided, there was a large majority in favour of ministers.

The union of Great Britain and Ireland was regarded by Pitt as the transaction which reflected the greatest lustre upon his administration; and, although he had uniformly opposed the claim of catholic emancipation during the existence of the separate legislature of Ireland, he had, it was understood, to facilitate this favourite object, given assurances to the Irish catholics of a complete participation in all political privileges, as soon as the Union should have taken place. When this proposition was submitted to the cabinet council some of its members expressed opposite sentiments, and the king took a decided part in the dispute, alleging that the oath taken by him at his coronation precluded his assent to a scheme which might, in its consequences, endanger the religious establishment. As this repugnance obstructed the recommendation of the measure to parliament, and diminished the probability of its success, Pitt declared that he conceived himself bound to resign a situation in which he was not at full liberty to pursue his ideas of equity and public benefit: unquestionably, however, this circumstance alone did not induce him to retire, such a step being forcibly inculcated by the situation of the country, which was now left, without a

single ally, involved in an apparently interminable war, and in the hands of a ministry, who, by their decided hostility to the existing government of France, had almost precluded the possibility of engaging in amicable negotiations. The prime minister was accompanied in his resignation by lord Grenville, and other members of the cabinet.

The offices of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer were conferred upon Addington, the speaker of the house of commons; to which high office he had been appointed by the influence of Pitt, with whom he continued on terms of intimate friendship. The post next in dignity, that of secretary for foreign affairs, hitherto held by lord Grenville, was given to lord Hawkesbury. Earl St. Vincent was placed at the head of the admiralty, in the place of earl Spencer; lord Eldon, chief justice of the common pleas, formerly Sir John Scott, succeeded lord Loughborough in the court of chancery; lords Hobart and Pelham were nominated secretaries of state, in the room of Dundas and the duke of Portland; York succeeded Windham as secretary at war; his brother, the earl of Hardwicke, was destined to the vice-regal office in Ireland; lord Lewisham was placed at the head of the board of control; and in this general change the duke of Portland and lord Westmoreland alone retained their stations in the cabinet, the former as president of the council, and the latter as lord privy seal. On the tenth of February Addington resigned his office as speaker of the house of commons; and on the following day Sir John Mitford was chosen in his stead. The agitation of the king's mind had, however, so materially affected the state both of his bodily and mental health, that the new arrangements, although nearly completed, were not formally announced, and a total interruption of the regal functions ensued, during which the former ministers continued to discharge the duties of their respective offices. On the same day that Addington resigned his office of speaker, the earl of Darnley moved for an inquiry into the state of the nation, when lord Grenville acquainted the house that his majesty's servants, not being able to carry into effect a measure which they deemed essential to the tranquillity and prosperity of the empire, had tendered the resignation of their several employments, which had been accepted; and on this representation the earl postponed his motion. The routine of parliamentary business went on as usual, until the recovery of the king, when the appointments of the new ministers were announced in the accustomed form, and on the seventeenth of March Addington was sworn into the two offices which Pitt had so long enjoyed.

The first measures of the new ministry were directed towards the securing of internal tranquillity. Ireland being still in a disturbed state, the act for the suppression of rebellion in that country was renewed, as was that for the suspension of the *Habeas corpus*. This act was also suspended in Great Britain, and the bill for preventing seditious meetings was revived, in consequence of a report from a select committee of the house of commons, stating the existence of societies of disaffected persons in Great Britain, particularly of one in London, entitled the united Britons. These measures were followed by the introduction of a bill of indemnity in favour of the late administration, which also passed both houses. An act to remove doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the house of commons, by which they were hitherto excluded, passed in this session, in consequence of John Horne Tooke's having been returned for Old Sarum by its proprietor, lord Camelford; and on the second of July parliament was prorogued by commission.

EMBARGO ON RUSSIAN, DANISH, AND SWEDISH VESSELS—OCCUPATION OF HANOVER.

THE late ministry, determined to overawe or to dispel the northern confederacy, had issued an order in council dated the fourteenth of January, imposing an embargo on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in the ports of Great Britain; but the court of Berlin, although a party to the league, was treated upon this occasion with peculiar deference, probably because its hostility would endanger the king's German dominions. Preparations were also made to send a fleet into the Sound, and to

hazard all the evils likely to result from a war, which threatened to exclude the British flag from the navigation of the Baltic, and her commerce from the shores of the Elbe, the Rana, the Vistula, and the Weser. On the other hand, the utmost exertions had for some time past been made in all the ports of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. Their combined navy, if fitted out by a simultaneous movement, would have amounted to nearly eighty sail of the line; and those, together with the numerous gun-boats and floating batteries which they either possessed already, or could have easily constructed, might have rendered their narrow seas and difficult coasts impervious to attack.

In the course of the spring the Danes took possession of Hamburg, for the alleged purpose of stopping the British trade to that port, and the king of Prussia, after an unsuccessful negotiation with the English government, occupied the bailiwick of Ritschbutte and the port of Cuxhaven. On the thirtieth of March, a body of his troops entered the electorate of Hanover, and, as the military establishment was not sufficient to justify resistance, a conventional declaration was issued, submitting to his Prussian majesty.

NELSON'S VICTORY AT COPENHAGEN—ARMISTICE.

As no hopes could be entertained of the pacification of Europe, on terms honourable to Great Britain, until the dissolution of this confederacy, a British fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, and four frigates, with a number of gun-boats and bomb-vessels, in all fifty-four sail, proceeded from Yarmouth roads for the Baltic, under the command of admiral Sir Hyde Parker, assisted by vice-admiral Lord Nelson and rear-admiral Tooty, the last of whom was so unfortunate as to lose his flag-ship on a sand-bank off the coast of Lincolnshire. It was supposed that Denmark, whose trade and prosperity had increased considerably during the war, might be prevailed upon to sue for truce; and the first efforts of this armament were therefore directed against her capital, while Vansittart, a new minister plenipotentiary, was instructed to endeavour to detach the court of Copenhagen from the northern alliance; the prince Regent of Denmark, however, who had governed many years in the name of his father, declared that he was determined to adhere to his engagements. On the thirtieth of March the English squadron passed the Sound with little or no resistance, and, after anchoring about four or five miles from the island of Huen, Sir Hyde Parker, in company with lord Nelson and rear-admiral Graves, surveyed the formidable line of ships, radeaux, galleys, fire vessels, and gun-boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries on the two islands called the Crowns: these were supported by two ships of seventy guns, and a large frigate in the inner road of Copenhagen, while two sixty-four gun-vessels without masts, were moored on the flat towards the entrance to the arsenal. Lord Nelson, who had made an offer of his services to conduct the attack, and had for that purpose shifted his flag from the *St. George* to the *Elephant*, a vessel of smaller size, immediately gave directions for buying the channel of the Outer Diep and the middle ground, after which the detachment, consisting of twelve sail of the line, with frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, selected for the assault, passed in safety and anchored off Drago.

On the morning of the second of April the vice-admiral made the signal to weigh and engage the Danish line of defence, which was found to consist of six sail of two-deckers, eleven floating batteries, mounting from eighteen to twenty-six cannon each, one bomb-ketch, and several schooner-rigged gun-vessels; these were supported by the Crowns, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, together with some batteries thrown up on the island of Amak. The shallowness of the water and the intricacy of the navigation prevented the complete execution of the projected plan, for the Bellona and Russell grounded before they had reached the stations assigned to them, while the Agamemnon, being unable to weather the shoal of the middle, was obliged to anchor. The Elephant station was in the centre, opposite to the Danish commodore Fischer, who commanded in the Daanabrog, a sixty-two gun-ship; and the average

distance at which the action was fought was scarcely a cable's length. It commenced soon after ten o'clock; before half past eleven it became general; and at one p. m. when few, if any, of the enemy's ships had ceased to fire, the *Isis*, *Monarch*, and *Bellona* had received serious injury; while the division of the commander-in-chief could only menace the entrance to the harbour. In this posture of affairs the signal was thrown out on board the *London*, admiral Parker's ship, for the action to cease; but lord Nelson, nevertheless, continued the attack with unabated vigour. About two p. m. the greatest part of the enemy's line had ceased to fire; some of the lighter ships were adrift; and the carnage on board their vessels, whose crews were reinforced from the shore, was dreadful. The Danish commodore's ship was now on fire, and drifting in flames before the wind, spreading terror and dismay throughout their line; few of her crew could be saved, although the British boats rowed in every direction for the purpose; and about half past three she blew up with a terrible explosion.

The ships ahead, and the Crown batteries, as well as the prizes made by the British, continuing to fire after the *Dannebrog* was in flames, lord Nelson despatched a letter, addressed "to the brothers of Englahmen, the brave Danes," saying, that if the fire were continued on the part of Denmark, he must be obliged to destroy all the floating batteries he had taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who had defended them. This was conveyed on shore, through the contending fleets, by captain Sir Frederic Thesiger, who found the prince near the Sally-port, animating his people, and sharing their dangers. It deserves to be remarked, that this letter, which exhibited a happy union of policy and courage, was written at a moment when lord Nelson perceived, that, in consequence of the unfavourable state of the wind, the admiral was not likely to get up to aid the enterprise; that the principal batteries of the enemy, and the ships at the mouth of the harbour, were yet untouched; that two of his own divisions had grounded; and that others were likely to share the same fate.

The firing from the Crown batteries, and from the leading ships of the British, did not cease till past three o'clock, when the Danish adjutant general, Lindholm, returning with a flag of truce, directed it to be suspended. The signal for doing the same was then made to the British ships, and the action closed after five hours' duration, four of which were warmly contested, and during which the whole of the Danish line, to the southward of the Crown Islands, amounting to seventeen sail, were sunk, burned, or taken. The battle of Copenhagen was, by lord Nelson's own account, the most dreadful that he had ever witnessed. Captain Riou, who particularly distinguished himself, was severed in two by a raking shot; captain Mosse, commander of the *Monarch*, was also killed; and the total loss of the British, in killed and wounded, amounted to one thousand; while that of the Danes was considerably greater. Notwithstanding the long peace they had enjoyed, the Danish batteries, both afloat and ashore were manned, and the guns served, with a degree of promptitude and valour that would have conferred credit on veteran troops. A negotiation was entered upon, which terminated in an armistice for fourteen weeks, during which the treaty of armed neutrality, as far as related to Denmark, was to be suspended.

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR PAUL.

WHEN the disabled vessels were refitted, the British squadron sailed to Carlskrona, and on the eighteenth of April arrived off that port. Sir Hyde Parker lost no time in acquainting the governor that an armistice had been concluded, by which the disputes between the courts of Copenhagen and St. James had been accommodated; and he required an explicit answer from the court of Sweden, relative to its intention to abandon the hostile measures adopted, in conjunction with Russia, against the rights and interests of Great Britain. To this vice-admiral Cronstedt replied, that it was the unalterable resolution of his Swedish majesty not to fall for a moment in fulfilling, with fidelity and sincerity, the engagements he had entered into with his allies; but that he would not refuse to listen to equitable proposals for the accommodation of dis-

putes, provided they were made by plenipotentiaries, sent on the part of the king of Great Britain to the united powers. On receiving this answer, the admiral left the bay without firing a gun; and all future hostilities with the northern states were happily prevented by the death of the emperor Paul, who fell by the hands of his courtiers on the twenty-second of March.

As soon as Alexander I. son of the deposed emperor, succeeded to the throne of his father, he published an ukase, revoking several of the acts of the late government, and restoring the British seamen to liberty. Baron Lisakewitch, the Russian minister at the court of Denmark, having notified these events to Sir Hyde Parker, the admiral immediately returned to Kiooge bay, to await the orders of his court in consequence of this new and interesting change; and in the mean time the benefits of the armistice were extended to the court of Stockholm. About the same period lord St. Helen's arrived at the court of St. Petersburg, in quality of minister plenipotentiary for England; and, by a convention, signed in the Russian capital on the seventeenth of June, the emperor on the one hand allowed the right of search, under certain restrictions, by ships of war, but not by privateers; while, on the other hand, the merchandise of the produce, growth, and manufacture of the countries engaged in war, might be purchased and carried away by the neutral powers; but, by a subsequent explanatory declaration, the commerce between the mother country of a belligerent and her colonies was expressly excluded from the benefit of this arrangement. It was also stipulated by one of the articles that Sweden and Denmark should receive back their ships and settlements on acceding to this treaty, and with these terms they both very readily complied. Thus Great Britain, partly by the sudden demise of the emperor Paul, and partly by the thunder of her navy, saw a confederacy dissolved which aimed at the decrease of her maritime greatness, and was calculated to involve her in a new and disastrous war.

SPAIN INVADES PORTUGAL—BRITISH OCCUPY MADEIRA.

THE attachment of Portugal to England again excited the attention of the French government, and its ally, the king of Spain, was induced to declare war against that country in March. A counter declaration from the court of Lisbon was issued on the twenty-first of April, worthy of the most prosperous days of the Portuguese monarchy, and accompanied by preparations for defence. A Spanish army, however, entered the province of Alentejo in May, and, having advanced to the Tagus almost without opposition, a treaty of peace was signed at Badajoz on the sixth of June, by which Spain obtained possession of the province of Olivenza, and the harbours of Portugal were shut against the English. The French government refused to concur in the treaty unless certain places in Portugal were occupied by French troops; and general St. Cyr, who had been invested with the character of ambassador to the court of Madrid, entered Portugal at the head of twenty-four thousand troops, and invested the fortress of Almeida, within thirty leagues of the capital. No sooner was this event known at Lisbon than the court became alarmed for its safety, and, as the subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds voted to that state by the British parliament was unaccompanied by a body of troops, as had been originally intended, a treaty was signed at Madrid on the twenty-ninth of September, highly favourable to France. During this contest the British ministry, apprehensive lest the island of Madeira should be delivered up to the enemy, sent a squadron thither, with a small body of land forces under colonel Clinton, who took possession of the forts which command the bay of Funchal.

EXPEDITION TO EGYPT—EXPULSION OF THE FRENCH.

THE force which had been destined against Egypt in the preceding year, after having repaired to Gibraltar, to recover from the inconveniences of a long cruise in a boisterous season, proceeded from Malta in December, in two divisions, for Narmourie, on the coast of Carmania, where they were landed for refreshment. Being re-embarked, they

called for Aboukir bay; and on the eighth of March, 1801, the first division effected their landing in the face of a body of French, who were aware of their intention, and were posted in force with considerable advantages of position. The front of the disembarkation was narrow; and a hill, which commanded the whole, appeared almost inaccessible; yet the British troops ascended it, under the fire of grape-shot, with the utmost intrepidity, and forced the French to retire, leaving behind them several pieces of artillery and a number of horses: in this service seven hundred of our men, sailors included, were killed or wounded. On the twelfth the whole army came within sight of the French, who were formed advantageously on a ridge, and on the following day marched in two lines with an intention of turning their right flank: the attack, however, was anticipated by the enemy: the British troops were therefore obliged to change their position, and the advanced guard suffered considerably; but, after a severe conflict, which lasted several hours, the French retreated nearer to Alexandria.

Port Aboukir capitulated on the nineteenth; and on the twentieth, general Menou arriving from Cairo, the whole of the French disposable force was concentrated at Alexandria. The memorable conflict which decided the fate of Egypt took place on the following day, at a small distance from that city. It commenced before daylight in the morning, by a false attack on the left of the English, which general Craddock commanded; but their most vigorous efforts were directed to the right, where the contest was remarkably obstinate: they were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with the British infantry. An attempt at the same time to penetrate the centre of the British army with a column of infantry was also repulsed; another body which advanced against the left of the English was likewise unsuccessful, and the British forces remained master of the field. The loss on our side, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to fifteen hundred; that of the French, who lost the greatest part of a famous corps which Buonaparte had arrogantly called the Invincibles, and whose standard was taken, was estimated at double that number. Immediately after this defeat the French general in chief began to detach troops to strengthen the garrisons of the interior. In this action major-general Moore and Sir Sidney Smith were wounded, and three French generals died of their wounds.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie was vigorously engaged in the heat of action on the right, when he received a mortal wound in the thigh by a musket ball which he concealed from the army till the period for exertion was past, when his strength failed him: he was carried off the field, and conveyed on board the admiral's ship, where he died on the twenty-eighth. His death was universally and most deservedly lamented, for his mind was stored with every great and good quality; his military talents were undoubtedly great; his services had been long and brilliant; and, whilst regarded as a strict disciplinarian, he still conciliated the esteem of all whom he commanded.

On the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, the command devolved on general Hutchinson, with whom it was for some time a matter of doubt whether he should lay siege to Alexandria, or proceed up the left bank of the river Nile into the country, and, after forming a junction with the Turkish army, which was hastening to join him by the way of Syria, endeavour to reduce Grand Cairo, and to cut off all communication between the French on the coast, and every part of the interior. The inadequacy of his force to form the siege of Alexandria, and the expectation of being joined by forces sent from Bombay up the Red Sea, induced him to adopt the latter plan of operations: the junction between the English and Turkish armies was effected at the beginning of June; and on the fifteenth general Hutchinson wrote to general Bouchard, who commanded at Cairo, offering him the most honourable terms to induce him to surrender the place; he at first peremptorily refused; but shortly after he sent a flag of truce to the English camp; and on the twenty-seventh of June the French engaged to evacuate Cairo, on being allowed to return with their arms to Europe. This capitulation was carried into effect on the tenth of the following month, when the English and Turkish flags were hoisted on the citadel. The

total amount of persons included in the capitulation exceeded fourteen thousand, exclusive of women and children; previous to which the town and castle of Rosetta were taken by a division of the British army, under colonel Spencer. General Hutchinson, having received some reinforcements in the month of July, which swelled his army to sixteen thousand men, resolved to commence the siege of Alexandria. The approaches to the town were made under circumstances highly honourable to the valour and good conduct of the besieging army, who drove the enemy from post to post, till the French commander Menou, finding no prospect of relief from Europe, and no hopes of ultimate success from further resistance, agreed on the first of September, to surrender the place on condition of being sent to Europe. The whole force in Alexandria, at the period of this capitulation, was ten thousand five hundred and twenty-eight men; the last of which sailed from the harbour on the eighteenth of September.

Thus, with a force far inferior to that of their opponents, did the British army wrest this important country from their enemies, and restore it to their allies; but, as the conventions were concluded on grounds similar to that signed at El Arish, the philanthropist will not consider the glory acquired by the British arms as an equivalent for the effusion of blood with which the protraction of the contest was attended. Intelligence of the event reached Paris before the British cabinet could be apprized of it. In consequence of the knowledge thus obtained, the first consul of France derived an important advantage in a treaty of peace which he hastily concluded with the Turks, and which contained many provisions highly favourable to the French, who had grossly violated every agreement which they had entered into with the ports; and greatly prejudicial to the English, who, from the important assistance which they had rendered to the Turks, and from their honourable conduct towards them on all occasions, were entitled to every return which justice, generosity, and gratitude, could suggest. The evacuation of Egypt (the Turkish ambassador not knowing that it had actually taken place) was the consideration held out by the French for the benefits which they claimed and the privileges which they acquired by this new treaty.

PROJECTED INVASION OF ENGLAND—BUONAPARTE'S CONCORDAT WITH THE POPE.

WHILST the possession of Egypt was uncertain, Buonaparte determined to point all his efforts against the only enemy either unshaken or unhumbled by the arts and arms of France. Large bodies of troops were accordingly collected on the northern coasts of France; ships, guns, and flat-bottomed boats, were built and equipped; the ports of France, Belgium, and Holland, were crowded with armed vessels; camps were formed at Bruges, Gravelines, Boulogne, Brest, Granville, Cherbourg, and St. Maloe's; and the deeds about to be performed by those armies which had forced the passage of the Bormida, the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, and gained the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, were vaunted in the consular proclamations and manifestoes. Buonaparte affected to consider the English as a nation rendered effeminate by wealth, and unwelcome by commerce; and it was confidently predicted that the steel of the French would prove more than a match for the gold of the Britons. On the other hand the whole island was in motion; and one uniform spirit of patriotic defiance was breathed by the inhabitants. The volunteer battalions and companies were increased; a numerous and respectable body of yeomanry cavalry was formed; the fencible regiments were disciplined into a knowledge of the military art; and the militia, many regiments of which had served in Ireland, received a considerable augmentation by means of the supplementary levy. From the votes of supply for this year, it appears that the total land and sea force, exclusive of volunteers, amounted to nearly five hundred thousand.

Buonaparte, surrounded by a brilliant assemblage of troops, affected to blend all the state of the ancient kings of France with that of the emperors of the west. By a convention with the pope, ratified on the tenth of September, he was not only

acknowledged to possess all the privileges of the ancient monarchy so far as concerned public worship, but new and essential immunities were obtained for the Gallican church. His holiness agreed to procure the resignation of the prelates who had adhered to the old establishment, and the chief magistrato was to nominate to the vacant sees. A new formula of prayer was introduced; and the holy father covenanted that those who had acquired the alienated property of the church should not be disturbed. By a concordat, the apostolical and Roman faith was declared to be the religion of the state, and the catholics were to defray the expenses of public worship.

NAVAL ACTIONS—ATTACK ON THE BOUTIQUE LOGNE FLOTILLA.

BRITISH seamen this year displayed their accustomed zeal and devotion in the cause of their country. In March admiral Duckworth made an easy capture of the Swedish island of St. Bartholomew, as well as the Danish settlements of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, which were of course restored to those powers, in virtue of the treaty of St. Petersburg; the islands of St. Martin and St. Eustatia were also reduced; while in the east the Batavian settlement of Ternate, the chief of the Molucca Islands, surrendered on the twenty-first of June, after a vigorous resistance, to a small squadron, under the command of captain Hayes. In the Mediterranean two severe actions took place; the former of which proved unfortunate. Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez was blockading the port of Cadix, when he received intelligence that three French line of battle ships and a frigate were lying at anchor in the road of Algeiras, under cover of the batteries on shore, and immediately conceived the bold design of attacking them in that situation. On the sixth of July he proceeded with six sail of the line, under a favourable breeze, and a great impression was made on the flag ship of the French commander, rear-admiral Linot, by captain Stirling in the *Pompey*, till a change of wind prevented him from acting: as soon, however, as it again favoured, the *Hannibal*, captain Ferris, pushed forward in the hope of passing between the French ships and the shore, an attempt which he thought might lead to a complete triumph; but his ship happened to take the ground under one of the batteries, and, as no effort could extricate her, he was obliged to give her up, after considerable loss on both sides. A breeze having enabled two other ships to approach the enemy, they kept up for a time a heavy fire; but the impracticability of a close action at length induced Sir James to withdraw his force, when above three hundred and sixty of his men had been killed or wounded. This disappointment served only to stimulate the eagerness of the British seamen for another contest. The ships were repaired with great expedition; and when the French, joined by a Spanish squadron, were sailing towards Cadix, the rear of the united fleet was attacked, on the night of the twelfth of July, by the *Superb*, captain Keats. This vessel having fired between the Spanish admiral's ship and another of a hundred and twelve guns, and then retired, a mutual error, arising from the darkness of the night, occasioned a conflict between those two enemy's ships, when one of them suddenly took fire; the flames rapidly extended to the other; and both blew up with the loss of about two thousand men. This melancholy accident discouraged Linot and his associates, and tended to accelerate their retreat. The *San Antonio*, of seventy-four guns, was taken; but the *Formidable* baffled a severe attack from captain Hood, whose ship struck upon a rock, and was with difficulty towed off in a disabled state. The enemy reached Cadix without further molestation; and the English admiral sailed with his prize to Gibraltar. Thus ended an action in which the superiority of the enemy was immense; and Sir James Saumarez was gratified with the thanks of the two houses of parliament, and rewarded with a pension of twelve hundred pounds per annum.

In the course of this year captain Rowley Baittel, in the *Bellegueux*, with a convoy of East India-men, captured two French frigates in the neighbourhood of Brazil, forming a part of a squadron which had committed great depredations on the coast of Africa. The fleet under vice-admiral Raine in the East Indies seized a number of valuable prizes, particularly two Dutch ships in the

neighbourhood of Java. Captain T. Manby in the *Bordeleux*, belonging to rear admiral Duckworth's detachment in the West Indies, nearly about the same time dispersed a small armament fitted out by Victor Hughes for the purpose of intercepting the outward-bound convoy. In the Mediterranean a most severe action was fought, on the tenth of February, between the *Phoebe*, captain R. Barlow, and the French frigate *L'Africaine*, the commander of which, though incapable of contending with the British vessel, would not yield until his ship became a mere wreck, and his decks were crowded with the dying and the dead: the number of the latter amounted to two hundred, and the wounded to one hundred and forty-three, while the loss of the *Phoebe* was only one killed and twelve wounded. Lord Cochrane, in the *Speedy* sloop, of fourteen four-pounders, and fifty four men and boys, performed a brilliant exploit, by boarding and capturing a Spanish palacra frigate, of thirty-two guns, and three hundred and nineteen men, off Barcelona.

On the second of August lord Nelson hoisted his flag as vice-admiral of the blue on board the *Medusa*, and proceeded with two sail of the line, two frigates, and several smaller vessels, to Boulogne, where the French had assembled a great number of gun-boats, armed brigs, and lugger-rigged flats. Perceiving that twenty-four of these were anchored in a line in front of the harbour, a signal was hoisted, on which the bombs weighed with favourable wind, and threw their shells with such effect, that in the course of a few hours, three of the flats and brigs were sunk, and six driven on shore. Lord Nelson, being of opinion that the remainder of the flotilla might be captured by the boats of his squadron, directed an expedition to be undertaken on the night of the fifteenth of August, by five divisions, one of which carried howitzers, under the command of captains Somerville, Cotgrave, Parker, Jones, and Conn, of the royal navy. Parker's division first approached the enemy, and began the attack with undaunted bravery; but an unforeseen obstacle baffled his exertions: a very strong netting was traced up to the lower yards of the French vessels, which were firmly fastened with chains to each other, as well as to the ground; and so invulnerable was the foe, thus guarded, that two-thirds of the crew of the boat in which he acted were repelled, in attempting to board a large brig by a tremendous discharge of cannon and musketry: the gallant captain afterwards died of his wounds. The other divisions not arriving at the same time, only the lugger was brought off, while several boats of the assailants were sunk or taken, with a considerable loss in killed and wounded.

PEACE BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE.

WHILE every shore re-echoed with the thunder of hostility, the inhabitants of both France and England had become heartily tired of the war. For some time past an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments. Flags of truce and of defiance were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same strait; so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded and blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet-boats and the messengers of the courts of St. James's and the Tuilleries. The negotiation had been carried on in London, between lord Hawkesbury, on the one hand, and Louis William Otto, who had been some time resident in this country, as a commissary for the exchange of prisoners, on the other; the former, by a departure from the established rules of diplomatic etiquette, having consented to reduce himself to a level with a private citizen of France. It had continued during the whole of the summer; and in its progress many impediments arose, and some curious discussions took place, relative to the liberty of the press in this country, which Buonaparte, fearful that it might be employed to expose his own character, wished to restrain; but with every disposition to concede, as far as possible, lord Hawkesbury resisted every attempt to encroach on that freedom of discussion, to which much of the excellence of the British constitution may fairly be ascribed. At length the cabinet of Paris, having received Menou's despatches from Egypt, hastened the conclusion of the business; and on the first of October the preliminaries were

signed by lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto. This intelligence was immediately communicated in a note to the lord mayor, and diffused general satisfaction throughout the kingdom. At the end of eleven days the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the first consul was brought from Paris by colonel Lauriston, who, as well as the French plenipotentiary, was drawn through the streets of the metropolis in his carriage by the populace. By this treaty Great Britain restored to France and her allies every possession or colony taken from them during the war, with the exception of the Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch settlements at Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to become a free port, and Malta was to be restored to the order; but under the express guarantee and protection of a third power, to be fixed upon in the definitive treaty. In order to bring that treaty to a speedy conclusion, lord Cornwallis was despatched to France. Amiens was the scene of negotiation appointed by the first consul; and his brother, Joseph Buonaparte, received the full power to treat with the British plenipotentiary. In the course of the discussion which ensued fresh difficulties were started by France, and fresh demands preferred, which occasioned so much delay that it was supposed by many that war would be renewed. On the twenty-fifth of March, 1802, however, matters were finally arranged, and the seal was put to the treaty of Amiens, which differed from the preliminaries only in the following points:—A part of Portuguese Guiana was given up to the French by a new adjustment of boundaries: with regard to Malta, it was stipulated that no French or English langue, or class of knights, should be allowed; that one half of the soldiers in garrison should be natives, and that the rest should be furnished for a time by the king of Naples; that the independence of the island, under the sway of the knights, should be guaranteed by France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia; and that its ports should be free to all nations. It was agreed that the prince of Orange should receive compensation for his loss of property and of power. Persons who might hereafter be accused of murder, forgery, and fraudulent bankruptcy, were to be surrendered to the demands of each of the respective powers.

Thus ended the revolutionary war, in the defeat of all the hopes and expectations which had been formed of indemnity for the past and of security for the future; and in the accomplishment of all those gigantic plans of subversion and conquest,

which had been conceived by the first founders of the French republic, and pursued with unremitting activity by all her successive rulers. By the peace of Amiens a great part of the continent of Europe was laid prostrate at the feet of France; and French influence remained predominant from the German Ocean to the Bay of Naples. In short, Jacobinism triumphed; her child and champion established his ascendancy; her firmest advocates were honoured and rewarded: and the stamp of success was given to her boldest projects. Not one of the objects which the princes originally confederated against France professed to have in view was attained; on the contrary, her power was extended, her territories were enlarged, her influence was increased, and her principles had surmounted every obstacle opposed to their progress. Her government, it is true, had assumed a new form, less terrific in appearance than the murderous system of Robespierre and his sanguinary associates, but in reality more despotic. A military tyranny, formed out of the elements of Jacobinism, destroyed every vestige of civil liberty, and imposed the most galling and odious fetters on the minds, as well as the persons, of the people. England, indeed, had escaped the yoke to which the powers of the continent had, in a greater or lesser degree, submitted. She had secured her constitution and her government from the effects of that revolutionary poison which had destroyed so many ancient institutions, and had subverted so many thrones. She had even enlarged her dominions by the acquisition of an important settlement in Asia, which afforded her the long sought for advantage of a safe and commodious harbour in the Eastern ocean, and by an island in the West Indies, of consequence more from its relative situation to the Spanish Main, than from its produce or probable revenue. She had also kept inviolate her faith with her allies, and had preserved her national character pure amidst surrounding corruption; but here ends the catalogue of her advantages; in every other point she had completely failed. None of the objects which she had pursued in common with the other powers of Europe had she been able to attain: she had boisterously opened her treasures to those who fought against revolutionary anarchy; she had made every exertion which her spirit could suggest and her resources command; and, had all her allies but displayed equal vigour and resolution, their united efforts must have been crowned with success.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Meeting of Parliament—Address—Sentiments on the Peace—Debts of the Civil List—Claim of the Prince of Wales to arrears of Cornish Revenues—Repeal of the Income Tax—Loan—New Taxes—Sinking Fund—Abbot elected Speaker—Debates on the definitive Treaty of Peace—Millia Augmentation—Vaccine inoculation—Parliament dissolved—French Expedition to St. Domingo and Guadaloupe—Mutiny in Bantary Bay—Affairs of Switzerland—Annexation of Piedmont to France—Seizure of the Maltese property in Spain—Bonaparte elected First Consul for life—New Constitution in France—Legion of Honour—Affairs of France in the West Indies—Despard's Conspiracy—New Parliament—Symptoms of hostility between France and England—The British Ambassador leaves Paris—Grant to the Prince of Wales—Messages respecting France, and the Militia, and announcing hostilities—Military preparations—Levy en masse—Finance—Volunteer associations—Preparations for Invasion by France—Act to relieve Catholics—Attempt to Murder made capital—Vote of Thanks to the Volunteers—The Prince of Wales is refused Military Promotion—Rebellion in Ireland, and Murder of Lord Kilwarden—Ireland placed under Martial Law, and Habeas Corpus Act suspended—Bennett and others executed for Treason—Capture of St. Lucia, Tobago, &c.—The French expelled from St. Domingo—Movements in Europe—Invasion of Hanover—Blockade of the Elbe and Weser—War with Holland—Erections of Buonaparte—Sale of Louisiana—English Travellers in France made Prisoners of War—Naval Operations.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—SENTIMENTS ON THE PEACE.

THE imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland was opened on the twenty-ninth of October, 1801, by the king in person, who, in a speech from the throne, announced the conclusion of the negotiation for peace, and declared his satisfaction, that the difference which existed with the northern powers had been adjusted by a convention with the emperor of Russia, to which the kings of Denmark and of Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede, and by which the essential rights for which we contended were secured. He then proceeded to state that preliminaries of peace had also been ratified between himself and the French republic; and he trusted that this important arrangement, while it manifested the justice and moderation of his views, would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character. In the upper house the address was moved by lord Bolton; and the duke of Bedford, in a speech containing much censure of the late, and praise of the present administration, declared his cordial concurrence in the address, which was agreed to without a dissentient voice.

In the house of commons Fox expressed the same sentiments of approbation respecting the peace, in which he was warmly seconded by Pitt, who described it as glorious and honourable. After the continental alliance had been dissolved, he said, nothing remained for us but to procure just and honourable conditions of peace for ourselves and the few allies who had not deserted us. When it became a mere question of terms, he was much more anxious as to the tone and character of the peace, than about any particular object which should come into dispute. As long as the peace was honourable, he should prefer accepting terms even short of what he thought the country entitled to, to risking the result of the negotiation by too obstinate an adherence to any particular point. On the other hand, Windham, the late secretary at war, avowed his entire disapprobation of the treaty, and declared himself to be a solitary mourner in the midst of public rejoicings. Sheridan said he could not agree that the conditions were glorious and honourable. It was, in his opinion, a peace of which every one was glad, but no one proud.

A similar address was moved in the house of commons; which, after considerable discussion, was agreed to without a division.

On the thirteenth of November the articles of the treaty with Russia having been laid before the house of peers, the earl of Darnley moved an address of thanks and approbation to the throne. This address

was vehemently opposed by lord Grenville, who condemned the treaty in almost all its provisions; and, from the tenor of his lordship's remarks, it was obvious that no accommodation with the northern powers could have taken place under the administration which had recently been dissolved. The question was carried in both houses without a division.

DEBTS OF THE CIVIL LIST—PRINCE OF WALES'S CLAIMS FOR ARREARS.

WHEN parliament assembled, after the christmas recess, the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the house to certain papers before them, relative to the civil list, by which it appeared that the pecuniary affairs of the sovereign were again deeply in arrear; and a committee was appointed to examine the accounts now presented to the house. In the course of the discussion, Manners Sutton, solicitor to the prince of Wales, advanced a claim on the part of the prince for the amount of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall received during his minority, and applied to the use of the civil list. Fox declared strongly in favour of the equity of this claim, but admitted that the sums voted for the payment of the prince's debts ought to be deducted from the balance accruing to the prince. On the twenty-ninth of March, 1802, the report of the committee was taken into consideration, when it appeared that a debt amounting to no less than nine hundred and ninety thousand pounds had been contracted since the passing of Burke's reform bill, exclusive of the arrears discharged in the years 1784 and 1786, and since that time the provisions of the bill had been wholly neglected. After a long and animated discussion this sum was voted by the house; but the chancellor of the exchequer allowed that measures ought to be taken to prevent in future any such accumulation of debt. Two days after, Manners Sutton moved for the appointment of a committee, to inquire what sums were due to the prince of Wales from the arrears of the revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall. The chancellor of the exchequer considered it as inconsistent with his duty to concur in this motion. As to the legal question, he did not pretend to decide upon it; but he thought the discussion ought not to be entertained in that house; not at least till it appeared in proof, that on application for redress, supposing the wrong to exist, relief could not be obtained elsewhere.

INCOME TAX REPEALED—FINANCES.

On the same day the chancellor of the exchequer gave notice of his intention to repeal the tax upon

income. He acknowledged the burden of it to be very grievous, though the necessities of the state had rendered its adoption necessary; but, as this impost was originally proposed as a war tax, it should cease with the occasion that had given it birth. On the fifth of April the plan of finance for the year was brought forward. The income-tax had been mortgaged by Pitt for the sum of fifty-six million four hundred and forty-five thousand pounds, three per cents, for which the present minister, in consequence of the repeal of the tax, was obliged to make provision. The loan for Great Britain he stated at twenty-three million pounds; the capital in the different funds, created by the conversion of eight million five hundred thousand pounds of exchequer bills into stock, previously to the Christmas recess, was eleven millions two hundred and thirty-eight thousand and sixty-two pounds, and the aggregate sum appeared to be no less than ninety-seven million nine hundred and thirty-four thousand one hundred and thirty-seven pounds, the interest of which was stated at three million one hundred and sixty-two thousand pounds. To defray this enormous demand, very heavy additional duties were imposed on beer, malt, and hops. A considerable increase was also made to the assessed taxes; and the last article to which ministers had recourse at this crisis was a tax on imports and exports, being a modification of the convoy duty. The produce of the new duties combined he estimated at four million pounds, an excess which compensated, for the deficiency of divers of the taxes imposed in the course of the war. In the progress of the business of the revenue, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed and carried into effect several important alterations in the sinking fund bills of Pitt. The last, or new fund, provided for liquidating the debt contracted since the year 1786, was much larger than the original fund established for the liquidation of the old debt. These two funds he proposed to consolidate, and to perpetuate, till the whole of the debt, both old and new, should be completely liquidated. The original fund had now arisen to two million five hundred and thirty-four thousand one hundred and eighty-seven pounds, and the new to three million two hundred and seventy-five thousand one hundred and forty-three pounds, making together five million eight hundred and nine thousand three hundred and thirty pounds. The debt contracted previously to the year 1786 amounted to something more than two hundred and fifty-nine million pounds, and the new debt amounted to nearly three hundred million pounds; something less than forty-million pounds having been redeemed by the old, and upwards of twenty million pounds by the operation of the new fund. The whole of the existing funded debt, including the loan of the present year, was consequently about five hundred and forty million pounds, and the interest amounted annually to the vast sum of upwards of seventeen million pounds.

ABBOT ELECTED SPEAKER—DEBATE ON THE PEACE—MILITIA—VACCINATION.

SIR JOHN MITFORD, the speaker of the English house of commons, having vacated his chair by accepting the office of lord chancellor of Ireland, in the room of lord Clare, deceased, with the title of lord Redesdale, the speaker's chair was conferred on Charles Abbot, esq. a lawyer of eminence and activity in business, and who had the merit of possessing an intimate acquaintance with the forms and usages of the house.

On the thirteenth of May the grand debate relative to the definitive treaty of peace came on in both houses of parliament, when it was attacked and defended with more than ordinary ability. In respect to Malta, lord Grenville observed, that few things could be more absurd than to place that island under the guarantee of six powers, who could not be expected to agree on any one point relating to it; and as to restoring it to the order of St. John, that was still more absurd; for how could it be said that such an order was in existence, when almost all their funds had been confiscated? Of the revenues which supported the order, France, at the time of the suppression of the French langue, had confiscated fifty-eight thousand pounds annually, Spain twenty-seven thousand pounds, and of their former income of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, only twenty-seven thousand pounds was

now left,—a revenue evidently insufficient to keep up the fortifications, or maintain the security of the island. The order of Malta was therefore extinct as a power, and must necessarily come under the influence and into the pay of France. In adverting to other points of the treaty, he observed, that our sovereignty in India had not been recognised, while the Cape of Good Hope, a station of the first importance to that sovereignty, had been ceded. In the Mediterranean, where our naval superiority was most important, we had disposed of ourselves not only of Malta, but of Minorca, and even of the isle of Ibiza, which France wanted, merely to exclude us from the port of Leghorn. He concluded a most severe and elaborate investigation of the terms of the treaty, by moving an address to his majesty, acknowledging his prerogative to make peace and war, but declaring it impossible for the house to see without alarm the circumstances that had attended the conclusion of the present treaty, by which sacrifices had been made on the part of this country, without any corresponding concessions on that of France; that in the moment of peace France had exhibited inadmissible proofs of the most ambitious projects; that these considerations imposed on government the necessity of adopting measures of precaution; and that, whilst that house relied on his majesty's wisdom to be watchful of the power of France, they thought it necessary to assure him of their ready and firm support in resisting every encroachment on the rights of the British empire. The treaty was censured also by the duke of Richmond, earl Darnley, and lord Caermarvon; and defended by lords Auckland, Pelham, and Hobart, the lord chancellor, and the earls of Westmoreland and Roselyn. The motion of lord Grenville was at length negatived.

The terms of the definitive treaty underwent a discussion equally animated in the house of commons. Windham attacked the stipulations of the treaty in all their parts, concluding by moving an address similar to that proposed in the house of peers by lord Grenville. The debate was prolonged to a very late hour, in the course of which Sheridan remarked that the discussion of the necessary, though disgraceful treaty of peace, furnished the best defence of the conduct of those who had uniformly opposed the war. For his part he supported the peace, because he supposed it the best that ministers could obtain. Their predecessors had left them to choose between an expensive, bloody, fruitless war, and a hollow perfidious peace. The late minister told us that the example of a jacobin government in Europe, founded on the ruins of a holy altar, and the tomb of a martyred monarch, was a spectacle so dreadful and infectious to Christendom, that we could never be safe while it existed, and it was our duty to put forth our last effort for its destruction. For these fine words, which had at last given way to *security* and *indemnity*, we had sacrificed nearly two hundred thousand lives, and expended three hundred million pounds of money—and had gained Ceylon and Trinidad, which might henceforth be named the Indemnity and Security Islands. He admitted the splendid talents of the late minister, but he had misapplied them in the government of this country. The house at length divided against Windham's address by an immense majority.

An important act was passed for consolidating the existing militia laws, and for augmenting that force to seventy thousand men, the proportion for Scotland being fixed at ten thousand. The sum of ten thousand five hundred pounds was voted to Dr. Edward Jenner, for the promulgation of his invaluable discovery of the system of vaccine inoculation, by which it was hoped ultimately to exterminate the small-pox. A reward of twelve hundred pounds was also voted to Henry Gresham, for the invention of the life-boat; and five thousand pounds to Dr. James Carmichael Smith, for his discovery of the nitrous fumatign, for preventing the progress of contagious disorders. On the twenty-ninth of June parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

EXPEDITION TO ST. DOMINGO—MUTINY IN BANTRY BAY.

THE French government determined to attempt the recovery of their colonies of St. Domingo and Guadeloupe from the armed negroes by whom they

were at present held. For this purpose, a strong military and naval force had been for some time preparing at the ports of Brest, Rochefort, and L'Orient, and the British ministry consented to the sailing of the armament before the conclusion of the definitive treaty, on receiving Buonaparte's express assurances that its purpose was to take possession of the colonies, and suppress the insurrection. He sought to quell the revolutionary spirit which his democratic predecessors had propagated in that quarter, and which had animated the negroes of St. Domingo under Toussaint L'Ouverture, and those of Guadalupe under Pelagie, to assert and vindicate their claims to liberty and equality, as members of the indivisible French republic. He was desirous to put an end to a state of anarchy, which was pregnant with the most appalling dangers, not only to the French colonists, but to those of every other European power; and the fleet, consisting of eighteen French and five Spanish ships of the line, having on board twenty-five thousand troops, under general Le Clerc, put to sea on the fourteenth of December. Admiral Mitchell, who was then stationed at Bantrey Bay, with seven sail of the line, was ordered to follow them, and observe their motions; but, on learning whither they were destined, a mutiny broke out in some of the vessels, which however, was soon suppressed, and the squadron proceeded to the West Indies, to reinforce the protecting fleets on that station. Fourteen of the ringleaders were capitally condemned and executed.

AFFAIRS OF SWITZERLAND—MALTESE PROPERTY IN SPAIN SEIZED.

In Switzerland a new constitution was accepted by one party and resisted by the other, and bloodshed having ensued, the Helvetic government was induced to solicit the mediation of France; when Buonaparte, availing himself of so plausible a pretext, sent an army into the country, and issued an arrogant proclamation, commanding the senate to assemble at Berne, and to send deputies to Paris; ordering at the same time all authorities constituted since the commencement of the troubles to cease to act, and all armed bodies to disperse. The diet of Schwytz, however, as the supreme representative body of the Swiss union, remained at their post, hoping for the interference of foreign powers; but Great Britain alone manifested an interest in their behalf. An English resident was sent to Constance, empowered to promise pecuniary assistance if the people were determined to defend their country; but the approach of the French troops had compelled the diet to dissolve; Aloys Reding, and other patriots, were arrested and imprisoned; and the independence of Switzerland, which had been guaranteed in the treaty of Lutryville, was annihilated by the power whose mediation she had solicited. In September Piedmont was formally annexed to France, and Turin, its capital, was degraded into a provincial city of the republic. In October the king of Spain annexed to the royal domains all the property of the knights of Malta in his dominions, and declared himself grand master of the order in Spain. This step was supposed to have been taken at the suggestion of the French government. Thus the order of St. John was diminished by the suppression of three langues, those of Arragon, Castile, and Navarre; and thus was the treaty of Amiens vitiated, because that order was now no longer the same body to whom the island of Malta was to be ceded in full authority.

BUONAPARTE FIRST CONSUL FOR LIFE—NEW FRENCH CONSTITUTION—LEGION OF HONOUR—WEST INDIES.

Buonaparte, anxious to strengthen his power at home, caused a proposal to be made in the conservative senate that he should be declared first consul for life; the question was referred to the people, and carried by an immense majority. A second question, whether he should have the power of appointing his successor, was decided in the affirmative, and he was now an hereditary monarch in every thing but the name. He imposed a new constitution on France, by which he invested himself with the right of making war or peace; of ratifying treaties; of pardoning in all cases; of presenting the names of the other two consuls to the senate; of nominating all inferior officers: of appointing, by his

own authority, forty of the one hundred and twenty members composing the senate; and of proscribing to that body the subjects on which alone it was competent to deliberate. The other departments of the state were equally subservient to his will; so that, having utterly destroyed the liberty of the press, he might be said to govern the republic by means of an enormous standing army, and a numerous inquisitorial police. Aware that to the former he was indebted for his present elevation, he had for some time contemplated the formation of a military order of nobility, under the designation of the Legion of Honour, and the legislature decreed its establishment. The legion was to be composed of fifteen cohorts, and a council of administration; each cohort to consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries; the first consul always to be the chief, and the members to be appointed for life, each with proportionate salaries. Joseph Buonaparte, the brother of the first consul, was elected grand master.

In the West Indies Buonaparte recovered Guadalupe, after a sanguinary resistance, and had at first met with some success in St. Domingo, Toussaint L'Ouverture having been induced to submit under promise of pardon: scarcely, however, had he signed the capitulation, when, on a vague and improbable charge of conspiring against the French government, he was seized in the midst of his family, and with them immediately sent to France. On his arrival he was, without trial or examination, thrown into prison, where in the following year he died, and it has been asserted that he was privately put to death by order of the first consul. On the seizure of Toussaint, the negro generals Dessalines and Christophe, who had also surrendered, justly fearing the fate of their unfortunate colleague, saved themselves by flight; the insurgents again every where assembled; the climate effectually aided their efforts, and general Le Clerc himself at length fell a victim to its malignity. General Rochambeau succeeded to the command early in November, when a furious and bloody conflict recommenced; the negro generals recovered possession of the whole island excepting a few maritime towns, of which the French with extreme difficulty maintained possession; and a country of inestimable value, which, by measures of moderation and conciliation, might in all probability have been preserved to France, appeared irrecoverably lost. In Tobago, when intelligence arrived that the island was to be restored to France, the people of colour flew to arms, and determined to attack the British troops under brigadier-general Carmichael, who had under his command only two hundred men, but, having gained intelligence of the plot, he seized thirty of the ringleaders, and the French took possession of the island, in virtue of the treaty of Amiens. In Dominica a serious alarm was created by the mutiny of an entire regiment of blacks, who put to death captain Cameron and several other officers; but they were at length totally routed. Whilst these contests prevailed, the French legislative body abrogated the decree of the national convention, abolishing slavery, and the inhuman traffic was renewed with all the encouragement which it enjoyed under the old French government.

DESPARD'S CONSPIRACY.

In October of this year a treasonable plot was discovered, of which colonel Edward Marcus Despard, who had distinguished himself in the service of his country, was the head, and indeed the only individual of any consideration in the conspiracy. The object was the death of the king, and the subversion of the constitution; but the means by which these traitorous designs were to be effected were so little adapted to the magnitude of the enterprise, that it seemed scarcely possible that the design should have originated with any man in a sane state of mind. On the sixteenth of November the colonel and twenty-nine labouring men and soldiers were apprehended at the Oakley Arms in Lambeth; and on the seventh of February, 1803, the former was arraigned before a special commission for high treason. After a trial which lasted nearly eighteen hours, and in which very honourable testimony was given to the conduct of the colonel, while in the army, by Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clarke, and Sir Evan Nepean, he was found guilty, but earnestly recommended to mercy, on account of

the high testimonials to his character and eminent services. On the ninth the court proceeded to the trial of twelve other prisoners, and, after an investigation which continued till the following morning, the jury returned a verdict of guilty against nine; two were acquitted, and the charge against the other was abandoned. On the twenty-first colonel Despard and the six accomplices not recommended to mercy were executed with the usual forms in cases of high treason.

NEW PARLIAMENT.

On the twenty-third the new parliament was opened by a speech from the throne, in which the king observed that, in his intercourse with foreign powers, he had been actuated by a sincere desire for the maintenance of peace; but that it was nevertheless impossible to lose sight of that established and wise system of policy by which the interests of other states are connected with our own; and that he could not be indifferent to any material change in the relative condition and strength of those states. He expressed his conviction that parliament would concur in the opinion that it was necessary to adopt those means of security which were best calculated to afford the prospect of preserving the blessings of peace. The message conveyed in this intimation was soon afterwards confirmed by proposals for augmenting the naval and military force of the country. The attention of parliament until the Christmas recess was chiefly occupied by financial arrangements, and by a bill introduced into the house of peers by lord Pelham, for appointing commissioners to inquire into frauds and abuses existing in the naval departments.

SYMPTOMS OF HOSTILITY WITH FRANCE—BRITISH AMBASSADOR LEAVES PARIS.

THE extent of Buonaparte's authority at home only served to render him more impatient of contradiction abroad; and as he had succeeded in subduing all opposition in his own territories, he imagined that he could as easily silence the reproaches of foreign countries. Having brought his negotiations in Germany, consequent on the peace of Lunéville, to a successful termination, he had plundered at his pleasure the ecclesiastical princes of the empire, to indemnify those whose territories he had seized on the French side of the Rhine, and taken care amply to reward those wretched potentates who had displayed the most cowardly subserviency to his interests. Among these the petty sovereigns of Baden and Wirtemberg were raised by him to the dignity of electors, as preparatory to their subsequent elevation to the rank of kings. He had been equally successful in reviving the ancient jealousy between the Prussian monarch and the emperor of Germany; the former of whom was imprudently seduced by hopes of personal aggrandizement, to enlarge the influence and power of an implacable enemy, and thus prepared the way for his own destruction. In Italy, also, Buonaparte had assumed the sovereignty under the denomination of President of the Italian Republic; for such was the title now adopted by the Cisalpine republic. He had united the kingdom of Sardinia and the duchy of Parma to France; and he had taken effectual means for riveting the chains of Switzerland.

Little solicitous to afford proofs of a pacific disposition to the only enemy who had resisted him with effect, Buonaparte betrayed, in all his communications with the British cabinet, an overbearing and insupportable pride. First to Otto, and afterwards to his ambassador, general Andreossi, he sent instructions to complain of the freedom of Great Britain passed on his character and conduct; and those complaints were reiterated as well by Talleyrand, as by the first consul himself, to lord Whitworth, who, in November, 1802, repaired to Paris as ambassador to the French court. He could not be persuaded that the British government was unable to exercise over the press the same unlimited power, the same boundless tyranny, which he himself exercised over every public writer throughout his vast dominions. It was impossible to make him understand that, in England, the ministers were subject to the same legal restraints as the lowest subject of the realm; that they could proceed only according to the forms of law; and that, if what the law deemed a libel should be uttered or

written against the first potentate in Europe, he must, in order to punish the offender, have recourse to the same modes of proceeding which are prescribed to Englishmen themselves, under similar circumstances. In the autumn of 1802, he directed his agent, Otto, to prefer charges against certain English public writers; and against Peltier, who conducted a journal in the French language, entitled *L'Ambigu*. Although, as lord Hawkesbury had pertinently observed, in his instructions to Mr. Merry, who was then at Paris, the French press poured forth constant libels against the English government; libels, too, authorized by the French cabinet; although Rheinhardt, the Jacobin representative of Buonaparte at Hamburg, had violated the neutrality of the senate, and had compelled them to insert a most virulent attack upon the English government in the Hamburg paper; although Buonaparte himself had publicly uttered similar libels; and although, to use the words of lord Hawkesbury, it might, indeed, with truth be asserted, that the period which had elapsed since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, had been marked with one continued series of aggression, violence, and insult, on the part of the French government; so averse were the British ministers from any conduct which could have even a tendency to produce a renewal of hostilities between the two countries, that they instructed the attorney-general to file a criminal information against Peltier. The cause was tried on the twenty-first of February, 1803, and the defendant was convicted; but the renewal of hostilities was allowed to secure him from punishment. At the very time when this trial was pending, the difference between the two governments was such as to render hostilities unavoidable. At the latter end of February lord Whitworth had an interview with Buonaparte, in which the latter so far forgot himself as personally to insult the British ambassador, and to threaten his government in the presence of other diplomatic characters. On this occasion he openly avowed his ambitious designs, and clearly developed his views upon Egypt, whither he had despatched Schœnbrunn, a Corsican officer, in the ostensible character of a commercial agent, to seize every opportunity for promoting the French interest in the Levant; he boldly justified his unprincipled usurpations in Switzerland, Piedmont, and Italy; and peremptorily insisted on the immediate evacuation of Malta, as the *sine qua non* of continued peace. By the treaty of Amiens, the king had stipulated to restore the island within a given time to the order of St. John, under the express guarantee of its independence and neutrality by the principal powers of Europe. Circumstances, however, tending to destroy the independence of the order itself, by depriving it of a considerable portion of its revenue, had subsequently arisen, which rendered it highly imprudent to carry that article of the treaty into effect. Besides, the stipulation had been made with a reference to the relative situation of the contracting parties at the time of concluding the treaty. That situation had experienced a material change by the fresh acquisitions of territory which Buonaparte had afterwards made, and by the consequent addition of power which he had secured. His intentions, too, to dismember the Turkish empire, and to monopolize the commerce of the Levant, objects against which specific provisions were made in the treaty, were too notorious not to call for measures of adequate precaution on the part of Great Britain, whose ministers, indeed, were almost to blame for having carried a system of conciliation and concession to so great a length. At last the intility of every attempt to induce Buonaparte to listen to the claims of justice became so obvious, that the British ambassador received orders to return to England; and he accordingly left Paris on the twelfth of May, 1803.

GRANT TO THE PRINCE OF WALES—MESSAGE RESPECTING FRANCE—WAR.

ON a message from the king, recommending the embarrassed state of the prince of Wales to the consideration of parliament, a proposition was moved by Addington for granting to his royal highness, out of the consolidated fund, the annual sum of sixty thousand pounds, for three years and a half. This sum, though the prince expressed his gratitude for the liberality of parliament, was not suf-

scient to meet all his engagements, and Calcraft moved that he should be enabled immediately to resume his state and dignity; but it was rejected, and the original proposition passed unanimously.

On the eighth of March his majesty sent a message to parliament, announcing that very considerable military preparations were carrying on in the ports of France and Holland; and that he had therefore judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. It was added that, though the preparations referred to were avowedly directed to colonial service, yet, as discussions of great importance were then subsisting between his majesty and the French government, the result of which must be uncertain, it was necessary to make such provision as circumstances might require. An address was unanimously voted, and a resolution was afterwards passed for raising ten thousand additional seamen, including three thousand four hundred marines. A subsequent message to parliament announced the king's intention to call out the militia; and, after some succeeding weeks of suspense, it was stated in another, on the sixteenth of May, that the king had re-called his ambassadors from Paris; that the French minister had left London; and that his majesty had given directions for laying before the house of commons, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as would afford the fullest information at this important juncture. The message was taken into consideration in the house of lords on the twenty-third of May, when lord Pelham moved the address. The only question was, he observed, whether a distinct and legitimate ground of war was established by the correspondence now on the table. Without going minutely into these documents, he should briefly advert to the principal points in dispute between the two governments; and, first, with respect to Malta. It would be seen from the papers on the table that up to a given period his majesty's ministers had taken every step to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty relating to this island. It was about the twenty-seventh of January that the French government began to press, in a very peremptory manner for its evacuation; and it was about that period that ministers thought themselves bound to demand some satisfactory explanation of the pretensions advanced, and the views disclosed by the French government. Circumstances then existed which rendered it necessary to refer back to what had been the conduct of the First Consul from the period when the treaty was concluded; and in the course of this view the plain and intelligible inference was, that he had pursued one constant series of acts totally inconsistent with a sincere desire to preserve the peace of the two countries. The answers returned by ministers to the complaints of the French government regarding the liberty of the press, the residence of the Bourbons, and the countenance afforded by this country to French emigrants, would be found in the correspondence; and he entertained a confident expectation that their language on those subjects was of a nature to meet with universal support and approbation. They had shown, his lordship said, the utmost reluctance to resort to any measure which might hasten a renewal of hostilities; but the conduct of the French government could no longer be tolerated, consistently with the honour, dignity, and safety of this country. War, then, had become inevitable; and it was a war in which the national spirit ought to be exerted in every way which would demonstrate, to a proud and insolent foe, that, while the people of England were not anxious for an opportunity of taking offence, they were sensibly alive to the least imputation of dishonour, and determined on punishing insults with the most exemplary vengeance.

The existing administration, appeared at this time to be highly obnoxious to what was called the Grenville party, and Pitt and his friends began to manifest towards them unequivocal marks of coldness.

MILITARY PREPARATIONS—FINANCE.

PARLIAMENT was chiefly occupied by subjects of finance, and with devising the means of providing for the defence of the country against the threatened invasion. The first and most obvious measure was to render the militia, the constitutional defence of the country, as effective as possible, and a bill for that purpose was brought into the house of com-

mons, by the secretary at war, on the twentieth of May, which passed through its several stages without any material opposition. But the militia being considered inadequate to the defence of the realm, a message from the crown was sent to parliament on the eighteenth of June, stating that his majesty considered it important for the safety and defence of the nation that a large additional military force should be forthwith raised and assembled, and it was recommended to both houses to take such measures as should appear to be most effectual for accomplishing this purpose with the least possible delay. A bill was immediately brought into parliament for embodying a new species of militia, under the denomination of the army of reserve, to consist of fifty thousand men for England, and ten thousand for Ireland, to be raised by ballot, and consigned to the defence of the united kingdom: the officers to be appointed from the regular army and the half-pay list; all persons from the age of eighteen to forty-five to be liable to serve, with the exception of those who were exempt from the militia ballot, and such volunteers as were enrolled previously to the date of the last message of his majesty: all poor persons having more than one child under ten years of age were also exempt: the persons composing this force to be allowed to volunteer into the regular army. On the sixth of July this bill obtained the royal assent. But these measures of defence, however important, were only the precursors of one of the most gigantic magnitude, being no less than arming and training the whole effective male population of Great Britain. This project was presented to the consideration of parliament on the eighteenth of July, and passed into a law, by receiving the royal assent on the twenty-seventh of the same month. This general enrolment, denominated the *levy en masse*, was divided into four different classes: the first comprehended all unmarried men between the ages of seventeen and thirty; the second, unmarried men between thirty and fifty; the third, all married men between seventeen and thirty, not having more than two children under ten years of age; and the fourth, all under the age of fifty-five, not comprised in the other descriptions. The different classes, who were to be trained and taught the use of arms in their respective parishes, were, in case of actual invasion, liable to be called out by his majesty, in the orders specified, to co-operate with the regular army in any part of the kingdom, and to remain embodied until the enemy should be exterminated or driven into the sea.

On the thirteenth of June the chancellor of the exchequer proposed to raise, by an increase of the customs' duties on sugar, exports, cotton, and tonnage, about two million pounds annually; and by new duties on the excise of tea, wine, spirits, and malt, six million pounds more. He then presented a plan of a tax on income, imposing a duty on land of one shilling in the pound, to be paid by the landlord, and ninepence in the pound to be paid by the tenant, together with a tax of one shilling in the pound on all other species of income from one hundred and fifty pounds upwards. The net produce of this revived property tax was calculated at four million seven hundred thousand pounds, and the whole product of the war taxes at twelve million seven hundred thousand pounds annually, to expire six months after the return of peace. In addition to these grants the other taxes were continued, and the whole of the supplies voted by parliament for the service of the year 1803 amounted to upwards of forty-one million pounds.

VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATIONS—PREPARATIONS FOR INVASION BY FRANCE.

At this time the preparations for invading Britain, made by France, called forth a simultaneous burst of loyalty and patriotism from all classes; and in a very brief interval upwards of four hundred thousand men in arms appeared ready to defend their native coasts. So numerous, indeed, were these voluntary armed associations, that it rendered the act for raising the *levy en masse* perfectly superfluous. Buonaparte viewed with astonishment this extraordinary display of national energy; and though his preparations for invasion were continued, the intention of carrying them into effect is thought to have been secretly abandoned. In addition to the grand fleet at Brest, which was supposed to be destined for the invasion of Ireland, an

immense number of transports and gun-boats had been ordered to be built, with the greatest expedition, in the French ports, under the idea that some thousands of them might force their way across the channel, in spite of the British navy; and, in the course of the year, a sufficient flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, to carry over any army that France might think proper to employ in this desperate enterprise.

ACT FOR RELIEF OF CATHOLICS—ATTEMPT TO KILL MADE CAPITAL—VOTE OF THANKS TO VOLUNTEERS—PRINCE OF WALES REFUSED MILITARY PROMOTION.

IN the course of the session just terminated an act was passed to relieve the Roman Catholics from certain penalties and disabilities to which they were before subject, on subscribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the thirty-first of the reign of his present majesty. An important addition was also made to the criminal law of the country: by an act introduced into the house of lords by lord Ellenborough, and on that account called the Ellenborough Act, any person guilty of maliciously shooting, cutting, or stabbing, with an intent to commit murder, although death should not ensue, was made subject to the punishment of death. The same penalty was also attached to all attempts to discharge loaded fire-arms with an intent to kill or wound.

In the house of commons, Windham had taken occasion to express himself in terms of great asperity and contempt towards the volunteer corps of the country, whom he termed the "depositories of panic." To obviate any supposition that these sentiments were generally concurred in, Sheridan, on the tenth of August, moved the thanks of the house to the volunteer and yeomanry corps of Great Britain, for the zeal and promptitude with which they had associated for the defence of the country. He also moved that returns of the different volunteer corps be laid before the house, in order that they might be handed down to posterity, by being entered on the journals. Both these motions were agreed to unanimously; and on the twelfth of August this session was closed by a speech from the throne, on which occasion his majesty expressed his satisfaction at the energy and promptitude which had been displayed in providing for the defence of the country, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war; assuring the house at the same time, that as strict a regard would be paid to economy in the public expenditure as was consistent with the exertions necessary to frustrate the designs of the enemy.—At this interesting period the prince of Wales addressed a letter to the prime minister, urging upon him the propriety of investing him with an efficient military rank, and of placing him in a situation where his example might contribute to excite the loyal energies of the nation. In reply to repeated applications on this subject, his royal highness was informed, that should the enemy so far succeed as to effect a landing, he would have an opportunity of showing his zeal at the head of his regiment; but, upon public grounds, his majesty could never permit the prince of Wales to consider the army as a profession, or to allow of his being promoted in the service.

REBELLION IN IRELAND—MURDER OF LORD KILWARDEN.

IRELAND once more became the theatre of rebellion, the instigators of which were a bad set of political enthusiasts whose director and principal mover was Robert Emmett, a young man of specious and promising talents, the brother of Thomas Edlin Emmett, who took a prominent part in the rebellion of 1798. He had been so unguarded in his conduct, while the late disturbances existed, as to become an object of the vigilance of government, and had found it prudent to reside abroad so long as the habeas corpus act was suspended; but on the removal of that obstacle he returned to Ireland, and arrived there in December, 1802. The death of Dr. Emmett, his father, one of the state physicians in Dublin, had placed the sum of two thousand pounds at his disposal; and with this exchequer he proposed to himself the subversion of the govern-

ment of Ireland. Though the persons immediately connected with Emmett, Russell, Dowdall, and Coigley, the principals in the plot, did not exceed one hundred, yet these infatuated men were so sanguine as to suppose that the spirit of rebellion would, at their bidding, pervade the whole kingdom; and the usual intimation, the stoppage of the mail coaches, was to be the signal of revolt in the country, while the first object of the insurgents in the metropolis was to secure the seat of government, and the principal persons engaged in its administration. For some days previous to the fatal explosion, information had been conveyed to government of threatening assemblages of the people; and other indications tended to awaken a suspicion that a rising, as it was termed, was in agitation. On Saturday the twenty-third of July, towards evening, the populace began to assemble in vast numbers in St. James's street and its neighbourhood, without having any visible arrangement or discipline. To arm the body thus collected, pikes were deliberately placed along the sides of the streets, for the accommodation of all who might choose to equip themselves. About nine o'clock the concerted signal that all was in readiness was given by a number of men riding furiously through the principal streets; but general alarm was not excited until Clarke, the proprietor of a considerable manufactory in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and who had that afternoon expressed government of the intention of the insurgents was shot at and dangerously wounded. About this period a small piece of ordnance which had been in readiness for the purpose, was discharged, and a sky rocket let off at the same moment, so as to be observed throughout the whole city. Emmett, at the head of his chosen band, now sallied forth from the obscurity of his head quarters in Marshalsea lane, and excited his followers to action. Before they had reached the end of the lane in which they were assembled, one of the party discharged his blunderbuss at colonel Browne, who was passing along the street, when the ball unhappily took effect. From this period, it is remarkable that nothing more is heard of Emmett, or any of his brother conspirators till we find them beneath the power of the offended laws.

The dreadful assassination of the chief justice of Ireland, Lord Viscount Kilwarden, was the most important and lamented event of this rash and criminal commotion. This unfortunate nobleman had, on the day of the insurrection, retired to his country seat, near four miles from Dublin, as was his custom after having passed the week in fulfilling the duties of his exalted situation. On the first intimation of the circumstances which denoted disturbance being conveyed to him, his lordship, who ever since the period of the outrages in 1798, had been in perpetual apprehension of being surprised and assassinated by rebels, ordered out his carriage, and taking with him his daughter and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, set off instantly for Dublin. Unfortunately the carriage appeared in Thomas street immediately after the opening of the depot, and was surrounded by a mob of armed persons. His lordship announced his name, and earnestly prayed for mercy, but in vain. Both he and his nephew fell to the ground, pierced with innumerable wounds; but the lady was permitted to pass through the whole rebel column to the castle without molestation. About half-past ten o'clock the rebels were in their turn attacked, and their mighty projects were all discomfited, in less than an hour, by about one hundred and twenty soldiers.

MARTIAL LAW—EMMETT AND OTHERS EXECUTED.

THE privy council issued a proclamation, calling on the magistrates to unite their exertions with those of the military power, and offering a reward of one thousand pounds for the discovery and detection of the miscreants who murdered Lord Kilwarden. A reward was also offered to those who should discover the murderer of Col. Browne; and a notice was issued by the lord mayor, requiring all the inhabitants of Dublin, except yeomen, to keep within doors after eight in the evening.—At the same time, bills for suspending the habeas corpus act, and for placing Ireland under martial law, were passed with uncommon rapidity through their different stages, in the parliament of the

united kingdom. Arrangements were also made for sending large bodies of troops from England, and every measure which prudence could suggest was immediately adopted, for the preservation of the public tranquillity. On this occasion, the Roman Catholics, with Lord Fingal at their head, came forward in the most loyal and patriotic manner, and, after expressing their utmost abhorrence of the enormities committed on the twenty-third of July, made an offer to government of their assistance and co-operation. By these and similar exertions the flame of rebellion was completely extinguished.

A special commission being issued for the trial of the rebels, Edward Kearney, a calenderer, and Thomas Maxwell Roche, an old man nearly seventy years of age, were executed in Thomas Street, the focus of the insurrection, and several others experienced a similar fate; but the most important of these judicial proceedings was the trial of Robert Emmett, Esq. who was arraigned on the nineteenth of September, and found guilty on the clearest evidence. On the following day this misguided young man, only in the twenty-fourth year of his age, was executed on a temporary gallows in Thomas Street. In the ensuing month Thomas Russell also expiated his offences under the hands of the executioner. Colclay and Stafford were arraigned on the twenty-ninth of October; but, in consideration of their having made a full disclosure of all the circumstances connected with the conspiracy, no further proceedings were had against them, or any of the remaining prisoners.

CAPTURE OF ST. LUCIA, &c.—FRENCH DRIVEN FROM ST. DOMINGO.

AN expedition despatched from Barbadoes on the twentieth of June, under Lieutenant-general Grinstead and commodore Hood, captured the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago; and in September the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, also surrendered. The islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon likewise contributed to swell the conquests of Britain; and to these successes may be added that of compelling the French to abandon the valuable colony of St. Domingo. The war with the insurgent negroes had been attended with horrid cruelties on both sides; but so long as the French fleet was master of the sea, their posts on the coasts were effectually defended: on the rupture with England, however, they were reduced to great difficulties; several places successively fell into the hands of the insurgents; and Fort Dauphin was taken by the English. The Cape was soon afterwards completely invested by Dessalines, with whom Rochambeau at length entered into a negotiation, proposing to give up the place on being allowed to carry off the garrison. At this juncture the blockading squadron entered the roads, and a capitulation was signed, by which all the ships of war and merchant vessels belonging to France were to be surrendered to the British, who were to receive the garrison as prisoners of war. Thus the French lost all their possessions in the island, except the city of St. Domingo, the capital of that part which formerly belonged to Spain; and the negro chieftains issued a proclamation, declaring the island free and independent.

MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE—INVASION OF HANOVER.

IN Europe the French armies were immediately put in motion, and the consular government, anxious to justify their conduct to the French nation and to Europe, published a declaration, dated the twelfth of May, on the causes which led to the renewal of the war with Great Britain. Orders were issued to increase the forces of the republic to four hundred and eighty thousand men; the army of Italy was considerably augmented; and large detachments were pushed forward upon Tarentum, and on all the strong posts in the kingdom of Naples which lay on the Adriatic. During the protracted negotiations reinforcements were ordered into Holland, and a powerful army was collected on the frontiers of Hanover. On the twenty-fifth of May, general Mortier summoned the electorate to surrender to the republican army, Buonaparte formally professing that he should occupy that country merely as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, and that this violation of the constitution of the

Germanic empire was only for the purpose of compelling the king of England to maintain the peace of Amiens. Although it was impossible that the electorate could oppose any effectual stand against the power of France, the duke of Cambridge was sent over from England as commander-in-chief in that country, and proclamations were issued, calling upon all the inhabitants capable of bearing arms to rally round their standard. At the latter end of May, however, a body of ten thousand French troops passed the river Rine at Mippen, and entered the principality of Osnaburg, which had been previously evacuated. General Walmoden, to whom the command of the Hanoverian troops was intrusted, having collected an army of eighteen thousand men, determined to make a stand, first on the Hunte, and afterwards on the Weser; but at the moment when general Mortier had advanced into the vicinity of Nienburg, a deputation arrived from the civil and military authorities of Hanover, entreating him to suspend his march; to which he consented, on condition that the invaders should be put in possession of all the fortresses in the electorate, and that the Hanoverian army should engage not to serve against France or her allies during the war, or until regularly exchanged. On the fifth of June the French took possession of the city of Hanover, where they found a prodigious quantity of artillery and ammunition. Besides the absolute value of the electorate as a conquest, which enabled the enemy to remount their cavalry and recruit their finances, they were now masters of the navigation of the Elbe and the Weser, and, being in the immediate neighbourhood of the commercial Hanse towns of Hamburg and Bremen, were enabled to levy considerable sums of money on those opulent cities, under the shape of loans. In consequence of these events, the British government blocked the mouths of the Elbe and Weser, which was in some degree a retaliation on Germany for permitting the violation of its territory. This measure occasioned such distress to Hamburg and Bremen, that they appealed to the king of Prussia, as protector of the neutrality of the northern part of the empire; but he declined to interfere, and the French were thus left to pursue their exactions with impunity.

WAR WITH HOLLAND—BUONAPARTE'S EX-ACTIONS—BRITISH TRAVELLERS IN FRANCE MADE PRISONERS OF WAR.

CONTRARY to her wishes and her interests, Holland was compelled to take part with France. On the seventeenth of June it was announced to parliament that the king had communicated to the Batavian government his disposition to respect their neutrality, provided the French government would do the same; but as this had not been complied with, and their forces still occupied the Dutch territory, he had judged it expedient to recall his minister from the Hague, and to issue letters of marque and reprisal against the Batavian republic. Buonaparte also compelled the Italian republic to take part in the war; and he drew pecuniary assistance from Spain and Portugal in so open a manner, that it rested entirely with the generosity of Great Britain whether they should not be considered as involved in direct acts of hostility. The supplies to his treasury derived from these sources were augmented by the sale of Louisiana to the United States for three million dollars. Early in the year he made a singular overture to Louis the XVIIIth at Warsaw, for the resignation of that monarch's claim to the throne of France; which was met by a most decided refusal.

After the declaration of war by England, a step which had never before been resorted to among civilized nations, and which must always be regarded as an act of atrocious barbarity and injustice, savouring more of malice than mere political hostility, was taken by the French government. It appeared from an article published in the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the French government, that two English frigates had captured two merchant vessels in the Bay of Audierne, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifest violation of the law of nations; in consequence of which, a decree, signed by the First Consul, was issued, directing that all the English, from the age of eighteen to sixty, or persons holding any commissions from his Britannic majesty, then in France, should

immediately be considered prisoners of war, to answer for those citizens of the republic who had been arrested and made prisoners by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic majesty, previously to any declaration of war. In virtue of this decree, all the nobility, commercial travellers, and others, subjects of the king of England, who had incautiously put themselves within the reach of Buonaparte in France, or were engaged in travelling through any of those countries occupied by the French armies, were either shut up in prisons, or confined to particular limits as prisoners of war upon their parole; which violation of the law of nations, and of neutral hospitality, was further aggravated by a perfidious promise previously made to the English visitors, that they should enjoy the protection of the govern-

ment, after the departure of the British ambassador, as extensively as during his residence at Paris.

The naval campaign of the present year, in Europe, was not particularly distinguished. On the fourteenth of September, however, the port and town of Granville were successively attacked by Sir James Saumarez; on which occasion the pier was demolished, and a number of vessels, intended for the invasion of England, destroyed. On the same day the town and fort of Dieppe were bombarded by captain Owen, in the *Immortalité* frigate, with the *Thetis* and *Sulphur* bombs. The Dutch ports, from the Zandvoort, in the vicinity of Haarlem, to Scheveningen, were also severely bombarded on the twenty-eighth of September, and many vessels destroyed.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Meeting of Parliament—Speech and Address—Martial Law in Ireland—Indisposition of the King—Extension of Irish Militia Service—Motions for Investigation into the Naval and Military Forces—Formidable opposition to Ministers—Finance—Change of Administration—Slave Trade—Additional Force Act—Corn Bill—Civil List Augmentation—India Budget—Parliament prorogued—War in India—Loss and Recapture of Ceylon—Capture of Surinam—Naval Operations—Attack on the Boulogne Flotilla—Failure of the Catamaran Project—Repulse of Admiral Lincolt—Rupture with Spain, and forcible defence of Treasure Ships—Murder of the Duke D'Enghien—Complaints against British Envoys—Seizure of Sir George Rumbold—Bonaparte elected Emperor of the French—The Emperor of Germany declared Emperor of Austria—Dispute between France and Russia—Preparations for hostilities—Convention between France and Genoa.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—MARTIAL LAW IN IRELAND.

PARLIAMENT assembled on the twenty-second of November, 1803; when his majesty, after alluding to the measures adopted for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and adverting to the successes in the West Indies, and the suppression of the Irish rebellion, stated that a convention had been concluded with the king of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting the differences which had arisen with that power. In reference to the threat of invasion, the king declared that, as he and his people were embarked in one common cause, it was his fixed determination, if occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in defence of the constitution, religion, laws, and independence of the kingdom. The usual addresses were agreed to without opposition. In the commons it was stated by the chancellor of the exchequer, in reply to some observations from Fox, that the offices of mediation offered by the court of Russia had been accepted with readiness and gratitude on the part of his majesty's servants: but, although discussions of the greatest moment were commenced in consequence, yet they had not assumed such a shape as to lead to any probability of an amicable arrangement with France.

Secretary Yorke brought in a bill to continue two acts; the one for suspending the habeas corpus act in Ireland, and the other for the re-enactment of martial law in that country. This measure, though it excited much discussion, was carried through both houses without producing a single division.—The debate which arose on the ninth of December, on the motion of the secretary at war, to refer the army estimates to a committee of supply, embraced an extensive view of the general defence of the country. The regular force proposed to be voted for the public service amounted to one hundred and sixty-seven thousand men; the embodied militia of Great Britain and Ireland to one hundred and ten thousand; and the volunteer corps to upwards of four hundred thousand rank and file in the united kingdom. For the volunteer force of the country, of which about forty-five thousand served without pay, it was proposed to vote the sum of seven hundred and thirty thousand pounds for one year. On this occasion Windham inveighed with great acrimony against the military system adopted by ministers; and pointed out the inferiority of volunteer associations and bodies of reserve to a regular army of genuine soldiers, disciplined for offensive as well as defensive warfare. Pitt, in a very spirited and argumentative manner, defended the system; but he was desirous that all the volunteer companies should be brought to act in battalions, and, whenever it could be accomplished, in brigades: he proposed to give to every battalion the assistance of a field-officer and an adjutant; such officers still retaining their rank and pay in the army: and with respect to the number of days

for which the corps should be exercised, he was of opinion that about fifty would be sufficient for the next year, and forty for each succeeding one. The expense arising from the field-officers and adjutants he estimated at about one hundred and sixty thousand pounds; and that of the allowance to such volunteers as might, from their circumstances, be obliged to accept of pay, at between three and four hundred thousand pounds more, making an aggregate of about five hundred thousand pounds; and if, for that sum, a force of nearly four hundred thousand men could be maintained in gradual and efficient improvement, he affirmed that this would be the cheapest item in the whole of the public expenditure. As to the sea fencibles, he looked upon them as one of the most valuable parts of our force; and this description of service brought into activity a body of men, who, being chiefly pilots and fishermen, could neither be employed in the navy, nor permanently taken from their families.

Lord Castlereagh also made an animated reply to the objections urged by Windham against the army of reserve and the volunteer system. Out of the thirty-five thousand already raised for the army of reserve, seven thousand five hundred, he said, had entered for general service. The military force of the united kingdom was naturally divided into troops on permanent pay, and those liable to service in the event of invasion. Of the first description, there were in Great Britain, and in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, one hundred and thirty thousand men; and in Ireland fifty thousand. The effective rank and file of the militia in Great Britain and Ireland amounted to eighty-four thousand men; the regular force to ninety-six thousand, of which twenty-seven thousand were for limited service, and sixty-nine thousand disposable for general service. The next grand feature of our military strength consisted in the volunteer force, of which three hundred and forty thousand men, accepted and arrayed, were at present in Great Britain; and in Ireland it amounted to seventy thousand; to which were to be added twenty-five thousand sea fencibles. The total amount of the whole military force at this crisis stood, therefore, at six hundred and fifteen thousand rank and file; and if, to this number officers of every description were added, the whole amount would not be less than seven hundred thousand men. The number of ships of war amounted to four hundred and sixty-nine; and, in aid of the regular navy, and for the purpose of defending the coast, an armed flotilla, consisting of eight hundred craft of all descriptions, was nearly completed. Since the commencement of hostilities there had been issued three hundred and twelve thousand muskets, sixteen thousand pistols and seventy-seven thousand pikes. The field-train also, in Great Britain alone, was increased from three hundred and fifty-six to four hundred and sixty pieces of ordnance, completely appointed; and the stores had been nearly doubled.—Fox applauded the zeal and patriotism of the

volunteers; but he could never bring himself to believe that they were susceptible of any thing like the efficiency of a regular force. The chancellor of the exchequer, on the other hand, stated that lord Melville, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and lord Oathurst, the commander in Ireland, were so highly satisfied with the steadiness and discipline of the volunteers of Edinburgh and of Dublin, that they had given them an unconditional assurance that they would conduct them with confidence against an invading host.

INDISPOSITION OF THE KING—OPPOSITION TO MINISTERS—CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION.

1804.—On the 14th of February it was announced by an official bulletin that the king was much indisposed, and the public sympathy was excited by an apprehension of the return of the malady by which he had been formerly afflicted. The attack, however, was so slight, that there was no necessary suspension of the royal functions; and on the ninth of March all apprehension was dissipated by the assurance of the lord chancellor, that he had conceived it proper and necessary to have a personal interview with the sovereign, at which due discussion had taken place with respect to the bills submitted for the royal assent; and he had no hesitation to aver that the result of all that took place on that occasion fully justified him in announcing his majesty's assent to the bills specified in the royal commission.

A message from the king, on the twenty-sixth of March, announced a voluntary offer of the Irish militia to extend their services to Great Britain; and bills passed both houses to enable his majesty to accept the offer, and to raise ten thousand additional militia in Ireland.

A systematic attack on the ministry was at this time pursued by all the parties in opposition, through the medium of investigations on the military and naval affairs of the empire. This opposition was particularly displayed in the progress of the bill to consolidate and explain the laws relative to volunteers: the course of debate on this subject, however, was interrupted by a motion, of which Pitt had before given notice, on the naval defence of the country; a question which was expected more than any other to try the strength of ministry, and even to shake their power to its foundation. On the fifteenth of March, after expressing his expectation that part of the documents which it was his intension to call for would be granted by ministers without resistance, Pitt moved for an address, requesting that his majesty would order to be laid before parliament an account of the number of ships in commission on the thirty-first of December, 1793, on the thirtieth of September, 1801, and on the thirty-first of December, 1803, specifying the service in which they were respectively employed. He made his motion from a conviction, that, if the papers were granted, it would appear that our naval force was, at the present moment, much inferior, and less adequate to the exigency of the danger, than at any period in former times. If these documents were granted, his next motion would be for a copy of the contracts made, and the orders given, by the lords of the admiralty in 1793, 1797, and 1803, with respect to the number of gun-vessels to be built. The board of admiralty had considered gun-boats peculiarly serviceable for resisting invasion; yet, in the course of a year, they had built only twenty-three; while the enemy, in the same period, had constructed nearly one thousand. From the period when hostilities were renewed, our navy ought to have been increasing instead of diminishing; notwithstanding which, government had only contracted for the building of two ships of the line in the merchant yards, when it was well known that, during a war, the building of ships was always nearly suspended in the king's yards, which were then wanted for repairing the damages sustained in the service. It was also worthy of remark, that in the first year of the late war our naval establishment was increased from sixteen thousand to seventy-six thousand seamen; whereas, having begun the present war with an establishment of fifty thousand, we had augmented them in the course of the first year to only eighty-six thousand men.

Tierney, treasurer of the navy, objected strongly

to the production of the papers required, and was at a loss to conceive how the measure could, for a single instant, be entertained by the house, when no cause, no single fact, was brought forward to support it; when every possible energy pervaded that branch of the public service; when naval skill, vigilance, and activity, were displayed in every quarter; and when the best officers were employed in every direction with the highest honour to themselves, and the most decided advantage to their country. Sheridan delivered a warm eulogy on the character and conduct of earl St. Vincent, the first lord of the admiralty; whilst Fox and others, taking a different side, supported the motion for inquiry, declaring that it would terminate to the honour of the admiral. The debate was continued for several hours, when, on a division, the numbers were, for Pitt's motion, one hundred and thirty; against it, two hundred and one.

On the twenty-third of April, Fox moved for a committee to revise the several bills which had been proposed for the defence of the country, when Pitt again took a comprehensive view of its actual state. There was but one point on which he and Fox differed on this occasion; the power vested in the king by the constitution of calling out all the subjects of his realm to defend the country in case of invasion. Fox was, perhaps, the first statesman who ever ventured to question the royal prerogative in this particular; for nothing is more clearly laid down by our law writers than that the power of calling on every description of his subjects to repair to his standard, when the country is about to be invaded, is vested in the king. Pitt asserted and maintained this principle against Fox, but on all other points those rival statesmen agreed; and the result of this concurrence of sentiment was a strong division, in which the ministers had a majority of only fifty-two; two hundred and four having voted for the motion of Fox, and two hundred and fifty-six against it. Two days after this discussion another debate took place on the same subject, in consequence of a motion by secretary Yorke, for the house to resolve itself into a committee on a bill for the suspension of the army of reserve act. This motion was resisted by Pitt; and, on a division, there appeared, in support of the ministerial plan, two hundred and forty; against it, two hundred and three; leaving to ministers a majority of only thirty-seven. Addington then determined on retiring from administration, after he had adjusted the financial concerns of the year. The supplies were estimated at thirty-six million pounds for Great Britain alone; and the ways and means consisted of certain additions to the war taxes, a loan of ten million pounds, and a vote of credit of two million five hundred thousand pounds. On the twelfth of May it was announced that Addington had resigned the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and that Pitt was nominated his successor.

It was understood to be his wish to unite, in the public service, as large a portion as possible of the weight, talent, and character, to be found in public men. Whether he was sincere in his desire to secure the aid of lord Grenville and Mr. Fox may be doubted, because it has been said that he could bear "no rival near his throne," and that he preferred the aid of good second-rate men of business talent; but he certainly professed to wish for their co-operation, and the personal objection of the king to Fox appeared alone to prevent it: lord Grenville refused to come into office without him, but Pitt did not make it the ground of withholding his own services. Under the new arrangement the following members of Addington's administration retained their stations: the duke of Portland, president of the council; lord Eldon, chancellor; the earl of Westmoreland, lord privy seal; the earl of Chatham, master-general of the ordnance; and lord Castlereagh, president of the board of control. Lord Hawkesbury, passed from the office of foreign affairs to the home department. The new members were Pitt, first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty; lord Harrowby, secretary for foreign affairs; lord Camden, secretary for the department of war and colonies; and lord Mulgrave, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet. The government of Ireland remained unchanged, with the exception of Wickham, chief secretary, who was succeeded by Sir Evan Nepean,

The following new appointments took place in the subordinate offices of government: William Dundas, secretary at war; Canning, treasurer of the navy; George Rose and lord Charles Somerset, joint paymasters of the forces; the duke of Monmouth and lord Charles Spencer, joint paymasters-general; Huskisson and Sturges Bourne, secretaries to the treasury.

SLAVE TRADE—CORN BILL—CIVIL LIST—PROROGATION.

WILBERFORCE, on the thirtieth of May, pressed the consideration of the abolition of the African slave trade. After an animated debate, the motion, which was supported by Fox and Pitt, was carried by one hundred and twenty-four to forty-nine voices. A bill was consequently brought into parliament, limiting the latest period at which ships were to be allowed to clear out from an English port for this traffic to the first of October, 1804; and the third reading was carried, on the twenty-eighth of June, by sixty-nine against thirty-three. In the house of lords, however, the bill was rejected on the thirtieth of July, on the ground that the late period of the session would prevent the parties interested from attaining complete justice.

A plan for raising and supporting a permanent military force, and for the general reduction of the additional militia, was introduced into Parliament on the fifth of June, by Pitt, under the designation of the additional force act. This measure aimed at an establishment not merely to meet the present circumstances of the country, but to serve as an instrument for the immediate improvement of the existing system, and to supply a sufficient resource to the regular force, should an opportunity offer of employing our troops in foreign warfare. The bill was strenuously opposed by Windham, Fox, Addington, and others, but it was ultimately carried through the lower house by small ministerial majorities; there appearing, on the last division—for the bill, two hundred and sixty-five; against it, two hundred and thirty-three. In the upper house the measure was sanctioned by one hundred and fifty-four against sixty-nine.

On the twentieth of June the corn laws came under discussion. It has been maintained that the whole system is prejudicial to the public weal, and that these laws should be altogether repealed, leaving the trade free, and the prices to find their own level; but, in consequence of a report of the house of commons, it was deemed expedient to have recourse to new legislative regulations. From this report it appeared that the price of corn, from 1791 to 1803, had been irregular; but had, upon an average, yielded a fair price to the grower. The high prices had produced the effect of stimulating industry, and bringing into cultivation large tracts of waste land; which, combined with the two last productive seasons, had occasioned such a depreciation in the value of grain, as would, it was said, tend to the discouragement of agriculture, unless immediate relief were afforded; and for this purpose, although within the period of the last thirteen years, no less than thirty million pounds had been paid to foreign countries for supplies of grain. It was proposed to have recourse to a bounty upon exportation—a measure that had not been resorted to for nearly thirty years. With this view a bill was brought into parliament, allowing exportation when the price of wheat was at or below forty-eight shillings per quarter of eight Winchester bushels, and importation when the average price in the twelve maritime counties of England should exceed sixty-six shillings. The bill passed through the house of commons without any formidable opposition, but in the lords some few petitions were presented against it. Earl Stanhope called it "A Bill to starve the Poor," and moved that it be rejected. The measure, however, passed into a law.

The house of commons, on the second of July, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which several accounts relative to the augmentation of the civil list were referred: when the arrears thereof were found to amount to five hundred and ninety thousand pounds. This excess of expenditure, it was stated, had arisen from a variety of expenses incurred by services which could not be foreseen in the year 1802, when the house voted the discharge of arrears then due, amounting to about two hundred and thirty thousand pounds. With

respect to the future state of the civil list, it was proposed that several charges upon it should be annually discharged by parliament. These charges amounted to one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds, and related to fluctuating expenses: many of them arose from the war; others from increased law expenses. The house assented to the propositions of the chancellor of the exchequer almost without opposition.

Parliament was prorogued on the thirty-first of July, when the king expressed a hope that the exertions of this country might, by their influence on other nations, lead to the re-establishment of a system that would oppose an effectual barrier to those schemes of unbounded ambition which threatened to overwhelm the continent of Europe.

SUCCESSFUL WAR IN INDIA.

THE events of the war in the peninsula of Hindostan, must now be adverted to. The peishwa, or Mahratta sovereign of Poona, having been expelled from his dominions by Holkar in 1802, concluded a subsidiary treaty with the English company on the last day of the year; and to effect his restoration a detachment of troops was placed under the command of major-general Arthur Wellesley, afterwards duke of Wellington, who entered the Mahratta territories in March, 1803, and advanced rapidly to Poona, which was re-entered by its sovereign on the thirteenth of May. Scindia and the Rajah of Berar were in the mean time negotiating an alliance with Holkar, of which the governor-general, the marquis Wellesley, having obtained evidence, it was resolved to employ the whole military force to break so dangerous a confederacy.

General Wellesley, who was opposed to the two latter chieftains, marched against the fortress of Ahmednagar, which he reached on the twelfth of August, and then advanced to Aurangabad. On the twenty-third of September he gained a complete victory at Assaye over a greatly superior force: the Bombay army had also been successful in the Gusserrat, and gained possession of the territories of Scindia in that province. In September and October the town and province of Cuttack were wrested from the Rajah of Berar, by a force under lieutenant-colonel Harcourt; and in the north, general Lake, at the head of the Bengal army, reduced the strong fortress of Ally Ghur, after driving to a precipitate retreat the forces commanded by Perron, a French officer in the service of Scindia, who in consequence lost his reputation and influence in India. The British general then advanced towards the city of Delhi, and gave battle to the army of Scindia, commanded by Louis Bourquien, over which, after a severe conflict, he obtained a complete victory, and released the Mogul Emperor Shah Alam, who put himself under the protection of the English. General Lake next reduced the fort of Agra, and on the first of November defeated the remainder of Scindia's forces, at Laswaree. Meantime general Wellesley entirely defeated the Rajah of Berar on the twenty-eighth of November, in the plains of Argaum, which victory was followed by the capture of the strong fortress of Camil Ghur. These successes compelled the rajah to sue for peace; and a treaty was concluded on the seventeenth of December, by which he ceded the province of Cuttack, with some other territories, and engaged never to take into his service the subject of any state at war with the English. A treaty with Scindia also speedily followed, in which he agreed to cede all his forts, territories, and rights in the Douab, and in the districts northward of the dominions of the rajahs of Jeypoor and Jodpoor, together with Baroach in the Gusserrat, and Ahmednagar in the Deccan. Thus was the French interest in India annihilated, a powerful confederacy against the English dissolved, and the dominion of the company consolidated. The thanks of parliament were voted to his excellency, and to all who had shared in the dangers and glories of the contest; while the king conferred upon general Lake the title of lord Lake, and on general Wellesley the order of the Bath.

Goree, on the coast of Africa, was taken by a French force, under the command of chevalier Mahé, in January, and re-captured in March by a small expedition under captain Dickson. On the fifth of May the rich and important colony of Suzinam surrendered to major-general Sir Charles

Green; and, although the capture was an enterprise of considerable difficulty, this valuable acquisition was obtained with little loss.

ATTACK ON THE BOULOGNE FLOTILLA—FAILURE OF THE CATAMARAN PROJECT.

THE British naval operations of this year consisted almost entirely of exertions rigorously to enforce the system of blockade; and in attacks upon the enemy's boats, which either ventured out of the harbour of Boulogne, for the purposes of exercise or menace, or were proceeding from other ports to that depot; it was, however, impossible to obviate the effects of occasional rumours of invasion. In the month of August a general movement on the opposite coast exhibited every appearance of an approaching attack upon some part of the British empire; and at Boulogne, in particular, an extraordinary degree of activity prevailed. Of the various armed vessels collected in that immense depot, a greater number was brought out into the bay than on any former occasion. Disposed in hostile array, under the protection of their numerous batteries on shore, they were vigorously attacked by the British squadron upon that station: the firing was tremendous, and its duration favoured the belief that the long threatened invasion was at this time to be certainly attempted. Under the influence of this impression, the greatest exertions were made for the public safety; in the early part of September the alarm began to subside; but in the beginning of October, about one hundred and fifty of the enemy's vessels again ventured outside the pier. At this period ministers were induced to sanction a scheme which had been submitted to them by some American projector, and was principally to be carried into effect through the medium of copper vessels filled with combustibles, and so constructed as to explode in a given time, by means of clock-work. These vessels, called catamarans, were to be fastened to the bottom of the enemy's gun-boats by the aid of a small raft, rowed by one man, who, being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly, in a dark night, escape detection. Fire-ships of different constructions were also to be employed in the projected attack. The most active officers were distributed in different explosion vessels, and the whole was placed under the orders of admiral lord Keith, commanding in the Downs, with instructions to cover the smaller force by his powerful squadron. On the second of October his lordship, with a formidable fleet, anchored at about a league and a half from the north to the west of the port of Boulogne; and so strongly did ministers feel interested in the result, that Pitt, and several other members of the cabinet, were induced to witness the scene from Walmer Castle. At a quarter past nine at night, the first detachment of fire-ships was launched, but the vessels of the flotilla opened a passage as they approached, and so effectually avoided them, that they sailed to the rear of the enemy's line without doing any damage. At half-past ten the first explosion-ship blew up, but not the slightest mischief was done either to the ships or the batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth succeeded, but with no better effect: at length, after twelve of these ships had exploded, the engagement ceased about four o'clock in the morning, when the English smaller vessels withdrew, without the loss of a man. The enemy's loss, according to their own account, was twenty-five killed and wounded. Thus terminated the catamaran project, on which much time, expense, and ingenuity, had been fruitlessly bestowed.

REPULSE OF ADMIRAL LINOIS.

As soon as intelligence of the renewal of the war between Great Britain and France arrived in the East Indies, the French admiral, Linois, withdrew from the roads of Pondicherry, and for some time carried on a predatory warfare against the English in that part of the globe: he captured several East India ships, and, after making a successful descent on Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen), plundered that settlement. He next collected his force, consisting of the *Marango*, of eighty guns; the *Semillante* and *Bellepoule*, of forty; a cutter and brigantine, of eighteen; and a corvette, of twenty-eight guns; and stationed his squadron in the Indian sea, near the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, with the determination to cruise in that latitude till the arrival of

the homeward bound fleet from Canton. On the fifth of February this fleet, consisting of fifteen of the East India company's ships from China, twelve country ships, a Portuguese East Indiaman, and a brig, passed Macao roads, under the command of captain Dance, the senior officer, when the Portuguese vessel and one of the China ships parted company. On the fourteenth the squadron under admiral Linois was discovered by the India fleet, when the commodore instantly hoisted the signal for his fleet to form a line of battle in close order. At sunset the enemy was close upon the rear of the company's ships, but he desisted from any hostile operation during the night. At day-break on the fifteenth he was seen about three miles to windward, when the vessels under the command of captain Dance hoisted their colours and offered him battle. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the commodore, apprehensive that his rear might be cut off, made the signal to attack each of the hostile ships in succession, which was correctly performed. The *Royal George*, from her advanced situation, sustained the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit; the *Ganges* and *Karl Camden* both opened their fire as soon as their guns could take effect; but, before any other ship could get into action, the enemy stood away to the eastward, and captain Dance pursued them for two hours, when, fearing that a longer pursuit might endanger the property confided to his care, he anchored in a situation to proceed for the entrance of the straits on the following day. Thus did the gallantry of a fleet of British merchantmen put to flight a French admiral, commanding ships of war superior in force and in men, and preserve from capture a property estimated at one million five hundred thousand pounds. On the arrival of the fleet in England, rewards were distributed with a liberal hand, by the East India company, to the various commanders and their brave crews; and the wounded, as well as the representatives of the few who fell in the engagement, were munificently rewarded; while the sovereign conferred upon the commodore the honour of knighthood.

RUPTURE WITH SPAIN—DETENTION OF TREASURE SHIPS.

WHILE a negotiation was pending between the courts of Madrid and London, admiral Cochrane acquainted the admiralty that preparations on a large scale were making in the port of Ferrol, so that in a few days a formidable squadron would be ready for sea; and that he had no doubt but the Spanish government waited only for the arrival of a fleet of frigates, containing treasures from South America, to commence open hostilities. On receipt of this information, captain Moore, with four frigates under his command, was ordered to cruise off Cadix, for the purpose of detaining such Spanish ships of war, homeward bound, as contained bullion or treasure; and on the fifth of October he fell in with four large frigates, which, on finding themselves pursued, formed in line of battle, and continued to steer in for Cadix without regarding his summons to shorten sail. He fired a shot across the bows of the second, which had the desired effect of bringing them to a parley, when the Spanish commander was informed that captain Moore had orders to detain his squadron: that it was his wish to execute that duty without bloodshed, but the determination to surrender must be made instantly. The answer being unsatisfactory, a close battle ensued; in less than ten minutes the Spanish ship *La Mercedes* blew up, and the others struck in succession, after sustaining considerable loss. Except the second captain of the *Mercedes*, and forty-five men, who were picked up by the boats of the *Amphion*, all on board perished.

An affecting calamity attended the loss of this vessel. A gentleman of rank, who was going to Spain in that ship with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters and five sons, had passed with one of the latter on board another frigate before the action commenced, and they had there the horror of witnessing the dreadful catastrophe, which in an instant severed from them their dearest relatives, and deprived them of a fortune, the accumulation of five and twenty years. The squadron was from Montevideo, Rio de la Plata, and contained upwards of four millions of dollars, of which about eight hundred thousand were on board the *Mercedes*; and

the merchandise on board the frigate was also of great value. The admiral was much blamed for not having sent such a force to intercept these vessels as would have allowed their commander to submit at once, without impeachment to his honour; whereas the equality of strength rendered a sanguinary combat inevitable. The negotiations at Madrid were not immediately broken off in consequence of this event; but after some time spent in fruitless attempts, on the part of Great Britain, to obtain a full disclosure of the existing engagements between France and Spain, his catholic majesty declared war against England on the twelfth of December.

In this year, a British naval officer, Captain Wright, died in the prison called the Temple, at Paris, under circumstances which gave rise to the suspicion that his death proceeded from the hands of violence. He had been the fellow-prisoner of Sir Sidney Smith, and, after escaping with that officer from the Temple, had served with him in Egypt and Syria, and was the person who effected the landing of Georges, Pichegru, and their companions on the coast of France. On the fifteenth of May, while cruising in the Bay of Quiberon, he was becalmed and made prisoner by the French gun-boats, and did not long survive his captivity.

MURDER OF DUKE D'ENGHEN—COMPLAINT AGAINST BRITISH ENVOYS—SEIZURE OF SIR GEORGE RUMBOLD.

THE Duke D'Enghien, the worthy representative of the house of Condé, had, since the continental peace, lived in retirement at the town of Ettenheim, in the electorate of Baden. In this neutral territory Buonaparte resolved to seize him; for which purpose general Canclincourt, with a body of cavalry, entered the electorate on the fifteenth of March, and coming unawares upon the destined victim, secured him and several of his friends without difficulty, and even without opposition. The duke was immediately conveyed to Strasburg, and thence, without any interval of repose, to Paris, where he was conducted to the same prison, the Temple, which had been the last scene of his sovereign's miseries: he was not, however, permitted to remain here, but was hurried away to the castle of Vincennes, where he arrived on the twentieth; and that same evening, exhausted with fatigue, he was dragged before a military commission, when a pretended trial ensued, and in two hours, without any evidence being produced, the illustrious prisoner was found guilty of having borne arms against the French republic, of having conspired to restore the monarchy, and of being an accomplice in the late conspiracy. In the night, Buonaparte's brother-in-law, Murat, with four other general officers, among whom were his own brother, Louis Buonaparte, and Duroc, the consul's secretary, arrived at the castle, under an appropriate escort of Mamelukes—and the duke was shot by nine Italian grenadiers. He died with the spirit of a Christian soldier, expressing his satisfaction that his executors were not Frenchmen.

This event was first made known in papers printed out of France; for it was not until after several days that the Paris newspapers contained any narrative on the subject. In private, where men could venture to express an opinion, every Frenchman declared his abhorrence of the act. In foreign countries the murder was stigmatised in becoming terms; and, in some, solemn funeral obsequies were performed in honour of the victim. Several notes on the illegal seizure of the duke D'Enghien, and the violation of the neutrality of the German empire, were delivered to the diet of Ratisbon, and addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs,—among which the most spirited were those presented by the Russian, Swedish, and Hanoverian ministers.

To divert public attention from this atrocity, the French government announced the discovery of another plot, in which they implicated the British minister at the court of Munich, Drake, and the envoy to the elector of Wirtemberg, Spencer Smith; a mass of documents and intercepted letters were produced, from which it appeared that Drake had incautiously given some attention to the representations and projects of Mchée de la Touche, who, having obtained access to him, and made a tender of his services, reported to the French government

the result of his intrigues. The correspondence was communicated to the elector of Bavaria, who declared it impossible for him to have any communication with Drake, or to receive him at his court, and the British envoy of course quitted the Bavarian territories: Spencer Smith was also under the necessity of leaving Stuttgart. As the papers respecting this transaction were widely distributed, it became necessary for the British government to vindicate itself, and a circular letter was addressed by lord Hawkesbury to the foreign ministers in London, which, in repelling the imputation of countenancing projects of assassination, maintained the right of belligerent powers to avail themselves of any discontents existing in the countries with which they may be at war. The exercise of this right was fully sanctioned by the actual state of the French nation, and by the conduct of its government, which had, ever since the commencement of the war, maintained a communication with the disaffected in his majesty's dominions, and had assembled, on the coast of France, a body of Irish rebels for the purpose of aiding their designs. And if any accredited minister at a foreign court had held correspondence with persons in France, with a view to obtain information of the projects of the French government, he had done no more than ministers, under similar circumstances, had uniformly been considered as having a right to do. These arguments were combated in a circular note, authorising the French envoys to declare to the governments where they resided, that Buonaparte would not recognize the English diplomatic body in Europe, so long as they were not restrained within the limits of their functions.

Shortly after the attempt to place the British diplomatic corps out of the protection of the law of nations, the French government most daringly infringed that very law. On the twenty-fifth of October, Sir George Rumbold, the English *chargé d'affaires* in the circle of Lower Saxony, was seized at his country house near Hamburg, by a party of French troops, and conveyed to Paris, imprisoned in the Temple, and released only on signing a parole not to return to Hamburg, or reside within a certain distance of the French territories. The senate of Hamburg appealed to the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburg, on this violation of their territory, and an application was made by the British minister for foreign affairs to the Prussian cabinet; but a remonstrance from that quarter had already been made with success for the liberation of the envoy, and he was conveyed from Cherbourg, by a flag of truce, on board the Niobe frigate which carried him to Portsmouth, after in vain applying for the restitution of his papers.

BUONAPARTE ELECTED EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH—EMPEROR OF GERMANY DECLARED EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.

BUONAPARTE, encouraged by the general state of things, proceeded to ascend the last step on the ladder of ambition, and, when all the previous preparations had been made, addresses were presented to him by the legislative and municipal bodies, and by the different armies, in the months of March, April, and May, beseeching him to become emperor of the French. No extreme of adulation could exceed that by which these addresses were marked: a man whose hands were stained with the blood of an innocent and virtuous prince, was held up as a model of virtue; and the people, over whom a military tyranny held despotic sway, were represented as supremely happy under his mild and free government. On the eighteenth of May a decree was finally passed by the senate, abolishing the constitution which the senators and consuls themselves had so recently sworn to observe and maintain inviolate; and declaring Napoleon Buonaparte emperor of the French, and the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. The new emperor then addressed a letter to his bishops, in which he ascribed his elevation to providence, and ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in all the churches on the glorious occasion. The bishops kept pace in their adulation with the military and civil bodies, and framed prayers adapted to the new order of things; while, to crown the whole, the Pope was ordered to attend the ceremony of the coronation, and to place the crown on the head of his "dearest son in Christ, Napoleon, emperor of the French, who

has signified his strong desire to be anointed with the holy unction." This ceremony took place on the nineteenth of November, in the cathedral of Notre Dame, at Paris,—the same church in which, with more seal, the Parisians had, a few years before, worshipped a naked prostitute, as the Goddess of Reason, in obedience to the command of Buonaparte's friend and predecessor, Maximilian Robespierre.

The assumption of the imperial dignity by Buonaparte gave a new interest to the political concerns of Europe; and the time had now arrived when the Germanic body was no longer to be considered as united under one head.

In the month of August the emperor Francis issued a decree, by which his title of emperor of Germany was changed for that of Austria. The council of state declared the object of this measure to be "the preservation of that degree of equality which should subsist between the great powers, and the just rank of the house and state of Austria among the nations of Europe." The emperor further urged, that, in conferring upon his family a hereditary imperial title he was following the example of Russia in the last century, and of France in the present day. This event was hailed with undissembled joy by France and Prussia; and when it was announced to the diet of Ratisbon, it excited no animadversion, except from the king of Sweden, who considered this change so inseparably connected with the composition of the German empire, that it should be laid before the diet as a subject for deliberation. No tribute could have been more flattering to Buonaparte than this concession, which not only made the sovereign, hitherto considered as the first in Europe in point of dignity, more recent in the creation of title than himself, but even recorded his example as one of the motives of the conduct of the emperor Francis.

DISPUTE BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA —CONVENTION BETWEEN FRANCE AND GENOA.

The renewal of the war on the continent had been some time confidently expected, and the appointment of lord Granville Leveson Gower, as ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg, served to strengthen the opinion that another continental

alliance was on the tapis. On the fifth of May the emperor of Russia presented an energetic note to the diet of Ratisbon, on the seizure of the duke D'Enghien, expressive of his astonishment and concern at the event; to which the French minister replied that the first counsel felt himself in no way responsible to the emperor on a point which did not concern his interest; and that if his majesty intended to form a new coalition in Europe, and to recommence the war, there was no need of empty pretences. Two months elapsed before a reply was made to this paper; but on the twenty-first of July M. D'Oubril, the Russian *chargé d'affaires*, complained that it was by no means an answer to the note he had delivered. An important correspondence ensued, during which the king of Sweden appeared to be animated with a resolution to support the principles of the laws of nations, and to make common cause with the emperor Alexander.

The emperor of Russia's appeal to the diet of Ratisbon had little effect on the Germanic body. The king of Prussia evinced no disposition to resist the aggressions of Buonaparte; and the majority of the other states were fearful of the removal of a contest, in which they might risk more than they could hope to gain. The emperor Alexander, in warmly remonstrating against the usurping spirit of France, had insisted upon the evacuation of the kingdom of Naples and the north of Germany by the French, and the indemnification of the king of Sardinia. The refusal of compliance occasioned the Russian resident to demand his passports; and both parties made preparations for a renewal of hostilities. Austria, in the mean time, was employed in repairing the losses which her armies had sustained in the late war, and in improving the condition of her military establishments.

Buonaparte spared no effort to acquire the means of meeting the British navy on equal terms. He had now at his disposal the fleets of Spain; and, by a convention concluded on the twentieth of October, he obtained from Genoa, in return for some commercial advantages, the service of six thousand seamen during the war, and the use of the harbours, arsenals, and dock-yards. Thus the port of Genoa was virtually ceded to him, under an engagement that the Ligurian republic should, at its own expense, enlarge the basin for the reception of ten sail of the line, which were to be immediately constructed.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Letter from Buonaparte to His Majesty—The Answer—Addington raised to the Peerage, and joins the Ministry—Other Appointments—Opening of Parliament—King's Speech—Supply—Budget—Catholic Claims—Vote of Credit—Proceedings against Lord Melville—Resignation of Lord Sidmouth and the Earl of Buckinghamshire—Illness of Pitt—New Coalition against France—Commencement of Hostilities—Surrender of General Mack—Buonaparte enters Vienna—Advances into Moravia—Movements in Italy—The Archduke Charles falls back towards Vienna—State of the Russian Forces—Battle of Austerlitz—Armistice—Return of the Russians—The Archduke Ferdinand defeats a Corps of Bavarians—Treaty of Presburg—Treaty between France and Prussia—French Fleets put to Sea—Attempts on the West India Islands—Lord Nelson's Pursuit—Sir Robert Calder's Engagement with Villeneuve—Victory of Trafalgar, and Death of Lord Nelson—War in India—Its Termination—Margulis Cornwallis appointed Governor-General—His Death.

LETTER FROM BUONAPARTE.

PITT was employed in laying the foundation of a new confederacy against France, as soon as a favourable opportunity should occur for carrying it into effect, when ministers received a letter, written by Napoleon's own hand, and addressed to his Britannic majesty. This unusual mode of communication, which he had before adopted upon his accession to the office of first consul, was chosen from a professed desire to disengage so important a transaction from the intrigues of cabinets, and the perplexities and delays of diplomacy. After advertising to his recent elevation to the throne of France, and lamenting the unnecessary effusion of blood, he said he considered it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation; for, though peace was the wish of his heart, war had never been inconsistent with his glory. As it had never been customary for the English sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, an answer was returned by lord Mulgrave, addressed to the French minister, intimating his majesty's wish to procure the blessings of peace on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe; but stating the impracticability of more fully meeting the overture now made, until he had communicated with the powers of the continent with whom he was engaged in confidential connections and relations.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE MINISTRY—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT—SUPPLY.

1806.—PITT found it expedient to renew his connection with Addington; and that gentleman, having been called up to the house of peers by the title of Viscount Sidmouth, was, on the fourteenth of January, 1806, appointed to succeed the duke of Portland, as president of the council. At the same time lord Mulgrave was appointed secretary for foreign affairs in the place of lord Harrowby, and the earl of Buckinghamshire chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. On the fifteenth the session of parliament was opened by his majesty in person. The speech from the throne announced that the preparations for invasion were still carried on by France with unrelaxing activity; that Spain, under the control of the French government, had issued a declaration of war against this country; and that the pacific communications from France had been met by a corresponding disposition on the part of his majesty. The usual addresses passed unanimously in both houses.

In the twenty-third of January, one hundred and twenty thousand men, including marines, were voted by the house of commons for the service of the navy, for the year 1805; and a sum, not exceeding two million eight hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds for the payment of the men. At the same time the sum of two million nine hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds was granted for victu-

alling, and four million six hundred and eighty thousand pounds for wear and tear of shipping, &c. The number of men actually employed in the navy at this time amounted to one hundred and eight thousand. On the fourth of February the secretary at war moved the army estimates of the year, which amounted to twelve million three hundred and ninety-five thousand four hundred and ninety pounds seven shillings and sixpence, for three hundred and twelve thousand and forty-eight men, under the different heads of service. In the budget, which was opened on the eighteenth, the minister stated the joint charge of supplies for Great Britain and Ireland at forty-four million five hundred thousand pounds. Among the ways and means were a loan of twenty million pounds for England, and two million five hundred thousand pounds for Ireland; several new war taxes were imposed; an augmentation of one-fourth was laid on the property tax, and of one-half on the duty on salt. This being strongly objected to, as likely to be injurious to the fisheries, considerable modifications were made in their favour.

Petitions from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, praying relief from civil disabilities, gave rise to very interesting discussions; but the minister declared that existing circumstances were unfavourable to their claims, and they were rejected by considerable majorities. On the nineteenth of June, in consequence of a royal message, relative to negotiations pending with some of the continental powers, a sum not exceeding three million five hundred thousand pounds was granted to his majesty, to enable him to enter into such engagements, and to take such measures, as the exigencies of affairs might demand. On the twelfth of July parliament was prorogued by commission.

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST LORD MELVILLE.

In the course of this session proceedings were instituted against a member of administration, which strongly engaged the attention of the public. Amongst the measures for the reformation of the public expenditure, meditated or resolved upon by the Addington administration, an inquiry into the abuses of the naval department was one of the most prominent; and a bill was passed in 1803, appointing commissioners for that purpose. This bill originated in a great degree with earl St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty, a situation to which, on Pitt's return to power, lord Melville was appointed. In the mean while the commissioners had produced several successive reports, one of which, the tenth, appeared to implicate the new first lord of the admiralty, who had, while he filled the office of treasurer of the navy, retained in his hands large sums of the public money, contrary to law. This report Whitbread brought under the consideration of the house of commons in April, observing that the commissioners had done their duty to the public, and it fell to his lot to bring to justice those whom they had exposed. The report involved not

only lord Melville, but Alexander Trotter, his paymaster, Mark Sprott, a stockbroker, and others. In exhibiting a charge against lord Melville, he did not accuse a mere unprotected individual: that nobleman had, for a period of thirty years, been in the uninterrupted possession of some lucrative office, and had exercised a most extensive influence; he had many individuals attached to him by the consciousness of obligation; and, though not personally present, he had, no doubt, powerful friends in the house who would be found ready to undertake his defence. Whitbread then referred to the act of 1785, of which lord Melville (then Dundas) was the supporter, for regulating the department of treasurer of the navy; and to the order of council, by which his salary was advanced from two thousand pounds to four thousand pounds a year, in lieu of all profits, fees, or emoluments, which he might before have derived from the public money lying in his hands. The charges were classed under three heads: first, the having applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department, with which he was connected, in express contempt of an act of parliament; second, conniving at a system of peculation in an individual, for whose conduct he was officially responsible; and, third, his participation in that system. To the honour of public men, said Whitbread, charges like this have seldom been preferred; and it is a singular circumstance that the only instance of a similar charge, for a great number of years, was brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold by the noble lord himself, on the ground of malversations in India. With respect to the first charge, it appeared from the report that there had been, for a number of years, deficiencies in the treasurer of the navy's department to the amount of upwards of a hundred thousand pounds a year. When lord Melville was asked a plain question as to the appropriation of this money, he, as well as Trotter, professed total ignorance of the deficiencies; but by-and-by the paymaster began to recover his recollection and confessed, that from the year 1786, down to the period at which he was examined, he had been in the habit of drawing out public money, and placing it in the hands of his own bankers. When the commissioners inquired a little further, he had the assurance to tell them that they had no right to interfere in his private affairs. Lord Melville, in a letter to the commissioners, acknowledged the fact of advances having been made to him; but said that he could not give the other information required, because he could not disclose state secrets, and because he was not in possession of the accounts of advances made to other departments, having himself committed them to the flames; and not only had the noble lord destroyed the papers, but he had actually lost all recollection of the whole affair! The second charge against lord Melville was, that he connived at the appropriation of public money to private purposes. Trotter did not deny that he had large sums in the hands of Coutts, his private banker; but said it was more convenient for the money to be there than in the bank of England, and more secure: and for the truth of this opinion he appealed to lord Melville—to lord Melville, who framed and sanctioned the bill of 1786! to lord Melville, who, not satisfied with the regulations of the act of 1785, proposed still stricter limitations in 1786! For what purpose, however, Whitbread asked, was there so constant a fluctuation in Trotter's account at Coutts's? and why such perpetual drafts for money, in the name of Trotter? At the time that he was anxious for the safety of what was passing through his hands, was it always lodged at Coutts's, allowing that to be the place of fittest security? No, it was employed in discounting bills, in forming speculations, in gambling on the stock exchange. No less than thirty-four million pounds of the public property had passed through lord Melville's paymaster's hands; and, had Trotter's speculations failed, it was not to him, but to his lordship, that the public had to look for redress. While the people were struggling with the heaviest burdens ever laid upon them, Trotter, and his silent discreet broker, Mark Sprott, were placing their heads together to lay out the public money to the greatest advantage; and lord Melville never once inquired into his paymaster's proceedings. On the third part of the subject (the suspicion of criminal participation) Whitbread said that lord Melville had found Trotter clerk to the navy pay-office; he made

him his paymaster, and in a short time his agent. In this situation lord Melville had pecuniary concerns with him to a considerable amount, but was unable to tell the commissioners whether the advances made to him by Trotter were from his own or the public money. The truth was, that lord Melville knew, when he first patronized him, that, though a man of good family, he had no property but what was derived from his salary: it was absolute equivocation, then, to pretend that his lordship could be ignorant of the source whence Trotter was enabled to supply him with advances. Whitbread concluded by moving thirteen resolutions, founded on the circumstances which he had developed.

Pitt, in a long and able speech, remarked that there was no allegation in the report, or even in the speech of Whitbread, that any loss to the public had been sustained by the transactions under consideration. He admitted that the subject was of a grave and solemn nature, and that if, in a great money department, irregularities had been committed, though unattended with loss, it might be the duty of the house to set a mark upon such proceedings; but all the circumstances of this case were not before them in the report, and, till they were investigated, the house could not be in a situation to come to any vote. On the face of the accounts, one hundred thousand pounds was the whole amount of the advances to lord Melville. It was known that, of all the sums of one hundred and sixty million pounds which had passed through the hands of his lordship, every farthing had been regularly accounted for; and it would be found that, of the one hundred thousand pounds, which, on the face of the account, was paid to lord Melville, many of the drafts were, in reality, payments for public services. If this could be made out, as he was informed it could, it was of itself a conclusive argument for further inquiry; he therefore moved that a select committee be appointed to consider the tenth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry, and the documents therewith connected; that they examine the same, and report their opinion thereon to the house. At the suggestion of Fox, Pitt consented, in the first instance, to move the previous question. Tierney said, that, during the time he was treasurer of the navy, he felt no inconvenience from a compliance with the act of parliament, and held that the report of the commissioners should be taken as conclusive evidence against lord Melville. After a number of observations from the attorney-general, Canning, the master of the rolls, and lord Castlereagh, in favour of a select committee, and from lord Henry Petty, Ponsonby, Fox, and Mr. Willerforce, in support of the resolutions, the house divided, when there appeared two hundred and sixteen votes for, and two hundred and sixteen against, Whitbread's motion, and the speaker gave his casting vote in its favour.

On the tenth of April the chancellor of the exchequer announced to the house of commons that lord Melville had tendered his resignation of the office of first lord of the admiralty, which his majesty had accepted. Whitbread said that, had the issue of the debate on Monday been merely of a personal or party nature, he might have been satisfied with lord Melville's removal from the responsibility, dignity, and emolument, attached to the situation which he had resigned; but he thought it so necessary that his lordship should be prevented from ever again polluting with his presence the councils of his sovereign, that, before any other proceeding, he should move an address to the throne, praying his majesty to deprive the noble lord of every civil office held during the pleasure of the crown, and to dismiss him from the councils of the kingdom for ever. Whitbread asked whether Pitt was prepared to give a pledge to this effect, and whether Trotter had been dismissed? Canning replied that he had, but he did not think that the case of lord Melville, which, at the most, amounted to no more than a bare suspicion, warranted the severity of the proceedings now proposed; and, after a very animated conversation, Whitbread agreed to withdraw his motion, in lieu of which he moved that the resolutions of the former night be laid before his majesty by the whole house, and on the following day they were presented accordingly.

On the sixth of May, Whitbread moved for the erasure of lord Melville's name from the list of

privy counsellors, when Pitt said he had reason to believe that the measure was considered, generally, as expedient; and he had therefore felt it his duty to recommend it. He had not given this advice without a bitter pang, but he could not suffer feelings of private friendship to interfere with what he found to be the declared sense of a majority of the house. Whitbread then inquired whether lord Melville held any place of profit during the pleasure of the crown? and, being answered none but for life, he withdrew his motion.

The commissioners of naval inquiry had, in the early progress of these discussions, been sedulously occupied in the researches arising out of the tenth report; and Whitbread now gave notice of an intention finally to move for an impeachment, which was met, on the part of Robert Dundas, son of lord Melville, by a requisition that the noble lord should be previously admitted and heard by the house. Leave having been obtained from both houses, his lordship, escorted by the sergeant at arms, advanced within the bar on the eleventh of June, and entered upon his defence. He solemnly asserted that he never knew that Trotter had drawn any money for the purposes of speculation, and declared that he had felt highly indignant at the charge that such transactions had been conducted with his privy, and that Trotter had enjoyed the advantage of his (lord Melville's) knowledge of the confidential secrets of government. His lordship as positively denied his participation in the profits of Trotter: he admitted that, when the money was drawn for naval purposes, he had suffered him to place it in the house of Coutts and Co. until it should be wanted; but that he had ever given him power to draw money from the bank indiscriminately was untrue. He certainly did suppose the paymaster derived a profit from the sums invested in Coutts's hands, but he had never considered it as a clandestine or unlawful proceeding; and the reason he had not directly disclaimed any share in these profits, when examined before the committee, was because he had that moment been informed of the confusion in which his paymaster's accounts stood, and there was a doubt in his own mind whether he might not unintentionally have received what was his own property from unlawful profits. His lordship referred to two sums of about ten thousand pounds each, the circumstances relative to which he felt equally bound, by private honour and public duty, never to disclose; though he affirmed that those sums were neither used nor meant to be employed for any object of profit by him. He had certainly directed his agent to procure for him the loan of twenty thousand pounds, for which he had paid regular interest; but it was not till within the last six weeks that he knew Trotter was the lender of the money. After explaining the nature of his transactions with respect to the loyalty loan, to which he subscribed the sum of ten thousand pounds, his lordship said, when he destroyed all vouchers, it was because he considered them useless, and not from the most remote apprehension of danger from their existence. He could scarcely believe that an impeachment was intended; he was equally incredulous with respect to an indictment; and he did not yet despair of receiving justice from his deluded country.

Whitbread then said, the excuse offered by lord Melville for not directly answering questions, in consequence of the mixed state of Trotter's accounts, was strange and incredible. He argued on the suspicious circumstances of refusing to give any account of the two sums of ten thousand pounds, and declared that if his lordship would refer the matter to a jury of honour, consisting of the chancellor of the exchequer, Windham, and any other person of equal integrity, he should, in case they acquitted him, feel satisfied. Whitbread concluded by moving that Henry lord viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. A long debate ensued, in the course of which Bond objected to an impeachment as cumbrous and expensive, and moved, as an amendment, that the attorney-general be directed to prosecute lord Melville for the several offences which appeared to have been committed by him. The motion for impeachment was rejected by a majority of seventy-seven, and Bond's amendment adopted by two hundred and thirty-eight to two hundred and twenty-nine voices: it was, however, ultimately determined, on the twenty-fifth of June, that the mode

of prosecution by impeachment should be resorted to; and Whitbread was appointed manager, with directions to acquaint the lords on the following day therewith. On this occasion Pitt delivered his last speech in the senate, and argued strongly in favour of a trial by impeachment, in preference to proceedings by a criminal prosecution.

CHANGES IN THE CABINET—ILLNESS OF PITT—NEW COALITION AGAINST FRANCE.

THE British cabinet was still in a divided state; and the conflicting sentiments of its members threatened to produce a partial change in the ministry, had no subject of paramount interest arisen to call them more strongly into action. It appears that, soon after the Easter recess, lord Sidmouth suggested the propriety of removing lord Melville from the privy council; but Pitt, wishing to avoid that measure, conceived that both parliament and the country would be satisfied with the noble lord's resignation of his office as first lord of the admiralty. Neither party was disposed to yield, and lord Sidmouth, the earl of Buckinghamshire, and Mr. Vansittart, expressed their determination to throw up their several appointments; but this extremity was for the present averted by the erasure of lord Melville's name from the list of the privy council, and the vote of impeachment which afterwards passed against that nobleman. However, on the fifth of July, lord Sidmouth went out of office; and his example was followed by the earl of Buckinghamshire. These noblemen were succeeded by earl Camden and lord Harrowby, while lord Castlereagh was appointed to the foreign department, the office of first lord of the admiralty having been previously conferred on Sir Charles Middleton, who was called to the upper house under the title of lord Barbham.

For more than four years Pitt had laboured under all the inconveniences resulting from a weak stomach, and the consequent failure of appetite; and it will be easily conceived that mental anxiety is peculiarly calculated to aggravate the effects of such a disorder. This anxiety the unpropitious state of affairs on the continent tended further to increase. The continued encroachments of Buonaparte, who had crowned himself king of Italy at Milan, and annexed Genoa to France, had roused the powers of the continent to resistance, and a treaty between Russia and England had been signed at St. Petersburg on the eleventh of April, to which Austria and Sweden soon acceded, and of which the object was to restore, in some degree, the balance of power in Europe, by driving the French out of Hanover and the north of Germany; by establishing the independence of Holland and Switzerland; by restoring the king of Sardinia to his throne; and by compelling the French to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and the whole of Italy. This great object it was proposed to accomplish by an army of five hundred thousand men, in addition to the forces to be employed by Great Britain, who herself engaged to contribute to the common efforts both by sea and land, and to assist the different powers by subsidies.

SURRENDER OF GENERAL MACK—BUONAPARTE ENTERS VIENNA—MOVEMENTS IN ITALY.

WHILE two Russian armies of fifty thousand men each were advancing towards the Danube, Buonaparte, in whose plans promptitude was always the leading feature, determined to strike a decisive blow at the Austrians. Towards the close of August he ordered the Boulogne flotilla to be dismantled, and the troops to march to the Rhine; the bulk of his force in Holland and Hanover was also directed to proceed to the banks of the Danube; and, as soon as he received intelligence that the Austrians had entered Bavaria, he convened the senate, stating, in a speech from the throne, that he was about to place himself at the head of his army. On this occasion two important decrees were proposed: the one for the immediate levy of eighty thousand conscripts, and the other for re-organizing the national guard. Having crossed the Rhine at Kehl, Buonaparte, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men, by a series of bold and rapid movements, gained a position between Vienna and

the Austrian army under general Mack. That army, consisting of nearly ninety thousand men, dispersed over a wide extent of country, was beaten in detail, and reduced to thirty thousand, who, with their commander, were blocked up in Ulm. On the seventeenth of October Mack agreed to surrender, and on the twentieth the whole of the Austrian troops in that city laid down their arms before the French emperor, and, with the exception of the field-officers, who were permitted to return home on their parole, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, with all their artillery and magazines. Buonaparte, having sent for the Austrian generals, and kept them near his person while the troops defiled, complained of the injustice and aggression of the emperor: "I desire nothing," said he, "on the continent. France wants only ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them."

The king of Prussia had been provoked to some show of indignation by the march of French troops through part of the Prussian neutral territory of Anspach without asking permission, and was disposed to resent the insult; but, on learning the fate of Mack's army, he relapsed into passive neutrality. Buonaparte, immediately after the capitulation of Ulm, made the most active exertions for the further prosecution of the campaign. The first division of Russians, under general Kutusoff, had already arrived upon the banks of the Inn, and united itself to the Austrians in that quarter: it was of importance, if possible, to attack this force before the arrival of the second division, and with this view the French army, having been joined by the contingents of Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg, advanced by rapid marches towards the Inn, which they passed in the face of the allies, who retreated step by step on the road to Vienna, to effect a junction with the second Russian division, which was advancing under general Buxhovden. In this situation of affairs, the emperor of Austria, desirous of averting the evils, with which he was menaced, by negotiation, proposed an armistice, in order that negotiations might be commenced for a general peace. Buonaparte demanded that the Russian forces should return home, that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded, and that the Austrian troops should withdraw from the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol; but as these terms would place the imperial crown at his mercy, the emperor resolved still to struggle with his difficulties, and, perceiving the danger which threatened his capital, retired with his court to Brunn, in Moravia.

Vienna was entered by the French on the thirteenth of November, and Buonaparte, on the second day after that event, proceeded to join the main army in Moravia, which was advancing with such rapidity that the Austrian court found it necessary to remove to Olmütz. The Russians, who had crossed the Danube at Krems, were retiring through that country to unite with the forces under the command of the emperor, and, after suffering severely in two spirited actions at Hollbrunn and Guntersdorf, they retreated through Znaim to Brunn, which they were compelled to evacuate on the eighteenth, leaving large quantities of ammunition and provisions. Buonaparte established his headquarters there on the twentieth, and his main army took up a position at Witthau, in face of the Austro-Russian army posted on the plains of Olmütz.

The Italian campaign was opened upon the Adige on the eighteenth of October. The Austrian army was strongly posted near Verona, on the left bank of the river; while the French troops, under marshal Massena, occupied the city upon the opposite bank. The communication was by means of two bridges, and both parties had guarded against the passage of them by strong works, raised at the opposite extremities. The archduke Charles, however, was not in a condition to undertake offensive operations: the attack was therefore begun by the French, who forced the Austrian intrenchments; and the archduke, having obtained information of the disaster at Ulm, fell back towards Vienna. The archduke John, severely pressed in the Tyrol, adopted the same resolution, and, after encountering many difficulties, the two brothers effected a junction at Laybach, in Carinthia. Massena, who had advanced closely in pursuit, established a communication with the corps of Ney and Marmont, who, after the reduction of the Tyrol, approached the

Danube to support the main body of the French army.

BATTLE OF AUSTERLITZ—ARMISTICE—TREATY OF PRESSBURGH—TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.

MARSHAL DAVOUST, leaving the principal part of the French army at Vienna, proceeded with his division towards Pressburg, when he received overtures from count Palffy, the governor, in the name of the archduke Palatine, proposing that the military preparations in Hungary should be discontinued, on condition that the French general would guarantee the neutrality of that kingdom. To this proposal the marshal readily assented, and the principal resources of the house of Austria were thus reduced to the army of the archduke Charles, and to the small force of prince John of Liechtenstein, which had united itself to the Russian division under Kutusoff, who, perceiving the difficulties of his situation, sent the baron de Wimpfenberg to Murat, to propose terms of capitulation; and a convention was concluded, which permitted the Russian army to retire into their own territory; but Buonaparte, conceiving them to be in his power, refused to ratify it. In the mean time, general Kutusoff had retired with the utmost expedition to Znaim, leaving the division under prince Bagration, consisting of six thousand men, opposed to thirty thousand of the enemy, by whom he was surrounded, when he bravely cut his way through them, and arrived with comparatively little loss at the headquarters of Wischau. The French pursued their advantages in every direction: on the twentieth of November Buonaparte arrived at Brunn, and received a deputation from the Moravian states, with a bishop at their head; Ney was already master of Brizeau; and Bernadotte occupied Igla, on the confines of Bohemia. Many prisoners and much baggage fell into their hands in the various encounters; and, on the twenty-third, they had pushed their reconquering parties to the gates of Olmütz. The combined forces at that place amounted to nearly one hundred thousand men, of which the Russians formed the greater part; but they were harassed by constant attacks, and weakened by continual privations. The provisions to a great distance around them were wasted, and no alternative remained but to commit the fortunes of the campaign to the last desperate valour of their troops. On the arrival of the emperor of Russia in his camp, Buonaparte sent his aide-de-camp, general Savary, to compliment that prince, and to propose an interview, which he declined, but in return despatched Prince Delgaruski to explain his sentiments. In the mean time Savary, who had been indiscreetly suffered to remain within the Russian lines for three successive days, had returned to the French camp, and reported that, in spite of the deplorable state of their troops, presumption, impudence, and indiscretion, reigned in their military councils. Availing himself of this intelligence, Buonaparte issued orders for his army to retire under cover of the night, as if apprehensive of an engagement with so formidable an enemy, and to take up a strong position in the rear, where the troops were throwing up intrenchments, and forming batteries, when prince Delgaruski made his appearance. These dispositions appear to have been attended with the desired effect. The headquarters of the emperors of Russia and Germany were removed to Austerlitz, and a general attack was commenced at day-break on the second of December, in which Buonaparte succeeded in completely insulating the centre of the allies, and, by possessing himself of the heights of Pratzen, decided the fate of the day. The Russians made many brave but fruitless efforts, and at night-fall retreated upon Bessowitz, covered by the Austrian cavalry. The loss of the allies was estimated at a fourth part of their force; and this tremendous conflict, which was styled by the French soldiers *The battle of the three emperors*, and by Buonaparte *The battle of Austerlitz*, terminated the campaign and the war. The Austrian emperor, dismayed by his loss, solicited an immediate armistice; and on the fourth an interview took place, at the French advanced posts, between Napoleon and the emperor of Austria, when a suspension of arms was agreed upon, the terms of which were, that the French should remain in possession of all their conquests until the conclusion of

a *definitive* peace, to the rupture of negotiations; and that, in the latter case, hostilities should not recommence until the expiration of fourteen days. It was further stipulated that the Russian army should evacuate the Austrian states within a limited time; that there should be no extraordinary raising of troops; and that negotiations should meet, without delay, to form a *definitive* treaty. The emperor Alexander refused to become a party to these conditions, and on the sixth of December caused his army to withdraw from the Austrian states. Before the arrival of intelligence announcing the armistice, the archduke Ferdinand, who commanded a corps of twenty thousand Austrians in Bohemia, defeated a corps of Bavarians under general Wrede, and was rapidly advancing in the rear of the French army. Almost at the same period the archduke Charles advanced from Hungary, within a day's march of Vienna, with a powerful force; and, on summoning the city to surrender, was greatly mortified to find himself reduced to a state of inaction by the suspension of hostilities, and his country prostrate at the foot of a man, who, in the hour of triumph, suffered no generous impulse to soften his political resolves.

A *definitive* treaty was signed at Presburg on the twenty-sixth of December, the provisions of which were, that the Venetian territory should be united in perpetuity to the kingdom of Italy; that the royal title assumed by the electors of Bavaria and Wirtemberg should be acknowledged; that the margravate of Burgau, the principality of Hohenzollern, part of the territory of Baden—the country of the Tyrol, and the lordships of Vorarlberg, should be ceded to the king of Bavaria; that the Austrian emperor's possessions in Franconia, Suabia, and Batsavia, should be divided between the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, and the elector of Baden; that the county of Salzburg and of Berchtsgaden, belonging to the archduke Ferdinand, should be incorporated with the Austrian empire, and that the archduke should receive from the king of Bavaria, in compensation, the territory of Wirzburg. By this treaty it was estimated that the emperor lost in subjects more than two million seven hundred thousand souls, and in revenue sixteen millions of florins, about one million six hundred thousand pounds sterling; but the diminution of power and influence which he sustained in abandoning his possessions on the side of Italy, and in relinquishing the line of country through which he formerly maintained his connection with Switzerland, was a severe stroke upon his political consequence.

A treaty between France and Prussia was also concluded at Vienna, which stipulated that Buonaparte should send no more troops into Hanover, and that the forces of the allies should be withdrawn, and replaced by those of Prussia, who, in exchange for Hanover, ceded Anspach and Bayreuth in Franconia, Cleves in Westphalia, and Neuchâtel and Valengin in Switzerland.

ATTEMPTS ON THE WEST INDIES BY FRENCH FLEETS—SIR ROBERT CALDER'S ENGAGEMENT.

WHILEST Buonaparte was thus successful on the continent, Great Britain was not less triumphant on her natural element. As early as the eleventh of January, a French squadron, consisting of six sail of the line and two frigates, after having been blockaded for more than two years in Rochefort, ventured out to sea, with the view to unite itself with the more formidable force at Brest; and on the fifteenth the Toulon fleet, comprising eleven sail of the line, and having on board nine thousand troops, also pushed out to sea, without being perceived by the blockading squadron under lord Nelson; but after a short cruise was obliged again to put into port through stress of weather. On the twenty-second of February, the force which had escaped from Rochefort, having proceeded to the West Indies, made a descent on the island of Dominica, and the town of Roseau was obliged to capitulate: the governor-general Prevost, however, retreated to St. Rupert's, where he was in vain summoned to surrender; and the French commander at length abandoned the island, after leaving a heavy contribution on the inhabitants of Roseau. He next visited the islands of Nevis and St. Kitt's, both of which were also laid under con-

tribution; but, on the arrival of admiral Cochrane in the West Indies, this marauding squadron precipitately sailed for France, where it arrived in safety.

The alarm created in the public mind respecting the proceedings of the Rochefort squadron had scarcely subsided, when intelligence was received that the Toulon fleet, under admiral Villeneuve, was again at sea. On the thirtieth of March this officer sailed to Cadiz; but, not finding the Spanish ships in that port in readiness, he continued his course unimpeded to Cadiz; and, being there joined by one French and six Spanish sail of the line, he steered to the West Indies with an accumulated force of eighteen sail of the line, carrying, beside their full complement of seamen, ten thousand veteran troops.

On the approach of Villeneuve to Cadiz, admiral Sir John Orde, who was blockading that port with five ships of the line, thought it prudent to retire, and succeeded in joining lord Gardner off Brest. The welcome account, however, soon arrived, that lord Nelson, who had been cruising in the Mediterranean, was in pursuit of the enemy to the West Indies. His lordship, it is true, had only ten ships of the line; but his name was a tower of strength. On the fourth of June he arrived off Barbadoes, where he learned that admiral Villeneuve had reached Martinique on the fourteenth of May, but that the Diamond Rock was the only conquest he had achieved; when, after remaining nearly inactive during three weeks, hearing of the presence of the dreaded Nelson, he set sail on his return, and was immediately followed by his indomitable opponent, who, having in vain sought him off Cadiz and Cape St. Vincent, in the Bay of Biscay, and on the coast of Ireland, returned to England, after despatching nine ships of the line to reinforce lord Gardner off Brest. Hopes were yet entertained that Villeneuve would be intercepted before he could reach any friendly port; and on the twenty-second of July his fleet, which now amounted to twenty sail of the line, three fifty-gun ships, and five frigates, fell in with Sir Robert Calder, who had only fifteen sail of the line and two frigates, six leagues west of Cape Finisterre, and, after an engagement of four hours, the St. Raphael, of eighty-four guns, and El Firme, of seventy-four, were taken from the enemy, when Sir Robert, from the foggy state of the weather, judged it expedient to put a stop to the action, in order that his squadron might cover the captures. The night was spent by both fleets in the necessary repairs, and on the following morning the enemy seemed disposed to renew the contest, but he never approached nearer the British lines than four leagues; and on the twenty-fourth, he bore away to the south-east under easy sail. In England the conduct of Sir Robert Calder became the subject of so much disapprobation, that he demanded a court-martial, by which he was sentenced to be severely reprimanded, not for fear or cowardice, but for an error in judgment, in not having done his utmost to take or destroy every ship of the enemy. This officer's fate was considered by the better informed as somewhat hard; and it is a singular proof of the high confidence then existing in the naval superiority of the country, that an officer should meet reproach, who, with fifteen sail, obtained a partial victory over more than twenty.

VICTORY OF TRAFALGAR, AND DEATH OF NELSON.

THE combined fleets, having at Ferrol augmented their forces to twenty-seven sail of the line, proceeded to Cadiz; and scarcely had lord Nelson arrived in London, after his long and persevering cruise, when he was offered the command of an armament sufficient to cope with the united naval force of France and her allies, which he willingly accepted, and, hoisting his flag on board the Victory, arrived off Cadiz on the twenty-ninth of September. To induce the enemy to come out to sea, he stationed his main force near Cape St. Mary, and established a line of frigates to communicate their movements. On the nineteenth of October, being apprized that a reinforcement of seven sail of the line would shortly join him from England, his lordship despatched admiral Louis with six sail to Tetuan for stores and water. Informed of this event, and supposing the English to be much

reduced in strength, admiral Villeneuve availed himself of the favourable juncture to obey the positive commands which had been issued by his government: on the next day the fleet under his command got under weigh, and, at day-break on the twenty-first, was distinctly seen from the Victory's deck, formed in a close line of battle off Cape Trafalgar. Our fleet, which had received the expected reinforcement, consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line and four frigates; theirs of thirty-three sail of the line and seven frigates; and their superiority was greater in size and weight of metal than in numbers. Admiral Villeneuve was a skilful seaman; and his plan of defence was as well conceived, and as original, as the plan of attack. The Spaniards were commanded by admiral Gravina; and four thousand troops were embarked on board the fleet, under the command of general Contamin, among whom were several skilful sharpshooters and Tyrolese riflemen. The British fleet bore up in two columns as they formed in the order of sailing; and as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of the enemy's line was new; it formed a crescent convexing to leeward, so that, in leading down to their centre, Lord Collingwood had both their van and rear abast the beam. As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The last telegraphic signal issued by the great commander on going into action was, "England expects every man to do his duty;" and nobly indeed was it performed on this glorious day, for the battle of Trafalgar is without a parallel in the annals of British victory.

The conflict began about noon, when admiral Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, gallantly cut through the enemy's line about the twelfth ship from his rear, leaving his van unoccupied; the succeeding ships broke through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaged their antagonists at the muzzles of their guns. Lord Nelson, on board the Victory, directed his attack on the enemy's line between the tenth and eleventh ships in the van; but, finding it so close that there was not room to pass, he ordered his ship to be run on board the Redoubtable, opposed to him; his second, the Temeraire, engaged the next ship in the enemy's line, and the others singled out the adversaries according to the order of battle. During nearly four hours the conflict was tremendous, particularly in that part of the line where the commander-in-chief had commenced the onset. The guns of his ship repeatedly set fire to the Redoubtable; and the British seamen, apprehensive that both ships might be involved in destruction, were employed at intervals during the heat of the fight in throwing buckets of water on the spreading flames. About three in the afternoon the Spanish admiral, with ten sail of the line, joining the frigates to leeward, bore away for Cadiz; and ten minutes afterwards five of the headmost ships of the enemy's van, under admiral Dumanoir, tacked, and stood to windward of the British line: the sternmost was taken, but the others escaped. The heroic exertions of the British were rewarded by the capture of nineteen ships of the line, with the commander-in-chief, Villeneuve, and two Spanish admirals; but, a gale of wind coming on from the south-west after the action, only four of the prizes could be saved, which were carried into Gibraltar. The Achille, a French seventy-four, blew up, after her surrender; but two hundred of her men were saved. Admiral Villeneuve was sent to England, and afterwards permitted to return to France, where, as was stated by the French government, he destroyed himself, dreading the consequences of a court-martial.

In such a battle the loss on both sides must be severe; that of the victors amounted to fifteen hundred men killed and wounded: but the deep regret which the effusion of so much brave blood cannot fail to excite was absorbed in the greater sorrow caused by the fall of the commander-in-chief, who was mortally wounded by a musket-shot from

the ship with which he was closely engaged. He survived the battle about two hours; and the pain of his last moments was soothed by the glad tidings that the hostile flags were striking around him; when, after breathing his thanks to Heaven for being enabled once more to do his duty to his country, he expired without a groan. Such was the end of this great man, whose career had been eminently brilliant, and whose fate was glorious and triumphant. Before the battle began he entertained a presentiment that this would be the last day of his life, and seemed to look for death with almost as sure an expectation as for victory; but although this gloomy foreboding occupied his mind, and though he had more than once observed that the enemy would endeavour to mark him out as one of their victims, yet his lordship, on the morning of the twenty-first, put on the stars of the different orders with which he had been invested. His secretary and chaplain, apprehensive that these insignia might expose his person to unnecessary danger, endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon him to take them off: to all their entreaties he replied—"In honour I gained them, and in honour I will die with them."

The survivors were gratified with the thanks of both houses of parliament; gold medals were awarded to those who had particularly distinguished themselves on this memorable day; and, besides the honours and rewards showered upon the family of the fallen hero, the dignity of Baron, with an annuity of two thousand pounds a year to himself and his two next heirs, was conferred upon vice-admiral Collingwood.

The four French ships under rear-admiral Dumanoir, which escaped to the southward towards the close of the action off Trafalgar, soon shared the fate of their companions. On the night of the second of November, rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan, cruising off Ferrol with four ships of the line and three frigates, fell in with what he thought the Rochefort squadron; but they proved to be the fugitives from the combined fleet, to which he immediately gave chase. A little before noon on the fourth, Dumanoir, finding an engagement unavoidable, came to close action; and, after a well-supported contest, continued for nearly three hours and a half, all the four ships struck to the English, but not all they had become quite unmanageable. Thus was the naval power of France and her ally reduced to insignificance; the phantom of "ships, colonies, and commerce," which had floated before the imagination of Buonaparte, were chased from the regions of probability; and Britain was confirmed in her paramount dominion of the seas.

WAR IN INDIA—DEATH OF LORD CORNWALLIS.

IN India a new war was occasioned by the intrigues and aggressions of Jeswant Rao Holkar, the Mahratta chief, who had usurped the dominions of his brother, and renounced his allegiance to the Peishwa. After a fruitless negotiation, the troops in the Deccan, under general Wellesley, reduced the fortress of Chandore; while Lord Lake, by a series of skilful and rapid movements, compelled him to risk encounters which ultimately led to his discomfiture. On the thirteenth of November, 1804, a large force was totally routed near Deeg; and on the seventeenth his cavalry was surprised and defeated near Feruckabad, Holkar himself escaping with great difficulty from the field. This splendid success would have decided the contest, had not the unexpected defection of the rajah of Bhurtpore enabled the fugitive to repair his desperate fortunes. Early in 1805 Lord Lake made several attacks on the town of Bhurtpore, in all of which he was repulsed with considerable loss; but at length the rajah made proposals for peace, which was granted to him, and subsequently to Holkar, on terms favourable to the company. In July Lord Cornwallis arrived at Madras, as successor to the marquis Wellesley, but in such a weakened state of health that he died in the October following.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

State of Europe—Meeting of Parliament—Death of Pitt—Change of ministry—New military arrangements—Finance—Prevention of abuses—Corn trade with Ireland—Intercourse between the West-Indies and America—Slave trade—Impeachment of Lord Melville—India affairs—Prorogation of Parliament—Negotiation for peace—Death of Fox—Ministerial appointments—Dissolution of Parliament—Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth's victory—Other naval successes—Capture of the Cape of Good Hope—Unauthorized expedition to Buenos Ayres—Court martial on Sir Home Popham—Dispute with America—Elevation of Joseph Buonaparte to the throne of Naples—Resistance to the French arms—Battle of Maida—Occupation of Hanover by Prussia—Consequent hostility with England and Sweden—Revolution in her politics—Confederation of the Rhine—Louis Buonaparte declared king of Holland—Titles conferred by Buonaparte on his followers—Murder of Palm—Fourth coalition against France—Movements of the French and Prussian forces—Battle of Auerstadt, or Jena—Its consequences—Seizure of British property at Hamburgh—Buonaparte's Berlin decree—Negotiation for an armistice—Advance of the Russians—Their repulse—Levies—Operations in Silesia—Battle of Eylau—Surrender of Dantzic—Success of the French in Swedish Pomerania—Battle of Friedland—Treaty of Tilsit—War with Turkey and Russia, followed by hostilities between England and the former—Expeditions to Constantinople and Egypt—Capture of Monte Video—Attack on Buenos Ayres—Its failure—General Whitelocke tried by court martial and cashiered—Capture of Curacao—Insurrection of the Sepoys in India.

STATE OF EUROPE.

1800 **A**T the commencement of the year 1800, the French and English nations had acquired an absolute and uncontrolled dominion, the one over the land, and the other over the seas. The battle of Austerlitz had confirmed the military superiority of France, and left her without a rival on the continent; while the victory of Trafalgar had decided the naval pre-eminence of England: she was, however, unable to make any serious impression on the power of Buonaparte, who, after the treaty of Pressburg, no longer deterred by the fear of a continental coalition, was at liberty to direct his whole force and energy to her subjugation. If Great Britain had nothing to apprehend from the number of troops Buonaparte might be able to land on the shores of England, other parts of the empire were not equally invulnerable to his attacks. In Ireland, exposed by her grievances to the seduction of his emissaries, and accessible by her situation to the invasion of his army, rebellion had been put down, but discontent still existed: the fire which had lately blazed with such fury, was smothered, but not extinguished; and though the more moderate of the Catholics were ready to postpone the discussion of their claims till the chief obstacle to the redress of their grievances was removed, and the prudent and considerate were disinclined to those violent counsels from which they had already suffered so much, it was not to be supposed that all the Irish Catholics were moderate and prudent, but that many of that body would join themselves to a French army whenever it might make its appearance in their country.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—DEATH OF PITT—CHANGE OF MINISTRY.

AFFAIRS were in this posture when parliament was opened by commission on the twenty first of January. After suitable congratulations on the late naval successes, mixed with regret for the lamented death of the hero by whom they were achieved, the speech stated that his majesty had directed the treaties concluded with foreign powers to be laid before the two houses; and, while he lamented the late disastrous events on the continent, he congratulated them on the assurances which he continued to receive from the emperor of Russia. The speech then stated that one million pounds, accruing to the crown from the droits of admiralty, would be applied to the public service of the year; and concluded by recommending vigilance and exertion against the enemy. An amendment to the address was read in both houses, but was not proposed as a motion, on account of the dangerous indisposition of Pitt, who was at that moment on his death-bed.

This distinguished statesman had been compelled, at the close of the former session of parliament, to relinquish all active share in public business, and retire to Bath, whence he returned, on the eleventh of January, to his residence on Putney Heath, in a state of debility and exhaustion, augmented by anxiety and disappointment. His constitution, originally delicate, sunk rapidly, and on the twenty-third of January he expired, in the forty-seventh year of his age, after having enjoyed greater power and popularity, and held the first place in the government of his country for a longer course of years, than any former minister of England. On a motion of the honourable Henry Lascelles, made in the house of commons on the twenty-seventh of January, and carried by a majority of two hundred and fifty-eight to eighty-nine, his remains were interred at the public expense in Westminster Abbey, by the side of his father. A sum not exceeding forty thousand pounds, was voted for the payment of his debts without opposition. He possessed no particular advantages of person or physiognomy; but as a speaker he was thought to be without a rival. His integrity was unimpeached; his conduct moral; and, so far was he from making use of his opportunities to acquire wealth, that he died insolvent. As a financier he displayed great ability in augmenting the public revenue, and in raising money on public faith; but whilst he was thus adding to the burdens of the people, and entailing a heavy load on posterity, the wealth so acquired was distributed with lavish profusion. Such was his dread of the revolutionary principles which desolated France, that, considering no price too great for the means of opposing them, he carried the practice of subsidizing foreign states to an unprecedented and almost ruinous extent. But, whatever may have been his errors, his exertions in the public service, during a period of unexampled difficulty, were unwearied; and the emphatic words pronounced by the herald over his corpse, "*non sibi sed patrie vixit*," were not less just than honourable.

Either from confidence in his own powers, or from the love of sway, Pitt seldom associated himself with men of superior talent, and his death at this critical juncture was considered as a virtual dissolution of the existing administration. His colleagues, besides the want of public confidence, were disunited and without a head; and the loss of their patron dissolved the only tie that bound them. In circumstances so discouraging, the surviving members of Pitt's administration resigned to their opponents the reins of government without a struggle, and even refused to retain charge of them, when urged to that duty by the solicitations of the court. Lord Hawkesbury was offered the post of

Premier, but he deemed it too arduous, and on retiring from office received the wardenship of the cinque ports.

Every attempt to form an administration from the wreck of the late cabinet having proved unsuccessful, his majesty called in the assistance of lord Grenville, and on the third of February the new ministerial arrangements were finally settled, embracing the leading members of the three parties, designated by the appellation of the old and new opposition, and the Sidmouth party. The cabinet was composed of the following members: earl Fitzwilliam president of the council; lord Baking, lord chancellor; viscount Sidmouth, lord privy seal; lord Grenville, first lord of the treasury; lord Howick (late Mr. Grey), first lord of the admiralty; earl Moira, master-general of the ordnance; earl Spencer, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, secretaries of state for the home, foreign, and war departments; and lord Henry Petty, chancellor of the exchequer. Lord chief justice Ellenborough was also admitted to a seat in the cabinet. The duke of Bedford went to Ireland as lieutenant accompanied by Elliot as chief secretary. Ponsonby was appointed chancellor and keeper of the seals in Ireland, and Sir John Newport chancellor of the Irish exchequer; lord Minto was appointed president of the board of control; Sheridan, treasurer of the navy; general Fitzpatrick, secretary at war; Sir Arthur Pigott and Sir Samuel Romilly, attorney and solicitor general. In the subordinate offices, likewise, so complete a change had not been effected since the commencement of Pitt's first administration.

Lord Grenville's holding the office of auditor of the exchequer, which is incompatible with that of first lord of the treasury, rendered it necessary to bring a bill into parliament, to enable him to accept the latter office, without forfeiting the former; and, to palliate the objection that might be made to this equivocal union, his lordship was empowered to name a trustee to hold the office of auditor, so long as he should continue in the situation of first lord of the treasury; which trustee should be responsible to the auditor for the salary, and to the public for the due execution of his office. The appointment of lord chief justice Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet was a measure of still more doubtful policy.

MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS—FINANCE— SLAVE TRADE.

On the third of April, Windham submitted to the house of commons some important military arrangements. Instead of an engagement to serve for life, he proposed that the soldiers in future should be enlisted for a term of years only; this term to be divided into three periods, of seven years each, for the infantry; and, for the cavalry and artillery, the first period to be ten; the second, six; and the third, five years. At the end of each period the soldier to have a right to claim his discharge, and be entitled to certain advantages proportioned to his length of service. Desertion might be punished by the loss of so many years' service; and though corporal punishments could not, he said, be entirely banished from the army, they might be diminished both in number and severity. The volunteer corps ought only to be formed of persons who would serve at their own expense, and the peasantry should be loosely trained to harass and impede an enemy. This training he meant to be compulsory; and that two hundred thousand should be annually liable to that duty. The bills necessary for effecting these arrangements were strongly opposed in every stage, but finally passed both houses.

On the twenty-eighth of March the budget was opened by lord Henry Petty, who stated the unredemmed debt of Great Britain and Ireland at nearly five hundred and fifty-six million pounds, and the redeemed at one hundred and twenty-seven million pounds, of which the annual charge was nearly twenty-seven million five hundred thousand pounds. The supplies on account of Great Britain were estimated at forty-three million six hundred and eighteen thousand four hundred and seventy-two pounds; and among the proposed ways and means the most considerable were a loan of eighteen million pounds, and an augmentation of the war taxes to nineteen million five hundred thousand pounds, to be effected principally by raising the property tax from six and a half to ten per cent. It was also proposed to raise the war duties on the customs,

with certain modifications, from one fourth to one third; and, in order to coxer the interest of the loan, the duty on wine was to be made permanent, and two pounds per ton imposed on pig-iron: the duty on tea was to be equalised; and a tax on apprentices imposed. The property tax bill encountered great opposition, but was passed with some modifications. The tax on iron excited such opposition that it was abandoned, and a tax on private brewers substituted; but this raised a still greater outcry, and the interest of the loan was provided for by an addition of ten per cent. to the assessed taxes. The budget for Ireland was opened by Sir John Newport on the seventh of May, when it appeared that the supply voted for that country was eight million nine hundred and seventy-five thousand one hundred and ninety-four pounds; and the ways and means, including a loan of two million pounds, were estimated at nine million one hundred and eighty-one thousand four hundred and fifty-five pounds.

Some salutary regulations were adopted in various departments. The balances of the treasurer of the ordnance were ordered to be deposited at the bank of England, and the payments to be made by drafts upon that establishment: the same principle was also extended to the excise and customs, to the stamp and post offices, and to the office of surveyor-general of the woods and forests: an act was passed for increasing the salaries and abolishing the fees of the custom-house officers of the port of London; and judicious measures were adopted for the settlement of public accounts.

The corn trade between Great Britain and Ireland was placed on the same footing as that between the different counties of England, by an act which judiciously allowed the free interchange of grain without any bounty, duty, or restraint whatever. An act was also passed for regulating the intercourse between the West Indies and the United States, which vested a discretionary power in his majesty to permit, under certain restrictions, the trade in lumber and provisions carried on by neutrals with the British colonies, with the proviso that no commodities, staves and lumber only excepted, should be imported, which were not of the growth and produce of the countries to which the neutral vessels belonged, and that they should not export the indigenous products of the colonies.

The abolition of the slave trade, which had for so many years engrossed the attention of the friends of humanity in this country—which had been supported by the eloquence of the late prime minister whenever it was brought before parliament, but had as constantly been defeated by the prevalence of interests which, as minister, he did not choose to oppose—was pursued by the new administration with so much earnestness, that in the present session considerable progress was made towards its accomplishment. A bill was passed, prohibiting the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after the first of January, 1807, and interdicting all subjects of this country from being accessory to the supply of foreign countries with slaves after that period. Another bill soon after passed without opposition, for preventing the increase of the British slave trade by prohibiting any vessels from embarking in that trade which were already employed therein. The next measure was a resolution moved by Fox on the tenth of June, and which being his last motion, may be said to have closed the parliamentary career of that great statesman. The words of the resolution were, "that this house conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all practicable expedition, take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner and at such period as may be deemed advisable." He declared that he was so fully impressed with the vast importance of attaining the object of his motion, that if, during the almost forty years that he had enjoyed a seat in parliament, he had been so fortunate as to accomplish that, and that only, he could retire from public life with the conscious satisfaction that he had done his duty. The motion was opposed by lord Castlereagh, the members for Liverpool, and a few in the West India interest; but, on a division, they were only fifteen against one hundred and thirteen; leaving a majority of ninety-nine in favour of the abolition. In the lords the same resolution was adopted, on the motion of lord Grenville, by forty-one against

twenty. The last step taken on this subject, during the present session, was a joint address from the noblesmen, beseeching his majesty to take measures for obtaining the concurrence of foreign powers in the abolition.

IMPEACHMENT OF LORD MELVILLE—PARLIAMENT PROROGUED.

THE house of commons having resolved to exercise its power of impeachment against lord Melville, managers were duly appointed; Westminster hall was appropriately fitted up; and on the twenty-sixth of April the court was opened with the usual forms. The articles, which were ten in number, contained three principal charges. The first was, that, before the tenth of January, 1786, he had applied to his private use and profit various sums intrusted to him as treasurer of the navy. The second was, that he had permitted Trotter, his paymaster, illegally to take from the bank of England large sums loaned on account of the treasurer of the navy, and to place those sums in the hands of his private banker. The third was, that he had fraudulently permitted Trotter to apply the said money to purposes of private use and emolument, and had himself derived profit therefrom. Lord Melville avowed that he was not guilty, when Whitbread addressed the court in an elaborate speech, and the solicitor-general recapitulated the evidence. The counsel for lord Melville occupied three days in the defence: on the two following days the managers delivered their reply on the part of the commons: the further proceedings were deferred till the twenty-eighth of May. A motion of thanks to the managers was made on the twenty-third, in the commons, by general Fitzpatrick, and agreed to with only one dissentient voice. At the appointed period the peers assembled; the assistance of the judges on certain points of law was resorted to; and on the twelfth of June their lordships proceeded to deliver their verdict. The result was, that his lordship was acquitted of all the charges; but on four of the articles the majority in his favour did not amount to double the number of those who gave a contrary judgment. The whole number of peers voting was one hundred and thirty-five, and, considering the nature of the proceeding, the trial was conducted with unusual despatch.

On the twenty-third of July, after a long and busy session, parliament was prorogued by commission.

NEGOTIATION FOR PEACE.

In February a project for assassinating Buonaparte was communicated by a foreigner to Fox, who immediately sent a statement of the circumstances to Talleyrand. The French minister, in reply to this letter, took occasion to introduce, unofficially, an extract from Buonaparte's speech to the Legislative Body, expressive of his wish for peace with England, and his readiness to negotiate, without a moment's delay, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens. Fox considered this communication as a distinct overture, and proceeded to answer it in that frank and direct style which is the characteristic of all his public despatches. He stated the impossibility of concluding any treaty unless in concert with Russia; but suggested the practicability of some previous discussion of the principal points, and some provisional arrangements. A correspondence of some length ensued, in which Talleyrand endeavored to represent Russia as interposing its authority between two nations fully competent to adjust their own differences: Fox, however, stated explicitly that his majesty was willing to negotiate conjointly with Russia, but not separately; to which Talleyrand re-urged the former objections, and thus the correspondence closed.

Early in June, however, lord Yarmouth, son of the marquis of Hertford, who had been among those detained in France at the commencement of hostilities, arrived in London, and communicated the substance of a conversation with Talleyrand, which had passed at the desire of that minister, for the purpose of conveying the outlines of the terms on which peace might be restored. Three specific offers were held out as inducements to Great Britain to treat, viz. the restoration of Hanover; the possession of Sicily, as a consequence of the principle of the *uti possidetis*; and a facility in the arrangement of the form of treating, which, without

recognizing the claim of a joint negotiation, would not impair the advantages which Great Britain and Russia might derive from their alliance. Talleyrand, in the first interview with lord Yarmouth after his return to Paris, not only departed entirely from his offer of Sicily, but indulged himself in vain allusions to further demands, and in peremptory representations of the necessity of negotiating with some persons duly empowered to treat. This deviation from the original overtures was viewed by the British ministry as an indication of the little reliance that could be placed on the sincerity of the French negotiators; lord Yarmouth was therefore directed to insist generally on the recurrence to the original overtures, and to make the re-admission of Sicily the *sine qua non* of the production of his full powers, which, to avoid all pretence of cavil, were conveyed to him without delay. In the mean time the Russian plenipotentiary, M. D'Oubril, who had arrived at Paris on the tenth of July, had signed a separate peace with the French government, and returned to St. Petersburg without communicating to lord Yarmouth some of its most material articles. In this posture of affairs lord Lauderdale was despatched to Paris. The health of Fox began at this period to decline, and the nomination of his personal friend, and tried political adherent, was a pledge that the cabinet continued to promote his views, and emit the spirit of his policy.

The first overture of lord Lauderdale was to bring back the French government to the basis of the *uti possidetis*; but the negotiators, Champagny, minister of the interior, and general Clarke, contrived, under various pretences, to procrastinate, till it became the policy of Britain, as well as of France, to await the decision of the court of St. Petersburg on the treaty which M. D'Oubril had carried thither. On the third of September, a courier brought the intelligence to Paris that the emperor of Russia had refused to ratify it; and Talleyrand communicated this information to the British negotiator the day after its arrival, assuring him that France was now prepared to make peace with England on more favourable terms than she otherwise would have been disposed to admit; but, as the abandonment of Russia was to be the price, the British cabinet determined not to listen to any such projects. A series of unsatisfactory discussions ensued, which lasted until Buonaparte left Paris for the army on the Rhine, accompanied by Talleyrand, and one of the plenipotentiaries, general Clarke. Champagny, who remained to conduct the negotiation, was neither authorized to relinquish the claims of Joseph Buonaparte upon Sicily, nor to acquiesce in such an arrangement as would have satisfied the court of St. Petersburg; the negotiation was therefore at an end, and lord Lauderdale returned to England. His passports were accompanied by a note, insinuating that the principles of Fox had been abandoned by his colleagues and successors; to which lord Lauderdale delivered a spirited reply.

That the English ministers were sincere in their desire for peace is unquestionable; but that the commercial part of the nation, at least, did not participate in this wish, is proved by the fact that, though the grounds upon which the discussions had broken off were unknown, the intelligence of lord Lauderdale's departure from Paris was received at the Royal Exchange in London with triumphant shouts of applause.

DEATH OF FOX—MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENTS—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

FOX'S accession to power, while labouring under indisposition, whatever political hopes it might excite, was a circumstance pregnant to himself of inconvenience and danger. The business of the house of commons he was, in a few months, obliged to abandon; but, with this deduction from his harassing employments, the remainder pressed too heavily upon him, and it was not long before the most decided indications of droopy appeared. After a series of increasing labours, this great man closed his connection with all mortal scenes at Chiswick, at the seat of the duke of Devonshire, on the thirteenth of September, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. The public regret for his loss subsided for a time the conflicting prejudices of party, and an unanimous homage was paid to those great and amiable qualities which won the cordial affection of his friends, and the generous admiration of his

adversaries. His funeral, though performed at private expense, was attended by the most distinguished characters in the country, and an immense assemblage of the general population. In person, he was about the middle size, and, as he advanced in life, very corpulent. The independence of his mind and frankness of his manners were unalloyed by any portion of severity: he was the firm and consistent advocate of liberty, civil and religious; and the powerful and frequent application of his talents to popular purposes procured him the general appellation of "the man of the people." As a public speaker, his manner was not graceful, but it was peculiarly animated and impressive. As a minister, he displayed the same noble simplicity and plain dealing which characterised his conduct in private life. Peace was the darling wish of his heart, though he would have scorned to purchase that blessing by the slightest sacrifice of national honour. Having commenced a negotiation, he was spared the pain of seeing the intricate policy of modern times triumph over his favourite object; and with the satisfaction of leaving the old associates of his public career in the employment of the state, and in the consequent possession of rewards and honours, "I die happy" were nearly the last words he uttered.

On the death of Fox, lord Howick was appointed to the foreign office; Grenville, first lord of the admiralty, took the place of lord Howick; Tierney, president of the board of control, in the place of Grenville, who had succeeded to that office, with a seat in the cabinet, on the appointment of lord Minto to the government of India; lord Sidmouth to succeed to the presidency of the council, from which earl Fitzwilliam, on account of ill health, was desirous to withdraw; and lord Holland, the nephew of Fox, to succeed lord Sidmouth as lord privy seal. A dissolution of parliament, after a remarkably short duration, immediately and unexpectedly followed; and, though the returns to the new one were such as to add to the weight and influence of the friends of administration in the house of commons, the experiment was not, on the whole, attended with much success.

ADMIRAL DUCKWORTH'S VICTORY—CAPTURE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE—SIR HOME POPHAM'S EXPEDITION TO BUENOS AYRES.

At the close of the preceding year, admiral Villeneuve, accompanied by Jerome Buonaparte, succeeded in escaping from port, with eleven sail of the line, and a number of frigates. After continuing in company for ten days, the fleet separated into two squadrons, one of which, consisting of five ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, under the command of admiral Le Seigle, steered for St. Domingo, where a body of troops and a supply of ammunition were disembarked for the use of the colony. On the sixth of February, admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, with seven ships of the line and four frigates, discovered the enemy to windward of Ocoa bay, and, after a furious action, three ships of the line struck; the other two were driven on shore and burnt, and the smaller vessels got off. The other squadron of Villeneuve, amounting to six sail of the line, with three frigates, was originally destined for the Cape of Good Hope; but, having been informed of the capture of that settlement by the English, they steered to the coast of Brazil, and thence to the West Indies. In June, admiral Cockburn, who had only four sail of the line and three frigates, discovered them near Barbadoes, but did not consider it safe to hazard an engagement with such a disparity of force; their ruin, however, was soon after accomplished by the fury of the elements, being separated by a tremendous gale of wind on the eighteenth of August. The French admiral's vessel reached the Havannah with extreme difficulty, three were destroyed on the American coast, another escaped into Brest, and the Veteran, seventy-four, commanded by Jerome Buonaparte, was stranded on the coast of Brittany. The captain and crew got on shore.

Admiral Linois had long carried on a predatory warfare in the Indian seas, and the Isle of France had been the grand depot of the plunder he had collected, whence, in different bottoms, it had been transferred to France, and thither the admiral's ship, the *Marougo*, of eighty guns, and the *Belle*

Poule, of forty, were this year heading their course looking forward to the splendid enjoyment of the produce of their toil. These hopes, however, were frustrated by Sir J. B. Warren, with one of the squadrons which had been despatched in pursuit of Jerome Buonaparte. On the morning of the thirteenth of March, the French ships were seen to windward, and, after a running fight of three hours, were compelled to strike, thus affording some atonement for their depredations on our commerce.

Five large frigates and two corvettes, with troops on board for the West Indies, having escaped from Rochefort in September, were met at sea by a British squadron under Sir Samuel Hood, who, after a running fight of several hours, captured four of them. The loss of the English was small, but Sir Samuel unfortunately lost his arm. Several distinguished actions of a minor nature occurred in the course of the year.

An expedition against the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of about five thousand troops, under Sir David Baird, with a naval force, commanded by Sir Home Popham, sailed from England in August, 1805, and arrived on the fourth of January following. On the eighth the army moved forward, and, having dislodged the enemy's light troops, their main body, estimated at five thousand men, was discovered in motion, to anticipate the approach of the British; they, however, forced the Batavians to a precipitate retreat. The governor-general, Janssens, seemed disposed to maintain himself in the interior; but general Beresford being sent against him, he was prevailed upon to surrender, on condition of his forces being conveyed to Holland at the expense of the British government, and not considered prisoners of war.

Sir Home Popham, who in 1804 had been appointed to confer with the insurgent general Miranda, concerning his views on South America, had long entertained an idea that an expedition should be sent against the Spanish settlements on the Rio de la Plata; and having been successful at the Cape, he turned his thoughts to the conquest of Buenos Ayres, taking upon himself a high and extraordinary degree of responsibility. Having persuaded Sir David Baird to furnish a small body of troops, under general Beresford, he directed his course to St. Helena, where he obtained a small reinforcement to his little army, which, after all, did not exceed sixteen hundred men, including marines. With this inadequate force he arrived at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, in the beginning of June, and on the twenty-fourth landed the troops without resistance, about twelve miles from Buenos Ayres. After dispersing a body of Spaniards, who fled at the first fire, general Beresford entered the city on the twenty-seventh, the victory having retreated to Cordova with the small body of troops under his command. While the army was thus employed, the line-of-battle ships of the squadron made demonstrations before Monte Video and Maldonado, in which were stationed the regular troops of the colony, while the defence of Buenos Ayres, supposed, from its situation, to be less liable to attack, had been committed to the militia. Favourable terms were granted to the inhabitants, and the property of individuals on shore was respected, but a great booty was made of the public money and commodities, and of the shipping in the river.

The Spaniards were at first taken by surprise; but, on recovering from their panic, they collected, and the few troops they had in the neighbourhood, under the direction of Liniers, a French colonel in the Spanish service, who crossed the river in a fog, on the fourth of August, with about one thousand men, unobserved by the English cruisers. On the twelfth a desperate action took place in the streets and great square of the town, when the English were ultimately compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war; but, contrary to the articles of capitulation, they were marched up the country. Their loss amounted to one hundred and sixty-five killed, wounded, and missing, besides thirteen hundred made prisoners. Sir Home Popham blockaded the river till October, when the arrival of troops from the Cape enabled him to attempt Monte Video, in which he was unsuccessful. On the twenty-ninth a body of troops was landed at Maldonado, and the Spaniards were driven from thence and from the Isle of Gorriti.

Lord Howick, on the nineteenth of December,

announced the recall of Sir Home Popham in terms of severe reprehension; and on the seventeenth of February following, that officer arrived in London, when he was put under a formal arrest, preparatory to trial by a court-martial, for acting without orders, and for leaving the Cape in an unprotected state. After an able defence, the court adjudged him to be severely reprimanded.

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.

DIFFERENCES had existed, for a considerable time, between the United States of America and Spain, arising out of the ill-defined boundaries of Louisiana, and the Spaniards had made incursions on the district of New Orleans and the Mississippi, even in those parts which had been unequivocally ceded to the United States. Some disputes between America and the English government also assumed an important character. The complaint of the United States involved three points: first, The practice of impressing British seamen found on board American merchant vessels on the high seas; second, The violation of their rights, as neutrals, by seizing and condemning their merchantmen, though engaged in what they considered a lawful commerce; and, third, the infringement of their maritime jurisdiction upon their own coasts. On the first point it was urged that native Americans were impressed on pretence of their being Englishmen, and forced to serve in the British navy; and the public mind in the United States was inflamed with exaggerated reports, stating that thousands of their citizens were in this situation. The second ground of complaint arose from a desire, on the part of the Americans, not only to trade with the colonies of a belligerent, in a manner that would not be allowed in a time of peace, but to become the carriers of their produce to the mother country; protecting it, at the same time, under their neutral flag. The third point, which merely required that the extent of their maritime jurisdiction should be defined, admitted of easy arrangement.

An amicable adjustment of these differences being equally desirable to both parties, a special mission was appointed to England, and conferences were opened in London by lords Holland and Auckland on the part of Great Britain, and by Messrs. Monroe and Pinckney on that of America. After some deliberations respecting an efficient substitute for the practice of impressment, the latter consented, though in opposition to their instructions, to pass to the other subjects of negotiation, on receiving an assurance that the right should be exercised with great caution, and immediate redress afforded on representation of any injury. On the subject of intercourse with the colonies of the enemy, a rule was established for defining the difference between a continuous and an interrupted voyage; and it was expressly stipulated that on re-exportation there should remain, after the drawback, a duty to be paid of one per cent. *ad valorem*, on all European articles, and not less than two per cent. on colonial produce. The maritime jurisdiction of the United States was guaranteed, and some commercial stipulations were framed for the reciprocal advantage of the two countries; but the American president, Mr. Jefferson, refused to ratify the treaty.

JOSEPH BUONAPARTE MADE KING OF NAPLES—BATTLE OF MAIDA.

THE king of Naples, by a treaty concluded at Paris, in September, 1805, had engaged to repel by force every encroachment on his neutrality: scarcely, however, had six weeks elapsed, when a squadron of English and Russian vessels were permitted to land a body of forces in Naples and its vicinity. This being considered by Buonaparte as an act of perfidy deserving the severest punishment, he issued a proclamation, on the morning after the signature of the treaty of Presburg, declaring that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign; and a French army, under Joseph Buonaparte, who assumed the sovereignty, immediately marched into Naples, when all the fortresses, except Gaeta and another, surrendered by capitulation. The new king was received with those acclamations and addresses which can always be procured by power; and the heir-apparent retired into his dukedom of Calabria, where general Damas, a French emigrant, was endeavouring to

organize a levy *en masse*: the pretence, however, was speedily reduced by general Regnier. Sir James Craig, with the English army, accompanied the royal family to Sicily, and in April was succeeded in his command by Sir John Stuart.

Sir Sidney Smith took the command of the English squadron destined for the defence of Sicily.—After throwing succours into Gaeta, which was gallantly defended by the prince of Hesse Philipsthal, he took possession of the Isle of Capri, and proceeded along the coast, exciting alarm, and keeping up a communication with the Calabrese. At the urgent solicitations of the court of Palermo, the English general consented to employ a part of his force in Calabria, and, on the first of July, landed in the gulf of St. Eufemia, near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria, with about four thousand eight hundred men. The French general Regnier, made a rapid march from Reggio, and on the third encamped at Maida, about ten miles distant from the English army, with a force nearly equal, and in daily expectation of reinforcements. Being determined to give battle without delay, Sir John Stuart advanced the next morning, and found the French in a strong position below the village, their force augmented to seven thousand men, the expected detachments having joined. Regnier, confident in his superiority, quitted his post to meet the assailants on the plain, when the English, not dismayed at the unexpected increase of his numbers, advanced with alacrity to the attack, and, after some firing, both sides prepared for close combat; but the French gave way when the bayonets began to cross, and the English receiving a reinforcement at this critical juncture, the French precipitately abandoned the field, with the loss of about seven hundred killed and a thousand prisoners. The British loss was forty-five killed and two hundred and eighty-two wounded. This brilliant action, though it did not lead to the recovery of Naples, preserved Sicily from invasion, and compelled the French to evacuate Calabria. General Stuart, however, aware that his small force would be inadequate to the permanent defence of the country, retired to Sicily, leaving a garrison in the strong fort of Scylla. The fall of Gaeta, which took place soon after the battle of Maida, set at liberty a force of sixteen thousand men, which, in conjunction with the powerful army under Massena, who was sent to subdue the Calabrese, slowly effected that purpose.

OCCUPATION OF HANOVER BY PRUSSIA—CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE.

THE court of Prussia, which still vacillated greatly in its politics, addressed a proclamation on the twenty-seventh of January to the inhabitants of Hanover, in which it was observed, that, after the events which terminated in the peace of Presburg, the only means of preserving the country from the flames of war consisted in forming a convention with Buonaparte, in virtue of which the states of his Britannic majesty in Germany were to be occupied and governed by Prussia till the return of peace. This proceeding called forth an official note from Fox, addressed to baron Jacobbi, the Prussian minister in London, desiring him explicitly to inform his court that no convenience or political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, would ever induce his majesty to consent to the alienation of the electorate. The disposition shown by Prussia to hold Hanover conditionally did not, however, please Buonaparte, who dictated new terms; and another treaty was signed on the fifteenth of February, by which Prussia was bound, not only to annex it to her dominions, but to exclude British vessels and commerce from her ports. The indignity offered to Great Britain by these proceedings demanded prompt retaliation: the rivers Rhine, Weser, Elbe, and Tive, were accordingly blockaded; a general embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels in British harbours; and the English mission at Berlin was recalled. These measures were announced to parliament, on the twenty-first of April, in a message, which was answered by unanimous addresses of thanks from both houses; and the strongest animadversions were directed against Prussia for her seditious submission to the will of Buonaparte.

In addition to her war with England, the subservience of Prussia to France involved her in hostilities with Sweden. The troops of that power, who

occupied Lüneburg on behalf of the king of England, having opposed the entrance of the Prussians, were compelled, after a slight resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburg; on which the king of Sweden laid an embargo upon all Prussian vessels in his harbours, and blockaded her ports in the Baltic. To counteract these measures, Prussia was preparing to expel the Swedes from Pomerania, when a new revolution in her policies took place, which gave a different direction to her arms. The feelings of the Prussian nation were hostile to France; and the queen, young, beautiful, and persuasive, indignant at the usurpations and insults of Buonaparte, joined in the same cause. The first public act of the cabinet of St. Cloud, which gave serious alarm to the court of Berlin, was the investiture of Murat with the duchies of Berg and Cleves, the latter of which was one of the three provinces obtained from Prussia in exchange for Hanover; the other two, Anspach and Bayreuth, being transferred to Bavaria for the duchy of Berg. But a deeper injury awaited the Prussian government: while Laforest, the French resident at Berlin, was urging the ministers of that court to persist in the measures they had adopted for the retention of Hanover, Lacochesi, the Prussian minister at Paris, discovered that the French government had offered to Great Britain the complete restitution of the electoral dominions. Fortunately, however, as Prussia then thought, the negotiation between France and Russia was broken off by the refusal of the court of St. Petersburg to ratify the treaty concluded by M. D'Oubril. But this event, while it opened to Prussia the prospect of assistance, in case she should be driven to a war with France, disclosed to her further proof of the secret enmity of the cabinet of St. Cloud; it now appearing, for the first time, that distinct hints had been given to M. D'Oubril, that, if his court was desirous of annexing any part of Polish Prussia to its dominions, no opposition would be interposed by France.

The peace of Presburg had left the forms of the Germanic constitution entire: the residence of the French troops in Germany, however, in consequence of the protracted occupation of Cattaro by the Russians, matured the establishment of a new confederation of princes, at the head of which Buonaparte should himself be placed. This project was arranged with extraordinary promptitude; and on the twelfth of July the act of confederation was executed at Paris. The members were, the emperor of the French, the kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the archbishop of Ratisbon, the elector of Baden, the duke of Berg, the landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, and several minor German princes, who, separating themselves from the Germanic empire, appointed a diet to meet at Frankfort to manage their public concerns, and settle their differences; and chose Buonaparte for their protector. They established among themselves a federal alliance, by which, if one of them engaged in a continental war, all the others were bound to take part in it, and to contribute their contingent of troops in the following proportions:—France, two hundred thousand; Bavaria, thirty thousand; Wirtemberg, twelve thousand; Baden, three thousand; Berg, five thousand; Darmstadt, four thousand; Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others, four thousand; making a total of two hundred and fifty-eight thousand men. A number of petty princes were deprived of their ancient rights of sovereignty, and these were transferred, without equivalent or indemnity, to the members of this federal union. The imperial city of Nuremberg was given to the king of Bavaria, and that of Frankfort on the Maine to the archbishop of Ratisbon, formerly elector and archchancellor of the empire, and now prince primate of "the confederation of the Rhine."

The house of Austria, thus stripped of its honours, was compelled to lay down the title of Emperor of Germany, which, by a formal deed of renunciation, was resigned by Francis the second, retaining only the more humble one of Emperor of Austria. The acquiescence of Prussia in these arrangements was purchased by the delusive hope that she would be permitted to form a confederation of states in the north of Germany, under her protection, as the confederation of the Rhine was under that of France; but no sooner had the submission of Austria been secured than Prussia was told that Buonaparte could not permit her to include the Hanseatic towns in her plan, being determined to take them under

his own protection; and, as the elector of Saxony was unwilling to contract the new obligations which Prussia wished to impose on him, France could not see him forced to act against the interests of his people. The elector of Hesse Cassel was invited to join the confederation of the Rhine, and some territorial addition was offered him, but he rejected the proposal, and a resolution was passed, by which he was cut off from access to part of his own states.

TITLES CONFERRED BY BUONAPARTE ON HIS FOLLOWERS—MURDER OF PALM.

BUONAPARTE had no sooner abolished the name of republic in France, than he sought to extinguish that appellation in the other states of Europe. Amongst other transformations, his younger brother, Louis, was selected to be king of Holland, and unwillingly dragged from the gayeties of Paris, to rule over a laborious and impoverished people. The new constitution which accompanied the king had no guarantee but the will of its author, nor did he attempt to disguise that he considered Holland as virtually a province of France. Buonaparte also strengthened his connection with Bavaria by the union of a princess of that house with his step-son, Eugene Beauharnois, whom he adopted as his successor in the kingdom of Italy. He created a number of duchies in the countries conquered by France, and chiefly in Italy, which he conferred on those who had distinguished themselves in his service. Berberich was created prince of Neuchâtel; Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo; and Talleyrand, prince of Benevento. Many of the marshals and generals were raised to the rank of dukes. Buonaparte's sister, Paulina, the wife of the prince Borghese, received the principality of Guastalla; and his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, was appointed coadjutor and successor of the archbishop of Ratisbon.

Whilst Buonaparte was carrying these projects into effect, the pressure of the French armies upon Germany was extreme, and a spirit of resistance was excited in a variety of publications, which soon attracted the notice of the French government. Orders were in consequence given for the apprehension of various booksellers, among whom the fate of John Palm, a resident of Nuremberg, an Imperial town of Germany, possessing laws and tribunals of its own, attracted particular notice. This person, the publisher of a pamphlet, entitled, "Germany in the lowest state of degradation," was arrested by order of the French government, and dragged to Braunau, charged with the publication of libel against the French emperor. A court-martial was immediately summoned, and, after sitting for three days, M. Palm was sentenced to be shot, which was carried into execution on the following day.

FOURTH COALITION AGAINST FRANCE—BATTLE OF JENA—BERLIN DECREE.

AT length the court of Berlin assumed a tone of firmness; the king of Sweden cherished the prospect which seemed thus to be afforded of checking the power of Buonaparte; the Prussian vessels detained in British ports were speedily liberated; and lord Morpeth was despatched to Berlin, with offers of assistance in the fourth coalition that was at this time forming against France. On the twenty-fourth of September Buonaparte quitted Paris, to join the armies: so late, however, as the fifth of October, a despatch was delivered from the Prussian outposts to the French army, which still afforded an opening for amicable adjustment. Within a few days after, a declaration, stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian cabinet.

The French, who had for some time been concentrating their forces at Bamberg, advanced in three divisions against the Prussian army, which had taken a strong position along the north of Frankfort on the Maine. The campaign opened on the ninth of October, when the left of the Prussians was turned, and they were compelled to retreat with considerable loss; on the tenth, the left wing of the French army, under marshal Lannes, was successful at Saalfeld, where prince Louis Prussia was killed. The main body of the Prussians occupied Byssenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar, but the arrangements of the duke of Brunswick, to whom, at the advanced age of seventy-one, the chief command was confided, were suddenly changed in con-

sequence of his right wing being unexpectedly turned by the French, who gained the eastern bank of the Saal, and cut him off from his resources.

On the morning of the fourteenth the great battle of Auerstadt or Jena commenced, in which two hundred and fifty thousand men, with seven hundred pieces of artillery scattered death in every direction. The courage and discipline on each side were perhaps equal; but the military skill was greatly superior on the part of the French, and after a most dreadful conflict the Prussians were finally defeated in every quarter. Their loss in killed and wounded exceeded twenty thousand; from thirty to forty thousand were made prisoners; and three hundred pieces of cannon, with immense magazines, were taken: among the prisoners were more than twenty generals; marshal Mollendorf was wounded, and the duke of Brunswick and general Ruchel were killed. The French stated their loss at from four to five thousand men; the victory, however, was complete, and decided the fate of the campaign.

All the principal towns in the electorate of Brandenburg, though strongly garrisoned, surrendered almost without resistance. Spandau and Stettin opened their gates on being invested, and Magdeburg, with a garrison of twenty-two thousand men, capitulated to Ney, after a few bombs had been thrown into the city. Berlin was entered on the twenty-fifth, and the king of Prussia retreated to Königsberg, where, with scarcely fifty thousand men he awaited the arrival of whatever assistance might be afforded by Russia.

Mecklenburg was also taken possession of by the French; and Hanover was occupied by general Mörner. Their next object was the possession of Hamburg, where all British property was placed under sequestration; the merchants and bankers were required to exhibit their accounts, summary punishment, by martial law, being denounced against those who should make false returns; and the English who remained in the city were put under arrest.

These proceedings were the prelude to a decree issued by Buonaparte at Berlin on the twentieth of November, which afterwards became so memorable under the designation of the "Berlin decree." This edict alleged that England had violated the laws of nations, in considering every individual belonging to a hostile state as an actual enemy, whether found on board vessels of merchandise, or otherwise engaged in commercial occupations; that she had extended her right of blockade beyond all reasonable limits—to places where, with all her naval superiority, it was impossible for her actually to maintain it; that the monstrous abuse of this right had no other object but to aggrandise England by the ruin of the continent; that all who dealt in English commodities, might, therefore, be justly regarded as her accomplices; and that, as it was a right conferred by the laws of nature and of nations, to oppose to an enemy the weapons he employs against his adversary, it was decreed, that till the English government should abandon this system, the British Isles should be placed in a state of blockade, and all correspondence with her interdicted. This violent decree, and the apprehension of retaliatory measures on the part of England, occasioned great dismay in the commercial cities of the continent.

OPERATIONS IN SILESIA AND SWEDISH POMERANIA—TREATY OF TILSIT.

AFTER the battle of Jena Buonaparte obtained further success over the detached and broken forces of the king of Prussia, and over several bodies of Russian troops which crossed the riviera to assist Prussia, he thus was enabled to overrun all Silesia, to take Breslau and other fortresses, and to lay siege to the city of Dantzic; but that important place did not surrender till the twenty-seventh of May. He then penetrated into Poland, and after a series of severe conflicts the French and Russian armies fought on the fourteenth of June the sanguinary and decisive battle of Friedland, which the French classed among their most splendid victories. One of its immediate consequences was the capture of Königsberg, containing large stores of grain, and one hundred and sixty thousand English muskets, which had not yet been landed. The Russians retreated towards the Niemen, crossed that river at Tilsit, burned the bridge, and continued their march to the eastward.

The emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia, who had been there during the last three weeks, retired to Memel, that town and its territory being all that remained in the possession of the latter sovereign.

Buonaparte entered Tilsit on the nineteenth of June; and on the twenty-second an armistice was concluded, by which it was agreed that there should be an immediate exchange of prisoners, and that plenipotentiaries should be instantly appointed to negotiate a peace. Three days afterwards an interview took place between the emperor Alexander and Buonaparte, on a raft which had been constructed upon the Niemen. The conference lasted two hours, and was attended with mutual expressions of regard.

On the seventh of July the arrangements of pacification were completed. Prussia was deprived of all her territories on the left bank of the Elbe, and of all her Polish provinces, except those situated between Pomerania and the Newmarko, and ancient Prussia, to the north of the little river Nets. The elector, now king of Saxony, took also the title of duke of Warsaw, and was to have free communication by a military road through the Prussian territory, with his new dominions, which were to consist of Thorn, Warsaw, and the rest of Prussian Poland, except that part to the north of the Bug, which was incorporated with the dominions of the emperor Alexander. Dantzic was in future to be an independent town; east Friesland was added to the kingdom of Holland; a new dominion, under the designation of the kingdom of Westphalia, was formed of the provinces ceded by Prussia, and others in the possession of Buonaparte; and the recognition of Jerome Buonaparte as its sovereign, also of the kings of Holland and Naples, and of all the present and future members of the confederation of the Rhine, was stipulated. Prussia consented to become a party in the maritime war against England; the emperor of Russia and Buonaparte mutually guaranteed to each other the integrity of their possessions, and of those of the other powers included in the treaty; the offer of a mediation to effect a peace between France and England was accepted, on the condition that England should, within one month, admit it; and the emperor of Russia agreed to accept the mediation of Buonaparte for the conclusion of peace with the Ottoman Porte.

The king of Sweden refused to accede to the treaty of Tilsit, and attempted the defence of Pomerania; but his efforts were unavailing. He, however, succeeded in withdrawing his forces from Stralsund, and returned into Sweden.

WAR WITH TURKEY AND RUSSIA—EXPEDITION TO CONSTANTINOPLE AND EGYPT.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1806, war had been declared by Turkey against Russia; and to oblige the Turks to accede to terms of accommodation, by which a force would be released from this southern warfare, and enabled to swell the Russian army in Poland, a British fleet, under the command of Sir J. T. Duckworth, advanced through the Dardanelles on the nineteenth of February, with orders to bombard Constantinople, if certain terms were not acceded to. In passing between Sestos and Abydos they sustained a heavy fire, which they retaliated very severely, and the Turkish squadron was driven on shore and burnt by Sir Sidney Smith. The English then anchored near the Prince's Isles, about eight miles from Constantinople; and a proposal was made to spare the city on condition that the Turkish fleet should be surrendered, which was of course rejected, and defensive measures being pursued with the greatest activity, Sir J. T. Duckworth prepared for his departure while the passage of the Dardanelles was still practicable. On the first of March he repassed the castles, in which he sustained considerable loss, and thus, instead of producing accommodation between Russia and the Porte, a new power was added to the list of England's enemies. The British agents and settlers in the Turkish territories were exposed to considerable annoyance; the seizure and sequestration of English property at Smyrna, Salonica, and other places, were ordered by the Porte, with a promptitude which precluded all opportunity for precaution; the power of France over the divan became materially strengthened; and Sebastiana, the French ambassador at Constan-

simple, was consulted on almost every emergency. In this war between Russia and the Porte, the former was, however, generally successful; and, to add to the disasters of the Turks, an insurrection arose during its progress, owing to some new regulations in the dress and discipline of the troops, which terminated in the deposition of the grand seignor, Selim the third, and the proclamation of Mustapha the fourth. By sea, the Russians were equally successful as by land; and in an engagement between the Russian and Turkish fleets, fought on the 1st of July, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, the latter, consisting of eleven sail of the line, was nearly annihilated.

The failure of the weak and injudicious attempt on Constantinople was followed by the disappointment of another expedition which was sent against another seat of the Ottoman power. On the sixth of March a force of five thousand men, under the command of major-general Mackenzie Fraser, sailed from Messina, and having effected a landing near Alexandria, speedily compelled that city to capitulate. Ulterior operations against Rosetta and Rhameh were unsuccessful, and the troops retreated, fighting all the way to Alexandria, where they remained till September; when general Fraser, unable to cope with the enemy, entered into a negotiation; and having obtained the restoration of the British prisoners, consented to evacuate Egypt.

CAPTURE OF MONTE VIDEO—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTACK ON BUENOS AYRES—GENERAL WHITELOCKE CASHIERED.

SOME hopes were entertained that these reverses in the Mediterranean would be compensated by successes in South America. In October, 1806, ministers had sent out a reinforcement to the river Plate, under the command of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and conveyed by Sir Charles Stirling, who was appointed to supersede Sir Home Popham in the naval command on that station. On arriving at Maldonado, Sir Samuel determined to attack the strong fortress of Monte Video, the key of the river Plate; and on the eighteenth of January the troops, amounting to about four thousand men, were landed near the place, and repulsed a superior force which had been ordered out against them. A battery was erected, which, though exposed to the incessant fire of the enemy, effected a practicable breach on the second of February; and orders were issued that the assault should be made next morning, an hour before day-break. The enemy, in the mean time, had so barricaded the breach with hides, that the head of the assailing column could not in the darkness distinguish it from the untouched wall; and he men remained under a galling fire for a quarter of an hour, when it was at length discovered by captain Renny, who fell gloriously as he mounted it; the gallant soldiers then forced their way into the town, overturning the cannon which had been placed at the head of the principal avenues, and clearing the batteries and the streets with their bayonets. By sunrise all was in possession of the British except the citadel, which soon surrendered; and early in the morning, highly to the credit of the troops, all was perfectly quiet.

When intelligence arrived in England of the recapture of Buenos Ayres by the Spaniards, orders

were sent by a fast-sailing vessel to direct general Crauford, who had been sent against Chili with four thousand two hundred men, accompanied by a naval force under admiral Murray, to proceed with his armament to the river Plate. On the fourteenth of June he reached Monte Video, where he found general Whitelocke, who had arrived on the ninth of May from England, with a reinforcement of sixteen hundred men, and to whom was intrusted the chief command of the British forces in South America, with orders to reduce the whole province of Buenos Ayres. Having, after fatiguing marches, nearly surrounded the town, he ordered a general attack to be made on the fifth of July, each corps to enter by the streets opposite to it, and all with unloaded muskets. The service was executed with great intrepidity, but with the loss of two thousand five hundred men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. No mode of attack could have been so ill adapted against a town consisting of flat-roofed houses, disposed in regular streets, intersecting each other at right angles. Volleys of grape-shot were poured on our columns in front and in flank as they advanced; and they were assailed also from the house tops with hand-grenades and other destructive missiles. Sir Samuel Auchmuty succeeded in making himself master of the Plaza de Toros, where he took eighty-two pieces of cannon and an immense quantity of ammunition. General Crauford with his brigade was cut off from all communication with the other columns, and obliged to surrender; as was also lieutenant-colonel Duff, with a detachment under his command. On the following morning, general Liniers offered to deliver up the prisoners taken on this occasion, and also those taken from general Crauford, on condition that the attack on the town should be discontinued; and that within two months from that date, Monte Video, and the other stations on the river Plate, occupied by the English troops, should be evacuated. He added that the expectation of the populace against the English prisoners was unbounded; and that if hostilities were continued, it would be impossible to ensure their safety. These terms were no sooner proposed than they were yielded to by general Whitelocke, whose conduct called forth the most severe reprobation; and on his return to England he was tried by a court-martial, cashiered, and declared totally unfit and unworthy to serve his majesty in any military capacity.

CAPTURE OF CURACAO—INSURRECTION IN INDIA.

AGAINST these misfortunes, the solitary acquisition of the Dutch island of Curacao is to be recorded. On the first of January, 1807, the capture was effected with inconsiderable loss, by a squadron of four frigates under the command of captain Brisbane.

The tranquillity of British India was interrupted in July, 1806, by an insurrection of the sepoys or native troops in the pay of the company, who attacked the European barracks at Vellore, and massacred one hundred and sixty-four men before they were quelled. A rumour, that it was the wish of the British government to convert the sepoys by forcible means to Christianity, was the cause of this disaffection.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

A new Parliament—The late Negotiations—Finance—Abolition of the Slave Trade—Change of Administration—Dissolution of Parliament—New Election—New Military Plan—Bill respecting Ireland—Restorations—Prerogative—Expedition against Copenhagen—Capture of the Danish Fleet—War with Denmark—With Russia—Restrictions on Commerce—Action between a British and American frigate—Capture of the Danish West India Islands—The French enter Portugal—The Royal Family embark for Brazil—Affairs of Spain—Buonaparte's efforts to place his Brother on the throne—Expedition to Portugal—Convention of Ulm—Advance of the British forces into Spain, under Sir John Moore—His retreat—Battle of Corunna, and death of Sir John Moore.

NEW PARLIAMENT—THE LATE NEGOTIATIONS—FINANCE.

AT the meeting of the new parliament on the fifteenth of December, 1806, the royal speech animated the nation to exertions against the enemy. On the second of January, 1807, the subject of the late negotiation with France for the restoration of a general peace was brought under consideration. On this occasion Canning condemned the policy of breaking with Prussia for the sake of Hanover. Prussia had, in the first instance, accepted the transfer of that electorate from France, on condition that the possession should not be considered as valid until a general peace should be concluded, or until the consent of the king of Great Britain should be obtained. Buonaparte acquiesced for a time; but no sooner was he relieved from anxiety respecting the Russian armies, than he insisted that the occupation should be absolute, and Prussia had then no choice but war, or compliance at the risk of war with England: she saw this risk, but could not avoid it; and we fell into the snare. Buonaparte had apprehended the union of Prussia with the two great surviving powers of the confederacy, and wished to have her at his mercy. In the space of three months he beheld her at war with England, and England and Russia separately negotiating for peace. He found means to continue this state of things until the arrangements for the overthrow of Prussia were matured: then the farce was ended, and he hastened to the field of battle.

Parliament, after providing for an augmentation of the sea and land forces, directed its attention to the improvement of the revenue. Lord Henry Petty, having stated the total amount of the supplies for the year 1807 at forty million five hundred and twenty-seven thousand sixty-five pounds eleven shillings and eight pence, and the ways and means at forty-one million one hundred thousand pounds, brought forward a permanent plan of finance, which professed to have for its object to provide the means of maintaining the home and independence of the British empire during the necessary continuance of the war, without perceptibly increasing the burdens of the country, and with manifest benefit to the interest of the public creditor. This plan was adapted to meet a scale of expenditure nearly equal to that of 1806; and assumed that, during the war, the annual produce of the permanent and temporary revenue would continue equal to the produce of that year. Keeping these premises in view, it was proposed that the war loans for the years 1807, 1808, and 1809, should be twelve million pounds annually; for 1810, fourteen million pounds; and for each of the ten following years, sixteen million pounds. These several loans were to be made a charge on the war taxes, which were estimated to produce twenty-one million pounds annually; this charge to be at the rate of ten per cent. on each loan; five per cent. for interest, and the remainder as a sinking fund, which, at compound interest, would redeem any sum of capital debt in fourteen years. The portions of war taxes thus successively liberated, might, if the war should still be prolonged, become applicable in a revolving

series, and be again pledged for new loans; it was, however, material, that the property-tax should, in every case, cease on the sixth of April next, after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace. In the result therefore of the whole measure, there would not be imposed any new taxes for the first three years from this time. New taxes of less than three hundred thousand pounds, on an average of seven years, from 1810 to 1816, both inclusive, were all that would be necessary, in order to procure for the country the full benefit of the plan here described, which would continue for twenty years; during the last ten of which again no new taxes would be required. After repeated discussions the plan was agreed to, and the funds advanced considerably, which gave the minister an opportunity of negotiating a loan on terms highly advantageous to the public, and yet not unproductive to the contractors.

ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.

At this period the total abolition of the African slave trade was finally accomplished. On the second of January lord Grenville introduced a bill for effecting this glorious object, which was read a first time, and printed. On the fourth of February, counsel were heard at the bar of the house, in favour of the continuance of the trade, and on the following day lord Grenville concluded an elaborate speech on the subject, by moving the second reading of the bill, which was principally opposed by the duke of Clarence, earls Westmoreland and St. Vincent, and lords Sidmouth, Eldon, and Hawkesbury. At four o'clock in the morning the house divided, when there appeared for the motion one hundred, and against it thirty-six voices. On the tenth the bill was read a third time, and ordered to the commons for the concurrence of that assembly. On the twenty-third lord Howick moved for its commitment, when the opponents of this humane law were so much diminished that there appeared, on a division, for the question two hundred and eighty-three, and against it only sixteen voices. The bill, which was debated with great animation in all its stages, enacted, that no vessel should clear out for slaves from any part within the British dominions after the first of May, 1807, and that no slave should be landed in the colonies after the first of March, 1808. On the sixteenth of March, on the motion of lord Henry Petty, the bill was read a third time, and passed without a division. On the eighteenth the bill was carried to the lords for their concurrence in some amendments, when lord Grenville instantly moved that it should be printed, and taken into consideration on the twenty-third, on which day the alterations were agreed to. The reason of this haste was, that his majesty, displeased with the introduction of a bill for granting some concessions to Roman catholic officers, had resolved to displace the existing administration. Though the bill had passed both houses, there was an awful fear, lest it should not receive the royal assent before the ministry was dissolved. On the twenty-fifth of March, at half past eleven o'clock in the morning, his majesty's message was delivered to the different members of administration, commanding them

to wait upon him, to deliver up the seals of their respective offices. It then appeared, that a commission for the royal assent to this bill, among others, had been obtained. This commission was instantly opened by the lord chancellor (Erskine), and as the clock struck twelve, this important bill became, after a struggle of twenty years, a part of the law of the land! Thus did Great Britain set an example to the world, which neither the philanthropists of the French republic, nor those of the United States of America, had been sufficiently magnanimous to exhibit.

CHANGE OF THE MINISTRY—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

A BILL, styled the Roman Catholics' Army and Navy Service Bill, occasioned the dismissal of the ministry. Its object was to secure to all his majesty's subjects the privilege of serving in the army and navy, upon their taking an oath prescribed by act of parliament, and for leaving to them, as far as convenience would admit, the free exercise of their respective religions. Without having for its aim what was called the emancipation of the Catholics, this bill was adapted to afford them great satisfaction, being doubtless intended as the precursor of a system of enlarged toleration; it soon, however, became a matter of notoriety, that the king regarded it as contrary to the obligations of his coronation oath, and, under such circumstances, ministers immediately abandoned it: but being also required to give a written obligation, pledging themselves never more to propose any thing connected with the catholic question, they resisted the demand, as incompatible with their honour and duty. Some portion of irritation now operated on both sides—the breach had extended too far to admit of being closed—confidence was mutually impaired—and the necessary consequence, the resignation of ministers, almost immediately ensued.

The new ministers announced on the twenty-fifth of March, were Lord Eldon, chancellor; the earl of Westmorland, privy seal; the duke of Portland, first lord of the treasury; earl Camden, president of the council; lord Mulgrave, first lord of the admiralty; lord Chatham, master of the ordnance; lord Hawkesbury, secretary for the home department; Canning, secretary for foreign affairs; lord Castlereagh, secretary for the department of war and colonies; and Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer.

A justification of the late ministry was sought by a motion made by Brand, that it was contrary to the first duties of the confidential servants of the crown, to restrain themselves by any pledge, express or implied, from offering to the king any advice that the course of circumstances might render necessary. The majority in favour of the new ministers, in a house of four hundred and eighty-four members, only amounted to thirty-two; and Canning intimated, that in the event of administration finding any impediment from the number of their opponents, a dissolution of Parliament would be resorted to. This threat was soon after carried into effect, and on the twenty-seventh of April, the session and the parliament were brought to an end by a speech from the throne, in which the commissioners were charged to state that his majesty was anxious to recur to the sense of his people, while the events which had recently taken place, were yet fresh in their recollection.

NEW ELECTION—MILITARY PLAN—BILL RESPECTING IRELAND—PARLIAMENT PROROGUED.

THE general election which succeeded the dissolution of parliament was, in many places, very violently contested, the cry of *No Popery*, and *The Church is in danger*, being used for political purposes; and so successfully was it exerted, that of the late ministry Thomas Grenville was the only commoner in the cabinet who resumed his seat for the place he had before represented. The new parliament assembled on the twenty-second of June, when Abbot was unanimously re-elected speaker of the house of commons. The king's speech, which was delivered by commission, stated that, since the events which led to the dissolution, he had received the warmest assurances of support in maintaining the just rights of the crown, and the true principles

of the constitution. In the lords the address was carried by one hundred and sixty against sixty-seven, and in the commons by three hundred and fifty to one hundred and fifty-five, being the fullest house ever known on a similar occasion; and thus the solidity of the present administration was fully established.

A new military plan was introduced by lord Castlereagh, for increasing the regular army from the militia, and for supplying the deficiencies arising from such a transfer by a supplementary militia. Two bills were accordingly passed, through the operation of which it was calculated that thirty-eight thousand men would be added to the military force of the country. A bill was introduced by Sir Arthur Wellesley for suppressing insurrection in Ireland, and for preventing the disturbance of the peace in that country; and another bill was also passed to prevent improper persons from keeping arms. An address was likewise carried in the commons, on the motion of Banks, praying his majesty not to make any grant of an office, or pension, until six weeks after the commencement of the ensuing session. On the fourteenth of August parliament was prorogued.

EXPEDITION AGAINST COPENHAGEN—CAPTURE OF THE DANISH FLEET.

THE efforts of Buonaparte to exclude the commerce of England from every part of the continent, and to promote a maritime confederacy against her, rendered it certain that no power which he could control would be permitted to enjoy a free trade; and having succeeded in closing the ports of Russia and Prussia against the British flag, Denmark became involved in a distressing dilemma. The Berlin decree of Buonaparte, and the British orders of council issued by way of counteraction, placed all inferior powers in a state of submission to the belligerents; and between the dread of France, to whom all her continental territories lay open, on the one hand, and of the English navy as the other, Denmark, though anxious rigidly to preserve her neutrality, was severely visited with the calamities of war. Persuaded that sooner or later she must be absorbed in that vortex of domination, from which nearly all the continental powers had been unable to extricate themselves, the British government despatched to the Baltic an armament of twenty thousand troops, under the command of lord Cathcart, with a powerful fleet under admiral Gambier, one of the lords of the admiralty. When the intelligence of this expedition first reached Copenhagen, it was universally supposed, in that city, that the English army was intended to co-operate with the Swedes in Pomerania; the illusion, however, was speedily dissipated by the arrival of a British envoy in the Danish capital, early in August, with instructions to demand the delivery of the fleet into the possession of the British admiral, under a solemn stipulation that it should be restored at the conclusion of the war between England and France: but in case the prince royal refused to comply, he was to be informed that the British commanders would forthwith proceed to hostilities. The prince argued upon the proposals made to him with dignity, and finally declared his determination to reject them, and to adhere to the line of policy which he had hitherto pursued.

The English army landed without opposition on the sixteenth of August, and after some ineffectual attempts to impede its progress, Copenhagen was closely invested on the land side, the fleet forming an impenetrable blockade by sea. A proclamation was at the same time issued by the commanders, notifying to the inhabitants of Zealand the motives of their undertaking; the conduct that would be observed towards them; and an assurance that at any time when the demand of his Britannic majesty should be acceded to, hostilities should cease. Sir Arthur Wellesley was despatched on the twenty-sixth with a force to disperse troops which were collecting with great rapidity under general Catechfield which he effectually performed. On the evening of the second of September, the land batteries, and the bomb and mortar vessels, opened a tremendous fire upon the town, and in a very short time a general conflagration appeared to have taken place. No proposals for capitulation being sent on the two ensuing days, the firing which had been

considerably slackened, was vigorously renewed on the evening of the fourth, and next morning the commandant of the garrison sent out a flag of truce. A capitulation having been settled on the eighth, the British army took possession of the citadel, dock-yards, and batteries, under an engagement of restoring them, and of evacuating the island of Zealand at the expiration of six weeks, or sooner if possible: no requisitions were made, no contributions were levied, no military excesses were committed, and the police of the city was regulated by the Danish magistrates. The British admiral immediately began rigging and fitting out the ships that filled the spacious basins where they were laid up in ordinary, sixteen of which were of the line, fifteen were frigates, six brigs, and twenty-five gun-boats; and at the expiration of the term limited in the capitulation, they were all, together with the stores, timber, and every article of naval equipment found in the arsenal and store houses, conveyed to England, except one line-of-battle ship that grounded in the lake of Hæm, and was destroyed.

The English fleet had scarcely quitted the road of Copenhagen, when a number of small armed vessels commenced depredations on our traders in the Baltic with considerable success. British property was confiscated throughout the Danish dominions, and correspondence with England strictly prohibited. Under these circumstances a declaration was published in justification of the motives which dictated the expedition, wherein it was stated that "his majesty had received the most positive information of the determination of the ruler of France to occupy with a military force the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from her accustomed channels of communication with the continent, or inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against British commerce and navigation, and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland;" and farther, that "Holstein once occupied, Zealand would be at the mercy of France, and the navy of Denmark at her disposal." The expedition was therefore justified as an act of self-preservation.

RUSSIA PROCLAIMS WAR WITH ENGLAND —RESTRICTIONS ON COMMERCE.

THE emperor of Russia strongly resented the conduct of England towards Denmark; and as the treaty of Tilsit had already tended considerably to relax the bond of union between the courts of London and St. Petersburg, it was far from improbable that Russia might soon join the league against Britain. Apprehension was at length converted into certainty—the British ambassador was ordered to leave St. Petersburg—and on the thirty-first of October a declaration of war was issued against England. The emperor proclaimed anew the principles of the armed neutrality, and engaged that there should be no re-establishment of peace between Russia and England until satisfaction should have been given to Denmark.

Bonaparte's efforts to exclude English commerce, and to establish his continental system, were this year continued with rigorous perseverance. To embarrass the trade and finances of Great Britain, Europe was obliged, in a great degree, to abandon those luxuries which long habit had almost rendered necessary; and these restrictions were followed on the part of England, by a system of retaliation, which deprived multitudes in France of the means of honest industry, and even of relief under disease and pain. The distress of the West India planters, in consequence of the exclusion of their produce from the usual markets, excited particular attention; and, to remedy this evil, a committee of the house of commons, appointed to enquire into the means of affording them relief, recommended a decrease of duty upon colonial produce, an advance of bounty upon its importation, and the interruption of the intercourse carried on by American ships between Europe and the colonies of Cuba, Porto Rico, Martinique, and Guadaloupe, through the medium of the United States. An order of council, issued on the seventh of January, which prohibited neutral vessels from trading to any port in the possession, or under the control of

the enemy, not having answered the desired purpose, additional orders were issued on the eleventh of November, declaring every port from which Great Britain was excluded, to be in a state of blockade; all trade in the produce and manufactures of these countries was pronounced illegal; and the vessels employed therein were liable to seizure.—Thus was the communication along the coasts of France and her allies, by means of neutral vessels, completely prohibited; and, though the Americans might still freely trade with the enemy's colonies for articles of their own consumption, the double restriction was imposed upon the intercourse by them between France and her colonies, of calling at a British port, and paying a British duty. To avoid the losses and hostilities which were to be apprehended from the measures respectively adopted by England and France, the American congress, on the twenty-second of December, laid a strict embargo on all the vessels of the United States, by which they were prohibited from quitting any of their ports; and ships from all other nations were commanded to leave the American harbours, with or without cargoes, as soon as the act was notified to them. This intelligence created a general feeling of alarm among commercial men; and the merchants of Liverpool, considering that this act of congress proceeded from our orders in council, petitioned for their speedy removal, but parliament did not think proper to comply with their request. Buonaparte, aware that all restrictions on commerce would, from the situation and pursuits of England, fall upon this country with a much heavier pressure than on France, felt no disposition to relax in this new species of warfare; and accordingly, on the twenty-third of November, a decree was issued from Milan, enacting "that all vessels which, after having touched at England from any nation whatever, shall enter the ports of France, shall be seized and confiscated as well as their cargoes, without exception or distinction of commodities or merchandise." This interdiction was, on the nineteenth of the following month, succeeded by a rejoinder to the orders in council of the eleventh of November, by which it was declared that every neutral which submitted to be searched by an English ship, or paid any duty whatsoever to the English government, should be considered as thereby denationalised; and having forfeited the protection of its own government, should in consequence be liable to seizure as a lawful prize, by French ships of war. Neutral powers were thus placed between confiscation and confiscation. If they proceeded to a French port without first paying a duty upon their cargoes in England, they were liable to be captured by British cruisers; and if they came to England and paid the duty, they then became subject to confiscation in the ports of the enemy. The case was one of extreme hardship; and in this country, where war had not obliterated all sense of moral obligation, the justice and the policy of the orders in council, underwent a severe scrutiny, and called forth the most animated discussions.

ACTION BETWEEN A BRITISH AND AMERICAN FRIGATE—DANISH WEST INDIA ISLANDS SURRENDER.

WHILE the orders of council increased the differences between Great Britain and the United States, an unfortunate occurrence created another ground of dispute. On the twenty-third of June an English man-of-war, the *Leopard*, captain Humphries, acting under the orders of admiral Berkeley, fell in with the *Chesapeake*, American frigate, off the Capes of Virginia, and demanded some British deserters, whom she was known to have on board. Her captain refusing to admit the search, the *Leopard* fired a broadside, which killed and wounded several of his men: after which the American struck his colours. In consequence of this transaction the president of the United States issued a proclamation, ordering the immediate departure of all British ships of war from the harbours and waters of the Union, and, in his message to congress on the twenty-seventh of October, relative to the pending negotiation with Great Britain, he stated that satisfaction had been demanded for the outrage. An investigation in the mean time took place at Halifax, and one of the deserters taken on board the *Chesapeake* was condemned by a

court-martial, and executed. The British ministry hesitated not to declare in parliament their readiness to make every reparation for whatever might appear an unauthorized act of hostility; and in a proclamation issued for recalling British seamen, it was stated that force might, if necessary, be exercised for recovering deserters on board the merchant vessels of neutrals; but that, with respect to ships of war, a requisition only should be made. By this proclamation the conduct of admiral Berkeley was tacitly disavowed; and an envoy was soon after despatched on a special mission to America, with overtures of conciliation, which, however, proved abortive.

The Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix, surrendered in December, without resistance, to a squadron commanded by Sir Alexander Cochrane.

FRENCH ENTER PORTUGAL.

THE French armies entered Spain; and Buonaparte having publicly declared that the house of Braganza should cease to reign, a large force, under general Junot, entered Portugal; and on the evening of the 26th of November had reached Abrantes, within three days' march of Lisbon. At this alarming crisis the prince regent, having hastily concerted measures with lord Strangford, the English minister at Lisbon, adopted the resolution of transferring the royal family and the seat of the Portuguese government to Brazil. No time having been left for delay, the embarkation was expeditiously performed; and, on the morning of the twenty-ninth, the Portuguese fleet, consisting of eight ships of the line, four frigates, three brigs and a schooner, sailed out of the Tagus, having on board the prince of Brazil, with the whole of the royal family, and a number of persons attached to its fortunes. The French troops, who, from the heights in the vicinity of Lisbon, viewed the fleet as it dropped down the river, entered the city without opposition, and treated it as a conquest of the French arms. The migration of the Braganza family, which has no example in modern, and scarcely any in ancient history, was performed under the protection of the British navy, Sir Sydney Smith having accompanied the royal emigrants to Rio de Janeiro, where they arrived on the ninth of January; and a direct intercourse being thus established between England and Brazil, a new epoch was formed in the history of commerce. The valuable island of Madeira was committed by the Portuguese government to the protection of the British until the conclusion of a general peace.

BUONAPARTE PLACES HIS BROTHER ON THE THRONE OF SPAIN—INSURRECTION AT MADRID.

AFTER Buonaparte had, in the pretended character of a friend and ally, introduced his armies into Spain, the reigning monarch, Charles the fourth, perplexed and harassed by court intrigues, was induced or compelled to resign his crown to his son, the prince of Asturias. The new sovereign, Ferdinand the seventh, with the whole of the royal family, and some of the principal grandees, were, in a mysterious manner, allured to take a journey to Bayonne, for the purpose of an interview with Buonaparte, who, having thus secured the two kings, obliged them to sign a formal abdication, and the infants Don Carlos and Don Antonio renounced all claim of succession to the Spanish crown. By the French, these abdications and renunciations were represented as voluntary acts; but by Spain, and the rest of Europe, they were contemplated in a very different light; an imperial decree was issued by Buonaparte, declaring the throne of Spain to be vacant, by the abdication of the reigning family; a junta, principally composed of the partisans of France, was convened to meet at Bayonne. Among the deputies chosen by the notables to represent them in the junta was Pedro, bishop of Orense, who excused himself from accepting the trust in a letter to Murat, then grand duke of Berg, and provisional viceroy. It was fraught with pure morality and accurate reasoning, covered with a veil of exquisitely fine irony. The bishop of St. Andero's letter, on the same occasion, though quite in another style, was as much admired; he replied, "I cannot make it convenient to attend, and if I could, I would not." Buonaparte conferred the

crown of Spain on his brother Joseph, who resigned the crown of Naples in favour of the grand duke of Berg, Murat.

The circumstances of the time induced a belief that the new government would meet with little opposition: the French occupied all the most commanding positions; the main body of their army was stationed in Madrid, and the principal cities and fortresses were garrisoned by their detachments. At that time the French could not have fewer than one hundred thousand troops in Spain, and twenty thousand in Portugal; but notwithstanding the presence of so formidable a force, the news of the compulsory renunciations of the Bourbon dynasty formed the signal for a general insurrection. On the morning of the second of May, 1808, immense crowds collected in the principal streets of the capital, and, rendered confident by their numbers, attacked the French troops with great vigour and resolution, forced them to retreat, and obtained possession of their cannon, with which they succeeded in driving them out of the city. The alarm was no sooner given than the French repaired to their posts, and the reinforcements which poured into the city overwhelmed the insurgents. About two o'clock the firing ceased, and the inhabitants flattered themselves that the carnage was at an end; but in the afternoon Murat issued orders for the immediate formation of a military tribunal, of which general Grouchy was appointed president; and, after a summary trial, three groups of forty each were successively shot. In this manner was the evening of the second of May spent by the French at Madrid; the inhabitants were commanded to illuminate their houses; and through the whole night the dead and dying were lying in heaps upon the blood-stained pavement. The numbers slain on both sides must have been immense.

This effort of the citizens of Madrid, which ought to have aroused the junta to a sense of their duty, produced directly the opposite effect, and bent them completely to the will of Murat. Through his influence, the holy inquisition addressed a circular to all the courts of the kingdom, in which they accused the Spanish people of having conspired, by their factious disposition and outrageous violence, the disturbances and bloodshed of the second of May.

MADRID EVACUATED BY THE FRENCH.

A PROVINCIAL junta assembled at Oviedo published a formal declaration of war against France, and, having appointed the marquis of Santa Cruz general of the patriotic army, sent a deputation to solicit the assistance of England, which was readily granted, and the British government declared itself at peace with the Spanish nation. The defence of Arragon was committed to general Palafox, whose bold and animated addresses had contributed to rouse his countrymen to arms; and Saragossa, the principal city, was considered by the French as a place of so much importance, that they made repeated attacks upon it with all the forces they could spare; but though they more than once obtained possession of some parts of the town, they were never able to preserve what they with so much difficulty acquired. Another point of great importance to both the contending parties was the possession of the principal road between Bayonne and Madrid, and Cuesta was the Spanish general appointed to secure that important object: the French general despatched for the same purpose was Lesselès. The hostile forces met on the fourteenth of July at Rio Seco, near Valladolid, and the Spaniards were compelled to retreat, on which the French took possession of Rio Seco, and afterwards of St. Andero; their triumph, however, was of short duration, the advance of general de Ponti, with a division of ten thousand men from the Austrian army, obliging the French to evacuate the town precipitately.

Buonaparte remained at Bayonne, directing or receiving the deliberations of the junta which he had convened, and drawing up a constitution for Spain. Murat, under plea of ill-health, having previously quitted Madrid, Joseph Buonaparte, accompanied by his principal ministers, set out for the capital of his yet unconquered kingdom, where he arrived, under the protection of ten thousand men, on the twentieth of July; but on that very day general Dupont, with fifteen thousand men, surrendered himself and his army prisoners to Castanos, the chief of the Andalusian army; and as soon as

this news reached Madrid, Joseph and his court sought their safety in flight, meanly consoling themselves, however, by carrying off the regalia, plate, and other valuables in the royal palaces. The council of Castile immediately resumed the government, with professions of ardent attachment to the cause of their deposed monarch; but these professions were received with distrust by the patriots, and the government of the country still continued to be administered by the junta of Seville. It was also judged expedient to form a military junta at Madrid, composed of five generals, including Castanos and Morla.

EXPEDITION OF THE BRITISH TO PORTUGAL.

In England, an expedition which had been fitted out under Sir Arthur Wellesley, for the purpose, it was supposed, of proceeding against Spanish America, was countermanded on the arrival of the news of the insurrection in Spain. This army, consisting of about ten thousand men, sailed from Cork on the twelfth of July; and Sir Arthur, having arrived at Corunna on the twentieth, offered the assistance of the force under his command to the junta of Galicia; but that body, though the defeat at Rio Seco had taken place a few days before, and the Spaniards were retreating in every direction, unafraid by their late reverses, replied, that they wished for nothing from the British government except money, arms, and ammunition: they expressed their firm conviction, however, that the armament might be of infinite service if it were employed in driving the French from Lisbon, and to that point it accordingly proceeded. The English government next turned its thoughts to the Spanish troops which Buonaparte had drawn, under the pretence of securing Hanover, to the northern parts of Germany; and a negotiation being entered into between their commander, the marquis de la Romana, and the British admiral, Sir Richard Keats, ten thousand men were, by a well concerted plan, rescued from the power of Buonaparte, and landed on the northern coast of Spain, to support the patriotic cause.

Buonaparte returned to Paris on the fifth of September, when one hundred and sixty thousand men were ordered to be raised for the augmentation of his army, which, combined with the report of the French minister for foreign affairs, stating that two hundred thousand men were to be placed at the service of the war in Spain, sufficiently indicated that the insurrections in that country had not shaken his purposes. Having arranged his military operations, Buonaparte set out from Paris to meet the emperor Alexander, and the dependent German princes, at Erfarth. The proceedings of this meeting were never suffered to transpire; but it cannot be doubted that one of its objects was to overawe Austria, and to arrange the co-operation of Russia and the confederate states of the Rhine against her, if she attempted to avail herself of the war in Spain. On his return to Paris, he assured the legislative body that the emperor of Russia and himself were determined to make considerable sacrifices in order to procure, for the hundred millions of men whom they represented, an early enjoyment of the commerce of the seas; and he announced his resolution to depart in a few days to put himself at the head of his armies, to crown the king of Spain at Madrid, and to plant his eagles on the forts of Lisbon. He arrived at Bayonne on the third of November, when the progress of the campaign became unfavourable to the patriotic cause. Having fully succeeded in the north-west of Spain, Buonaparte suddenly and unexpectedly directed his efforts against the forces under Castanos, on the Ebro, whom he defeated at Tudela on the twenty-third; and, in the short space of three weeks, the grand armies of Blake, Castanos, and count Belveder, on which the principal hopes of the Spanish nation rested for the defence of the capital and the north of Spain, were defeated, and, in a great measure, dispersed. On the twenty-second of November, eleven days after the battle of Tudela, Buonaparte removed his head-quarters from Burgoa, and marched against Madrid by the direct road of the Castiles. The Puerto, a passage of the Bomo Sierra, was defended by a division of from twelve to fifteen thousand Spaniards, and by a battery of sixteen pieces of cannon; but the powerful army to which they were opposed compelled

them to seek safety in flight, leaving their cannon in the hands of the enemy. On the second of December Buonaparte arrived on the heights which overlook the capital of Spain, and summoned it to surrender; but the bearer of the proposal narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the inhabitants, who evinced a resolution to defend themselves, which was feebly seconded by their leaders; and, after an obstinate resistance, the French forces took possession of the city on the fourth, the Spanish troops being withdrawn during the preceding night.

BATTLES OF ROLIEIA AND VINIERA—CONVENTION OF CINTRA.

The news of the Spanish insurrection soon reached Lisbon; but the inhabitants, kept in awe by the army of Junot, were prevented at first from manifesting their joy at the intelligence: at Oporto, however, circumstances were more favourable. A body of Spanish troops, which occupied that city, on learning that their services were required in their own country, determined to join the patriotic ranks; but, before their departure, they took the French general and his staff prisoners, and delivered up the government of the city to Louise d'Oliveira, who immediately opened a friendly communication with an English frigate which was cruising off that port. The conduct of Oporto served as an example for the other parts of Portugal: nearly the whole of the north rose in arms against the French; the authority of the prince Regent was re-established; and provincial Juntas, similar in their character and functions to those in Spain, were formed. These assemblies turning their attention towards England for assistance, the army of Sir Arthur Wellesley, which had, in the first instance, been offered to the Spaniards, was destined for Portugal, and subsequently augmented by reinforcements from the south of Spain, under generals Anstruther and Ackland, and from the Baltic under Sir John Moore. On the arrival of the expedition at Oporto, the bishop stated that the Portuguese force in that quarter was sufficient to repel the attacks of the enemy, on which Sir Arthur Wellesley determined to effect a landing in Mondego bay, having previously given orders to general Spencer to join him at that place: and on the ninth of August their united forces advanced on the road to Lisbon. On the fifteenth the advanced guard of the British army came up, for the first time, with a party of the French at Ovelas, when a slight action took place called the action of Lourinka. On the seventeenth Sir Arthur determined to attack general Laborde, whose force, strongly and advantageously posted at Rolicia, consisted of about six thousand men. A desperate battle ensued, attended with very considerable loss on the side of the British; but, at the close of the day, the enemy was completely repulsed, and his retreat might have been cut off had the British army been supplied with the usual proportion of cavalry. Junot, having been informed of the reinforcements which the British army expected, resolved, notwithstanding the defeat of his troops at Rolicia, to anticipate their arrival, for which purpose he left Lisbon with nearly the whole of his disposable force, amounting to about fourteen thousand men, and on the morning of the twenty-first came up with the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley, at Viniera. The French commenced the attack on various points with their usual impetuosity, but met with a resistance to which they had been long unaccustomed. After repulsing them at the point of the bayonet, the British became the assailants, and general Anstruther, advancing for the purpose of occupying his position on the left, attacked their flank, and threw them into complete confusion. Nearly at the same time the enemy assailed general Ferguson's brigade, and again he gave way before the rampart of British bayonets with which he was resisted. Having failed in every quarter the French commenced a retreat, after sustaining a loss of three thousand men, and thirteen pieces of cannon. In this decisive victory the whole of the French force in Portugal was employed, under the command of Junot, the duke of Abrantes, in person; the enemy was certainly superior in cavalry and artillery, and not more than half of the British army was actually engaged. Sir Harry Burrard, who arrived on the morning of the battle, declined assuming the command till Sir Arthur Wellesley should have com-

pleted his operations; and on the following day Sir Hew Dalrymple, who had been ordered from his situation as lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, for the purpose of taking the command of all the different corps sent by the British government into Portugal, reached Cintra, to which the British army had moved. A few hours after his arrival a flag of truce came in from Junot, with a proposal for a cessation of hostilities, that a convention, by which the French should evacuate Portugal, might be agreed upon; and an armistice was accordingly consented to, which formed the basis of the convention of Cintra. Its essential articles were, that the English government should be at the expense of transporting the whole of the French army to any of the ports in France, between Rochefort and L'Orient; that they were to be at liberty to serve again immediately; and that all the property of the French army, as well as of individuals, was to be sacred and untouched, and might either be sold in Portugal, or carried off into France. The embarkation was to take place in three divisions, the first to sail within seven days; no native of Portugal was to be molested on account of his political conduct during the French occupation, and such as were desirous of withdrawing into France were to have full liberty to dispose of their property. When the insurrection in Spain first broke out, Junot had ordered a number of Spanish troops, serving in his army, into confinement in the ships in the harbour; and, in return for the delivering up of these men, the British commander engaged to obtain the release of such French subjects as were detained in Spain without having been taken in battle. Sir Charles Cotton concluded a separate convention with admiral Siniavin, for the surrender of the Russian ships in the Tagus.

In Portugal, as well as in England, the terms of the convention produced universal discontent. General Freire, commander of the Portuguese troops entered a formal protest against it; and the coolness which had already unfortunately taken place was by this means greatly aggravated. On the fifteenth of September the French troops completed their embarkation, and Portugal was entirely freed from the presence of an enemy, who, for ten months, had inflicted upon her the most severe calamities. The British, however, did not begin their march towards Spain till two months after the ratification of the convention of Cintra; and even then, upwards of ten thousand were left behind. This fatal convention drew after it a long train of disaster and disgrace. One of its first effects was to suspend all the operations of the army; and Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, were all summoned to England, in consequence of the inquiry which was instituted into that proceeding, and of which the result was a formal declaration, communicated officially to Sir Hew Dalrymple, strongly disapproving the terms of both the armistice and convention.

ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH INTO SPAIN UNDER SIR JOHN MOORE.

THE command of the British army was now vested in Sir John Moore, who had distinguished himself in the West Indies, in Holland, and in Egypt, and had recently returned from Sweden, whither he had been sent, at the head of ten thousand men, to assist the king, against whom war had been declared by Russia, Prussia, and Denmark; but, through the capricious conduct of that monarch, he had been constrained to bring back his troops without landing them. The force destined to act in favour of the Spaniards marched from Lisbon on the twenty-seventh of October, under the command of Sir John Moore, with whom Sir David Baird, who had been sent from England with a reinforcement of ten thousand men, was directed to form a junction wherever he should appoint. Sir David arrived at Coruena on the thirteenth of October, and to his astonishment, the Junta of Galicia at first refused him permission to land his troops; and when their tardy acquiescence was at length obtained, his reception was extremely cold and dispiriting. Sir John Moore, also, when he arrived at Salamanca, on the fourteenth of November, found it necessary to write to the British minister at Madrid, desiring him frankly to inform the Spanish government, that if they expected his army to advance, they must pay more attention to its wants; and the farther

ther he went, the more strongly was he impressed with the conviction, that the information, upon the faith of which he had crossed the frontiers of Portugal, was destitute of foundation. He had been officially informed that his entry into Spain would be covered by sixty thousand men; but he had now advanced within three marches of the French army, and not even a Spanish picket had appeared to protect his front. All their principal armies were beaten and dispersed; Bessiere was in possession of the French; and even Valladolid had been occupied by their cavalry. Under these circumstances Sir John resolved to retreat; but before he could put this determination into effect, he received a communication from Don P. Morla, member of the supreme junta, who proved to be a traitor, and another from Frere, the British ambassador at Madrid, which induced him to advance. If Sir John Moore had not possessed in an extraordinary degree, circumspection, penetration, and firmness, these solicitations would have thrown him and his army into the power of the French.

SIR JOHN MOORE'S RETREAT.

BEFORE he had proceeded a day's march on his route, Sir John Moore learnt, by an intercepted despatch, that Buonaparte, who had entered Madrid on the fourth of December, was advancing towards Lisbon, and that a body of eighteen thousand men, under Soult, duke of Dalmatia, was posted at Saldana, on the banks of the Guadiana. Sir John, anxious to meet the wishes of his troops by leading them against the enemy, effected a junction with Sir David Baird, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to the Carrion. Here the advanced posts of the two armies first met, and the superiority of the British cavalry, under Lord Paget, was eminently displayed in a successful skirmish; but just as Sir John Moore had issued his orders for a general attack, and had requested the marquis of Romana to co-operate with his forces, he received information that Buonaparte, in person, was advancing in his rear; that the force which had been stationed at Talavera had moved forward to Salamanca; and that Soult himself had received strong reinforcements. Retreat was now indispensable. The corps of Soult, before it was reinforced, consisted of eighteen thousand men; the right flank of the British was threatened by Junot, who, liberated by the convention of Cintra from his perilous situation in Portugal, had again advanced into Spain, with fifteen thousand men; while Buonaparte, who had quitted Madrid on the eighteenth, with forty thousand troops, was advancing with his usual rapidity. At Benevente another skirmish took place, which terminated greatly to the honour of the British cavalry, and in which the French general Lefebvre, head of his chasseur, was taken prisoner. Finding that his main force could not come up with Sir John Moore before he had quitted Benevente, and his presence being required in France, Buonaparte committed the further prosecution of the pursuit to marshal Soult. The situation of the British army was, at this time, disgusting in the extreme. In the midst of winter, in a dreary and desolate country, the soldiers, chilled and drenched by deluges of rain, and wearied by long and rapid marches, were almost destitute of fuel to cook their victuals, and it was with extreme difficulty that they procured shelter. Their provisions were scanty, irregular, and difficult of attainment; the waggons, in which were their magazines, baggage, and stores, were often deserted in the night by the Spanish drivers, terrified by the approach of the French. Thus baggage, ammunition, stores, and even money, were frequently obliged to be destroyed, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy; and the weak, the sick, and the wounded, were necessarily left behind. In the midst of these distresses, the Spanish peasantry offered no assistance, and showed no sympathy; on the contrary, though armed, they fled at the approach of the English, carrying with them every thing that could alleviate their distress, or contribute to their preservation or comfort. The difficulties and anxiety of the British commander were increased by the relaxation which took place in the discipline of his army. The disappointment which they experienced in not being allowed to measure their strength with the enemy, and the suffering of a retreat which they considered as a disgraceful and unnecessary flight, contributed to weaken their

habits of order and subordination, and compelled Sir John Moore to issue such orders as should unequivocally express his sense of so great an evil, and his unalterable determination to punish, in the most severe and exemplary manner, every future offender. The enemy was now pressing Sir John Moore so much, that he resolved to halt at Lugo, where he arrived on the fifth of January, 1809, and to offer battle; but Soult did not think it safe to attack him in the strong position which he had taken up near this place; and Sir John, not judging it prudent either to act offensively, or to delay his retreat, quitted his ground in the night of the ninth, leaving his fires burning. On the 11th, the whole of the British army reached Corunna, with the exception of general Crawford's division, consisting of three thousand men, which had embarked at Vigo; but, unfortunately the transports had not yet arrived, and the next morning Soult's army occupied an extensive line above the town, in readiness to make an attack as soon as the troops should begin to embark.

BATTLE OF CORUNNA, AND DEATH OF SIR JOHN MOORE.

On the fourteenth, in the evening, the transports hove in sight; and on the sixteenth, when orders had been issued for the embarkation of the whole army, general Hope reported from his post that the enemy's line was getting under arms. This was about noon, at the moment that Sir John Moore was visiting his outposts, and explaining his plans to the general officers: but as soon as he was informed of this hostile indication, he flew to the field, where the picquets were already engaged, and beheld the French descending from the hills in four columns, two of which threatened Sir David Baird's division, on the right of the British line. This effort was met by Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird, at the head of the forty-second and fiftieth regiments, and the brigade under lord W. Bentinck, by whom the enemy was charged and driven back with great slaughter, though not till Sir David had received a severe wound in his arm,

and was obliged to retire from the scene of action. At this period of the action Sir John Moore received his death-wound. Undismayed by the loss of their commander, the British soldiers maintained the advantages they had gained on the right and, with the most determined bravery, continued to repel the attacks of the enemy on their centre and left, till they actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged; and, on the close of the day, the British were left masters of the field. Not more than fifteen thousand British were engaged, of whom between seven and eight hundred were killed or wounded. The French exceeded twenty thousand, and their loss was estimated at about two thousand.

In consequence of the death of Sir John Moore, and the wound of Sir David Baird, the command in chief had devolved upon general Hope, who lost no time in carrying into effect the embarkation of the troops, according to the arrangements already made by his predecessor; they accordingly quitted their position about ten o'clock at night, and marched into Corunna, where every thing was so well concerted, that during the night, and in the course of the following day, the whole army embarked without further molestation. When the French found the British were gone, they fired on the transports, which so alarmed the masters of several of them, that they cut their cables, and four of the ships ran aground; the troops, however, were removed, and the vessels destroyed. The body of Sir John Moore was hastily interred on the ramparts of Corunna, where a monument was afterwards raised to his memory.

In this retreat the British army lost all its ammunition, all its magazines, above five thousand horses, and five or six thousand men. The expedition, however, calamitous as it proved, was not destitute of advantage to the cause it was intended to support, as it drew Buonaparte from the south, which at that time lay entirely open to his enterprises, and afforded time to the Spaniards to recover in some degree from the terrors of their enemy.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Parliamentary Proceedings—Expedition against Denmark—Droits of Admiralty—Enlistment—Local Militia—Finance—Criminal Law—Administration of Justice—Distilleries—Spanish Cause—Prorogation—Austria declares against England—Efforts of the Swedes against Russia and Denmark—Affairs of Italy—Militia—Convention of Cintra—Charges against Duke of York—Traffic in East India Appointments—Corrupt practices respecting seats in Parliament, and Bill for their Prevention—Budget—Dutch Commissioners—Rupture between Austria and France—Campaign in Germany—Overthrow of Austrians—Treaty of Peace—Efforts of Tyrolese—Annexation of Rome to France—Divorce of Buonaparte and Josephine—Affairs of Sweden—Expedition to Walcheren—Attack on a French Fleet—French Convoy destroyed—Martinique, Cayenne, and Bourbon taken—Differences with America—Ministerial disputes and changes—Jubilee—Campaign in Spain—Battle of Talavera—Siege of Cadiz—Attempt to rescue Ferdinand—Operations in Portugal.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS—DROITS OF ADMIRALTY—ENLISTMENT—FINANCE.

AT the opening of the British parliament, on the thirty-first of January, 1806, the conduct of ministers in the expedition against Denmark met decided approval; the feelings of the English people, still, however, prompted them to wish that the odium of coercing a neutral power had been left to France, and that the capture of the Danish fleet had been reserved as another triumph for our navy, in defensive war. The orders of council were made valid by an act passed on the twenty-fifth of March, which was accompanied by a bill for regulating the commercial intercourse with America, until amicable arrangements should be concluded with that country.

Sir Francis Burdett, observing that the proceeds of the droits of admiralty amounted to no considerable sum, that he was convinced parliament could never endure that it should be left as the private property of the king, moved in the house of commons, with a view to an ulterior inquiry, for an account of the net proceeds, paid out of the court of admiralty to the receiver-general of droits, of all property condemned to his majesty since the first of January, 1793, with the balances now remaining; which was agreed to.

When the mutiny bill came under consideration in the commons, lord Castlereagh, referring to Mr. Windham's system, said that he had no objection to limited service under certain modifications, but he thought it ought not to be enforced to the exclusion of unlimited service, and therefore moved that a clause be introduced, allowing the option of enlisting for life, which was carried by one hundred and sixty-nine against a hundred. Another measure relating to internal defence was the creation of a local militia, amounting to sixty thousand men, to be ballotted for in the different counties, in proportion to the deficiency of volunteers of each, from among persons between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Volunteer corps might, if they chose, transfer themselves, with the approbation of his majesty, into this local militia. The period of service during the year to be twenty-eight days, for which pay was to be allowed. This measure encountered strenuous opposition, but was ultimately carried.

The chancellor of the exchequer did not this year find himself under the necessity of adding much to the public burdens. By an arrangement with the bank of England, five hundred thousand pounds of the unclaimed dividends were obtained for immediate use; a reduction in the charges of the bank for superintending the pecuniary concerns of the public was effected to the amount of sixty-four thousand pounds; and a loan of three million pounds was granted by the directors to government, without interest, till six months after the termination of the war. The supplies voted amounted to about sixty-three million pounds for England, and five

million seven hundred thousand pounds for Ireland, and the ways and means included a loan of eight millions of pounds, to provide for the interest of which new taxes were only found necessary to the amount of three hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds. A new financial plan was introduced by the chancellor of the exchequer to accelerate the reduction of the national debt. It was to enable proprietors of three per cent. consolidated or reduced bank annuities, to exchange with the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt, such bank annuities, for a life annuity during the continuance of one or two lives. To prevent impositions, the power of transfer was to be limited to persons under thirty-five years of age, and the amount of the transfer to sums not less than one hundred pounds; the stock not to be transferable when the funds were above eighty pounds. The effect would be to secure to the nation the redemption of the funds so transferred, at the price at which they were when the transfer was made.

A bill for preventing the grant of offices in reversion, or for joint lives, with benefit of survivorship, was brought in by Banks, and carried through the commons; but in the lords, though supported by several of his majesty's ministers, it was opposed by the lord-chancellor, lord Arden, lord Redesdaile, and the duke of Montrose, and thrown out by a majority of eighty voices. Conceiving, however, that it was incumbent upon the house of commons not to abandon a measure so connected with retrenchment, Banks introduced another bill, similar in its object, but limited as to duration, and the bill, thus modified, passed the upper house.

CRIMINAL LAW—DISTILLERIES—SPANISH CAUSE—PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY, who, in common with many other enlightened men, had long lamented that in the criminal law of the country so many crimes were subject to capital punishment, introduced a bill into parliament for the repeal of so much of an act of Elizabeth as related to taking away the benefit of clergy from offenders convicted of stealing privately from the person. A clause was introduced by the solicitor-general, to provide that privately stealing, as distinguished from robbery, should be punished by transportation for life, or for a term of years, at the discretion of the judge, at whose option the punishment might be commuted into imprisonment for any period not exceeding three years. A bill was also passed, framed by the lord-chancellor, for the better administration of justice in Scotland, the object of which was to divide the court of session into two chambers of seven or eight judges, to give these courts certain powers of making regulations with respect to proceedings, and to executions in pending appeals, and also of issuing commissions to ascertain in what cases it might be proper to establish a trial by

jury. An act for prohibiting, for a limited time, the distillation of spirits from corn or grain, was strongly opposed in all its stages, as tending to check that demand which, by encouraging agriculturists to grow more than was necessary for the ordinary support of the people, ensured a supply in seasons of scarcity. It was defended as a temporary measure, on the ground that the supply of grain from the continent was cut off, and no prospect left of a sufficient resource in the last year's crop of this country.

The cause of the Spanish patriots had awakened the zeal, and animated the enthusiasm of the people of this country, to a degree almost unexampled; and Sheridan seemed only to be the organ of the public voice, when he rose in the house of commons, on the sixteenth of June, to direct the attention of the legislature to the affairs of Spain, and to demand their utmost exertions in favour of the Spaniards. Canning, in reply, declared that his majesty's ministers saw with a deep and lively interest, the noble struggle which a part of the Spanish nation was now making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their country; and assured the house, that there existed the strongest disposition, on the part of the British government, to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. On the fourth of July parliament was prorogued, and the commissioners declared, in his majesty's name, that he would continue to make every exertion in his power for the support of the Spanish cause.

AUSTRIA DECLARES AGAINST ENGLAND—EFFORTS OF THE SWEDES.

At the commencement of 1808, Austria, hitherto the principal ally of Britain, declared against her; the alleged cause of which was a refusal, by the English cabinet, to accept the mediation of the emperor for a peace between England and France, on the ground that the overtures appeared too vague and indeterminate to authorise the opening of a negotiation; Falkenberg, the Austrian ambassador, presenting no authenticated document from the French ruler, nor giving any intimation of the basis on which it was proposed to treat; the real cause, however, lay in the predominating influence of France, which was also apparent in the north of Europe. In February a Russian army entered the Swedish province of Finland, and war was respectively declared by the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm. Christian the seventh, king of Denmark, died about the same time; and the crown prince, who, from the imbecility of his father, had long conducted the affairs of government, assumed the sceptre by the name of Frederic the sixth. His accession was followed by a declaration of war against Sweden, whose sovereign, with some qualities of heroism, wanted the soundness of mind necessary for the management of public affairs, and acted more from the impulse of passion than the conclusions of reason. Already involved in a war with France and Russia, he immediately prepared to meet the combination of dangers by which he was threatened; and as his resources were inadequate to the contest, the English government granted him a subsidy of one hundred thousand pounds per month, and despatched ten thousand troops to afford such aid as the circumstances of the war might demand. Unfortunately, however, a disagreement between the Swedish monarch and Sir John Moore, the English general, respecting their military plans, prevented their co-operation, and the armament was ordered to the aid of the Spanish patriots. A British squadron, under Sir Samuel Hood, was also sent to the Baltic, to act in concert with the Spanish admiral, and a Russian ship of seventy-four guns was taken and destroyed, in consequence of her having grounded.

AFFAIRS OF ITALY.

BUONAPARTE, this year, effected considerable changes in the affairs of Italy. He adopted his son-in-law, Eugene Beauharnois, as his own son, and settled that kingdom upon him in tail male; expressly stating, however, that the right which Eugene received by adoption should never, in any case, authorise him or his descendants to bring forward any claim to the throne of France, the succession of which was, he declared, "irrevocably"

fixed: he incorporated with the crown of Italy the dominions of the pope, stating in a decree, as the sole reason for this act of undisguised despotism, that "the sovereign of Rome had refused to make war against England." Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, were also annexed to that kingdom, as were Kehl, Weesl, Cassel, and Flushing to France. The crown of Naples was transferred to Joachim Murat, who had married a sister of Buonaparte; and, to render his domestic policy still more subservient to his schemes of foreign subjugation, he instituted an imperial university, declared himself the head, and decreed that no school or seminary of education should be free from its control. An order of hereditary nobility was also created.

MILITIA—CONVENTION OF CINTRA.

1809.—THE British parliament assembled on the nineteenth of January, 1809. On the twenty-fifth the thanks of parliament were voted to the officers and men under Sir John Moore, for whose gallantry and good conduct the victory of Corunna was achieved; and a monument to the memory of the deceased general was also agreed to. This was succeeded by a motion for thanks to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the officers and men under his command, for the brilliant victory of Vimiera, which was carried with the sole dissentient voice of lord Folkstone, who thought such a tribute greater than the service could claim.

A bill, which was introduced into the house of commons by lord Castlereagh, for augmenting the disposable force of the country, called forth a very animated opposition, but ultimately passed into a law. It was agreed that the militia should be reduced to about three-fifths of its present force by volunteering into the line, and that twenty-four thousand men should be raised to supply the deficiency.

The convention of Cintra, and the circumstances which led to the conclusion of that treaty, were brought under the consideration of parliament, on the twenty-first of February, by lord Henry Petty, who moved resolutions directly censuring the convention, and attributing the causes to the misconduct of ministers; and although it was strenuously contended that to have expelled, in the course of a short campaign of three weeks, an army of twenty-five thousand French from Portugal, was a brilliant addition to the military glory of the country, the previous question was only carried by two hundred and three against one hundred and fifty-eight.

CHARGES AGAINST DUKE OF YORK.

COLONEL WARDLE, on the twenty-seventh of January, stated in the commons, that the power of disposing of commissions in the army had been exercised to the worst of purposes, though it had been placed in the hands of a person of high birth and extensive influence, for the purpose of defraying the charges of the half-pay list, for the support of veteran officers, and for increasing the compassionate fund for the aid of officers' widows and orphans; but he could bring positive proof that such commissions had been sold, and the money applied to very different objects. He then proceeded to state, that Mary Anne Clarke, who had been under the "protection" of the duke of York, with a splendid establishment in Gloucester Place, had been permitted by his royal highness to traffic in commissions; that she in fact possessed the power of military promotion; and that the duke participated in the emoluments which were derived from this scandalous, corrupt, and illegal traffic. Colonel Wardle concluded by moving for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the duke of York, in respect to the disposal of military commissions, which, after a long debate, was agreed to; the chancellor of the exchequer observing that publicity had been mentioned as desirable, he was of the same opinion; and it was therefore determined that the investigation should be conducted before a committee of the whole house.

In the course of the cross-examinations much important evidence was adduced, and the charges derived additional strength from the means taken by the advocates of the commander-in-chief to refute them; as the numerous letters brought to light by their means, of which the prosecutor at first was totally ignorant, placed Wardle, for a time, on high ground. At the close of the evidence, on the twenty-second of February, the opinion of the

general officers, who were members of the house of commons, was asked with respect to the improvement of the army in discipline and condition, and whether the system of promotion had not been improved under the administration of the duke of York. Generals Norton and Fitzpatrick, the secretary at war, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and general Grosvenor, all answered these questions affirmatively, and pronounced high eulogiums on the character and conduct of his royal highness. During this inquiry, which was continued uninterruptedly for three weeks, Mary Anne Clarke was repeatedly examined at the bar, and, by the readiness and smartness of her answers to the infinite number of questions proposed, gave a degree of relief to the protracted examinations. On the twenty-third of February the duke addressed a letter to the house of commons, through the medium of the speaker, in which his royal highness, in the most solemn manner, upon his honour as a prince, distinctly asserted his innocence, and claimed from the justice of the house that he should not be condemned without a trial.

Wardle, however, moved an address to his majesty, stating, that after a diligent and laborious inquiry, it had been proved, to the satisfaction of the house, that corrupt practices had existed to a very great extent in the different departments of the military administration, and praying that his majesty would be graciously pleased to remove the duke of York from the command of the army. The chancellor of the exchequer proposed an amendment, substituting two resolutions: the first, stating that an inquiry had been instituted into the conduct of the commander-in-chief; and the second, that it was the opinion of the house that there was no just ground to charge his royal highness with personal corruption or criminal connivance. To this amendment another was moved by Bankes, acquitting the duke of personal corruption or criminal connivance, but expressing an opinion that abuses could scarcely have existed to the extent proved, without exciting some suspicion in the mind of the commander-in-chief; and suggesting that, after the exposures made by the recent inquiry, a regard to the public happiness and tranquillity required the removal of the duke of York from the command of the army. The motion and amendments gave rise to many long and animated discussions, in the course of which it was urged, in favour of the original motion, that whatever might be due to the rank of his royal highness, the members of that house should always bear in mind that it was their duty to protect the public interest, and to watch over the security and welfare of the state. By the supporters of the duke of York, it was contended that Mary Anne Clarke was wholly unworthy of credit, and that there was no evidence to establish the corrupt participation or criminal connivance of the duke. If it could once be supposed that he was a party in such a conspiracy, how was any distress for money possible, when there was a mint constantly at work? There were then in the army upwards of ten thousand officers; and such was the eagerness for promotion, that there were always persons ready to give ample premiums above the regulated price. Had not his royal highness felt secure in conscious innocence, was it to be supposed that he would have ventured to discard Mary Anne Clarke, to withdraw her annuity, to irritate her to the utmost, and to set all her threats at defiance? It ought to be recollected, that the person against whom the charge was directed, was not only high in office and in rank, but one whose birth placed him so near the crown, that events might one day call him to the throne itself; and yet, by the proceeding now proposed, the house was called upon, on the most questionable evidence, to disgrace itself by pronouncing the duke guilty of the lowest and most infamous species of corruption. In favour of Bankes's amendment, it was urged that one case, that of doctor O'Meara, rested on the duke's own letter as much as on the evidence of Mary Anne Clarke; that it was astonishing that the constant applications of this woman did not create some suspicions in the mind of the duke; and that it was necessary, as a reparation to public morals and decency, to remove him from the command of the army. On the question, whether the house should proceed by address or resolution, there appeared for proceeding by address, one hundred and ninety-nine; by resolution, two hundred and ninety-four;

leaving a majority against Bankes's address of ninety-five. A second division then took place on Wardle's motion, which was supported by one hundred and twenty-three, and opposed by three hundred and sixty-four.

On the seventeenth of March the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward his resolution, modified in these terms:—"that this house having appointed a committee to investigate the conduct of the duke of York, as commander-in-chief, and having carefully considered the evidence which came before the said committee, and finding that personal corruption, and connivance at corruption, have been imputed to his said royal highness, and it expedient to pronounce a distinct opinion upon the said imputation, and are accordingly of opinion that it is wholly without foundation." This motion was carried by two hundred and seventy-eight against one hundred and ninety-six. Previously to the divisions it was generally understood that the duke had come to the determination to resign his office of commander-in-chief; and on the twentieth the chancellor of the exchequer informed the house that his royal highness, having obtained a complete acquittal of the charges, was desirous of giving way to that public sentiment which, however ill-founded, they had unfortunately drawn down upon him; that, under these circumstances, he had tendered to his majesty his resignation of the office of commander-in-chief, which the king had been graciously pleased to accept. General Sir David Dundas was appointed his successor; and one of the first consequences of the investigation, was the enactment of a law declaring the brokerage of offices, either in the army, the church, or the state, to be a crime highly penal.

TRAFFIC IN INDIA APPOINTMENTS—CORRUPT PRACTICES IN PARLIAMENT.

In the course of the investigation into the duke's conduct, it was ascertained that there was a systematic and almost avowed traffic in East India appointments, as well as in subordinate places under government. These discoveries led to the appointment of a committee of the house of commons, to inquire into the abuse of East India patronage, when it appeared that a vast number of cadetships and writerships had been disposed of illegally. Thelluson, one of the directors, deeply implicated in these transactions, was in consequence rejected at the next election; and the court determined that all these young men named by the committee of the house of commons, as having obtained their appointments by corrupt practices, should be deprived of their employments, and recalled from India. This inquiry developed transactions intimately connected with the character of the house of commons, and the proceedings of some of its most distinguished members; and on the twenty-fifth of April, lord Archibald Hamilton submitted a motion grounded on the conduct of lord Castlereagh, who, in the course of the inquiry, admitted that he, in 1805, delivered into the hands of lord Clancarty a writership, of which he had the gift, for the purpose of exchanging it for a seat in parliament. This negotiation, which was finally broken off, was carried on, it appeared, between lord Castlereagh and one Reding, an advertising place broker, who was a perfect stranger to his lordship. Lord Castlereagh expressed his sorrow that any motives of private friendship or of public zeal should have induced him to do any thing requiring the cognisance of that house. If he had erred, it was unintentionally, and he would submit with patience to any censure which he might be thought to have incurred: his lordship then bowed to the chair, and retired; when lord A. Hamilton moved, that lord Castlereagh had been guilty of a dereliction of his duty, as president of the board of control, a gross violation of his engagements as a servant of the crown, and an attack on the purity and constitution of the house. A long debate ensued, at the close of which the motion was rejected by two hundred and thirteen against one hundred and sixty-seven. A motion was afterwards carried, to the effect, that it was the duty of the house of commons to maintain and guard the purity and independence of parliament; but that the intended charge not having been carried into effect, no criminatory proceeding appeared to the house to be necessary.

The recent exposures led to the introduction of

a bill by Curwen, which ultimately passed into a law, for better securing the purity and independence of parliament, by preventing the procuring or obtaining seats by corrupt practices, and also for the more effectual prevention of bribery.—While this bill was before the house, Madocks charged the chancellor of the exchequer and lord Castlereagh with corrupt and criminal practices to procure the return of members to parliament. He affirmed that Quintin Dick purchased a seat for Cashel, in Ireland, through the hon. Henry Wellesley, who acted on the behalf of the treasury; that on the question brought forward by colonel Wardle, lord Castlereagh indicated the necessity either of his voting with government or of resigning his seat; and that Dick, rather than vote against his conscience, did vacate it. Perceval, in his defence, declined putting in the plea which he said he conscientiously could adduce, until the house should have decided on the propriety of entertaining the charge; and he would then come before them prepared to meet it, and vindicate his own honour. Madocks's motion was negatived.

BUDGET—DUTCH COMMISSIONERS.

THE supplies voted for the year amounted to about fifty-four million pounds; and among the ways and means were warrtaxes nineteen million pounds, and a loan of eleven million pounds for Great Britain; three million pounds were also borrowed for Ireland, and six hundred thousand pounds for the prince of Brazil, for the liquidation of which the revenues of the island of Madeira had been assigned, together with a consignment of such produce of Brazil as belonged to the prince. The whole loan had been contracted for at the low interest of four pound twelve shillings and one penny per cent. per annum. The fourth report of the committee of public expenditure exhibited disclosures regarding the conduct of the commissioners appointed to manage, sell, and dispose of the Dutch ships detained or brought into the ports of Great Britain, which excited considerable surprise. It appeared that the appointment of the five commissioners took place in 1795; that their transactions were nearly brought to a close in 1799; and that, as no fixed remuneration had been assigned to them, they charged a commission of five per cent. on the gross proceeds of their sales, amounting to one hundred and thirty-two thousand pounds; and not satisfied with this enormous allowance, employed the money intrusted to their hands in discounting private bills for their own emolument. After an animated discussion, the house resolved that the commissioners had been guilty of a flagrant violation of public duty.

WAR BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND FRANCE—CAMPAIGN IN GERMANY.

AUSTRIA, after humbling herself to the French emperor, found it impossible to have peace on terms compatible with independence, and therefore, from the period of the conferences at Erfurt, till Buonaparte crossed the Pyrenees for the purpose of putting himself at the head of his armies in Spain, she went on completing her military preparations. These were not viewed by France with indifference; and, from Valladolid, Buonaparte sent his mandate to the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, to furnish their contingents, and hold themselves in readiness for war; soon after which he left Spain, and returned to be prosecuted by both parties with uncommon vigour. The Austrian army was divided into nine corps, of from thirty to forty thousand men each. The archduke Charles, freed from the interference of the Aulic council, was appointed generalissimo, and six of the corps were placed under his immediate command: the seventh was sent, under the archduke Ferdinand, into Poland; and the eighth and ninth to Italy, under the archduke John. There were also two corps of reserve, one of them consisting of twenty-thousand men, commanded by Prince John of Lichtenstein, and the other of ten thousand men, under general Keimayer, exclusive of the partisan corps, and the landwehr, or militia. Buonaparte principally relied, at the commencement of the war, on the contingents from the confederation of the Rhine. The Bavarians were formed into three divisions, under marshal Lefebvre, who commanded the allied troops

till the arrival of Buonaparte. In the mean time the north and west of Germany, and the interior of France, were stripped of troops, which proceeded rapidly towards the banks of the Danube. On the side of Italy, Prince Eugene, the viceroy, had concentrated a formidable army; and the Saxon troops, under marshal Bernadotte, were stationed in the neighbourhood of Dresden, to protect that capital from the Austrian army in Bohemia.

On the eighth of April, Austria declared war against France; and on the ninth, the archduke Charles, having established his head-quarters at Dantz, sent formal notice to the French general commanding in Bavaria, that he had received orders to advance with his troops, and to treat as enemies all who should oppose him. This notice served as intimation to the king of Bavaria, who, quitting his capital, repaired to Augsburg. On the following day the Austrians threw a bridge of boats over the Inn, between Brannan and Scharding, and advanced slowly into Bavaria. Three days afterwards, Buonaparte, having learnt by the telegraph that the Austrians had crossed the Inn, quitted Paris, and arrived at Donauwerth on the seventeenth, from which place he removed to Ingolstadt. On the nineteenth, marshal Davoust advanced to the village of Pressing, where he defeated a division of the Austrian army. On the same day another French corps attacked an Austrian division in front, while the Bavarians fell upon their rear, and completed their rout. These affairs, and the sanguinary engagements near Abensberg, Hausen, and Dinslengen, had the effect of cutting off the left wing of the Austrian army under general Hiller, and drawing it back to Landshut.

Buonaparte, during the few days which he had passed with the army, had made himself completely acquainted with its positions, and had so far ascertained the situation of the country, as to be able to take advantage of the errors or misfortunes of his enemy. He immediately attacked the Austrians in front at Ebersberg, where he lost four thousand men in storming the bridge; but Ebersberg having been set on fire, lieutenant-general Hiller continued his retreat till he passed the Danube near Stain, to wait for the archduke. The flank of the Austrian army having been completely laid open by the battle of Ebersberg, Buonaparte lost not a moment in advancing to Landshut. The Austrian cavalry, which had formed before the city, was driven back by marshal Bessieres; the same fate awaited the infantry; and the town, with thirty pieces of cannon, nine thousand prisoners, and all the magazines established at that place, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the twenty-second, Buonaparte arrived opposite Eckmühl, where four corps of the Austrians, amounting to one hundred and ten thousand men, under the immediate command of the archduke Charles, were already posted. Never before had these chiefs been opposed to each other; and, as neither had yet experienced a defeat, the utmost confidence reigned in their respective armies. Buonaparte's military eye immediately perceiving that the left wing of the Austrian army was disadvantageously posted, he ordered marshal Lannes to attack it, while their front was opposed by the main body of the French. The contest was long and obstinate; but, at the close of the day, the archduke's left wing was turned, and he was driven from all his positions. A large body of the Austrians, endeavouring to make a stand under cover of the woods near Ratibon, were driven into the plain, where they suffered dreadfully; and an attempt to cover the retreat of the main body by the cavalry was equally unsuccessful. The Austrians endeavoured to make a stand at Ratibon; but after three successive charges they gave way, leaving the field covered with eight thousand of their slain, and the French entered the city through a breach in the fortifications, where a sanguinary engagement also took place.

In these battles Buonaparte pursued his usual plan of breaking the enemy's forces into detached parts, and then attacking them separately; and the Austrians, uninstructed by experience, had so disposed their troops as to favour his operations. General Bellegarde did not join the archduke till the day after his disaster. In five days the Austrians lost forty thousand men, and a hundred pieces of cannon. On the ninth of May, Buonaparte, without encountering any formidable resistance in his way from Ratibon, appeared before the gates

of Vienna. That city, formerly an important fortress, was in vain besieged by the Turks, and would even now, from the solidity of its ramparts, the strong profile of its works, and its extensive mines, be capable of a protracted resistance, but that palaces now adorn the ramparts, casemates and ditches are converted into work-shops, plantations mark the countercarps, and avenues of trees traverse the glads, uniting extensive and beautiful suburbs to the body of the place. The archduke Maximilian, who commanded the city, animated and encouraged the citizens to resistance, as long as the imperfect nature of the fortifications and their unskillfulness in the art of war would permit: for twenty-four hours the French howitzers played on the town; but their destructive fire did not shake the constancy of the inhabitants, until the communication with the left bank was on the point of being cut off, when surrender became indispensable, and the regular troops, amounting to about four thousand, effected their retreat by the great bridge of Tabor, to which they set fire. The emperor, in anticipation of the advance of the French to Vienna, had taken up his abode at Znaim, in Moravia.

After the battle of Eckmühl the archduke Charles crossed to the north side of the Danube, and retreating towards Bohemia, attempted to gain the capital, by forced marches, before the arrival of the French; but the capture of Vienna was an object of too much importance not to be attempted by Buonaparte with all his power, and when the archduke had reached Melan, he learned that the city had surrendered. Deprived, by this capture, of a point of support for the operations of his army, the archduke fixed his head-quarters on the sixteenth of May, at Enzersdorf, his outposts extending on the right as far as Krems, while Presburg, lower down the river, was occupied by his left. Buonaparte lost not a moment in determining to attack him, and moved the French army down the south bank of the Danube to Ebersdorf, where two islands divide the river into three branches, each about two hundred yards wide. On the nineteenth of May the French engineers threw two bridges from the right bank of the Danube to the smaller island; and on the twentieth, two other bridges were erected from thence to the Isle of In-der-Lobau, which forms a convenient rendezvous for troops, being about six English miles long, and four and a half broad. The extent of the island affords facilities for throwing a bridge across that arm of the river which separates the island from the Marsh field, and there Buonaparte fixed his head-quarters. In three hours a bridge, consisting of fifteen pontoons, was accordingly thrown over, and the archduke designedly permitted part of the enemy to extend themselves along the left bank of the river without molestation. Buonaparte was accordingly left at liberty to fix on the field of battle, and he immediately posted his right wing on the village of Esling, and the left on that of Aspern. On the twenty-first, the archduke Charles ordered an attack in five columns, constituting a force of seventy-five thousand effective men, and during that and the following day was fought the obstinate and sanguinary battle of Aspern, or Esling. On both sides, during this long and severe conflict, were deeds of heroic valour performed. On the night of the twenty-first, general Balaquent with eight divisions of the second line of the Austrian army, remained in the occupation of Aspern, which, after having been retaken by the French on the morning of the twenty-second, was regained by general Balaquent, who entered it by storm, though defended by twelve thousand of the enemy's best troops; and, after a variety of fortune, the French, on the night between the twenty-second and twenty-third, retreated from the left bank of the Danube, and took a position in the island of Lobau, their loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, having probably amounted to thirty thousand men. The Austrian loss was also severe, being acknowledged by the official accounts to have exceeded twenty thousand. This was the greatest check which the victorious career of Buonaparte had yet received.

The king of Saxony having taken up arms in favour of France, soon found himself stripped of a great part of his dominions; and the Austrians, possessing a powerful army in that quarter threatened even the newly-formed kingdom of Westphalia, while in these states, as in Hanover also, a formidable insurrection sprang up, which, if it had

been cherished by the support, either of the British or the Austrians, would have rendered the situation of Buonaparte critical in the extreme. Unfortunately, however, no such aid was afforded; so that, after having harassed the French, and prevented the march of troops to the Danube, they were at last crushed by superior numbers and discipline. At the head of these partisans appeared two men, well calculated by their character, talents, and influence, to collect and animate their followers. Schill, a major in the Prussian service, found no difficulty in raising the inhabitants of a conquered country; and, although it does not appear that the corps which he commanded was at any time very numerous, it was formidable by the rapidity of its movements, by its sudden and unexpected appearance, and by the countenance it afforded to the discontented inhabitants. After traversing the whole of the north of Germany, in different directions, and perplexing and defeating the troops that were opposed to him, Schill, was at length compelled to take shelter in Stralsund, where he died fighting, and several of his adherents were executed as deserters from the king of Prussia. The duke of Brunswick Oels, though in his own person less unfortunate than Schill, did not effect any thing more decisive, being at length driven to the necessity of embarking with his little corps for England.

In Italy the Austrians were at first eminently successful; they soon made themselves masters of Padua and Vicenza, crossed the Adige, and threatened Venice itself; but the victories of Buonaparte in Bavaria rendered it advisable for the archduke John, the Austrian commander in Italy, to measure back his steps. He was closely pursued by the viceroy of Italy, who, having received a reinforcement of ten thousand men, overthrew the Austrians beyond the Piave with considerable loss. Advancing towards Vienna, the French, on the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, brought the archduke John to another engagement at Rasz, in which he was defeated, with the loss of three thousand prisoners. After this engagement, the archduke retreated rapidly, and in some disorder, towards Pest, for the purpose of joining the main Austrian army; and the viceroy, advancing without impediment to Vienna, served to swell the number of combatants in the approaching great and decisive battle of Wagram.

OVERTHROW OF THE AUSTRIANS.

AFTER the battle of Aspern, Buonaparte continued stationary on the south bank of the Danube till the beginning of July; but scarcely a day passed without producing a bulletin, the ostensible object of which was to register the rise and fall of the Danube, and to congratulate his army on the approach of the Russians, and the junction of the troops under the viceroy of Italy; Buonaparte, however, was making the most formidable preparations: in the night, general count Bertrand raised a bridge of sixty arches over the Danube to In-der-Lobau, so broad that three carriages could pass abreast, over four hundred fathoms of a rapid river; and a second bridge, eight feet broad, was constructed for infantry. On the fourth of July the whole of the French army was concentrated in and about the island of Lobau, which contained magazines of provisions, one hundred pieces of cannon, and twenty mortars, with a communication between it and the left bank of the river, by means of three bridges, raised under cover of artillery in an incredibly short time, under the direction of count Bertrand, and a bridge of boats, each protected by a *tete de pont*, and other works. In the night of the fourth which was dark and tempestuous, and when the Austrians, who were strongly intrenched on the opposite bank, were expecting an attack on their right, from a feint made by the enemy of crossing the river before Esling, a heavy fire was opened on the village of Enzersdorf, which supported the left wing of their army. In the short space of two hours the French army crossed the river, and on the morning of the fifth, they were discovered in order of battle on the Austrian left flank. This manoeuvre obliged the archduke Charles to change his front, and quit his intrenched camp; otherwise he must have given battle on ground selected by the enemy. These movements occupied the whole of the fifth, the night of which was spent by Buonaparte in accumulating his force towards the centre, which was stationed within cannon-shot of the vil-

lage of Wagram. The battle began at day break on the sixth, and soon became general. In every attack the Austrians had rather the advantage; till Buonaparte, bringing fresh divisions in great superiority and almost the whole of his artillery up to one point, began to batter the Austrian left wing, as if he had been storming a fortress. The left wing having been penetrated, gave way, fighting as it retreated; as did also the right, which was attacked in flank by marshal Davoust. Wagram now fell into the hands of the French; and the Austrians, routed in all quarters, retired towards Moravia. In this battle the French boasted of taking ten pieces of cannon, and twenty thousand prisoners, among whom were nearly four hundred officers, while they acknowledged their own loss to have been fifteen hundred killed, and nearly four thousand wounded; but the loss of the Austrians was much greater.

The French pursued the retreating army as far as Znaim, whither the emperor Francis had retired on the approach of Buonaparte towards Vienna. Here another battle, or rather skirmish, took place, which was terminated by a proposal from the emperor Francis for an armistice: this being immediately agreed to, it was signed on the twelfth, and the terms too plainly indicated the extent of the Austrian losses, and the exhausted state of their resources.

TREATY OF PEACE—EFFORTS OF THE TYROLESE.

The negotiations for a definitive treaty proceeded very slowly, and were not finally closed till the fifteenth of October. When the terms were made known, they were generally regarded as less unfavourable to Austria than had been anticipated; the cessions made by the emperor Francis were, however, very considerable. To Bavaria were ceded Salzburg, and a portion of territory extending along the banks of the Danube, from Passau to the vicinity of Linz; to France Austria gave up Fiume and Trieste, with the whole of the country to the south of the Saave, till that river enters Bosnia: the king of Saxony obtained several villages in Bohemia, and, in Poland, the whole of Western Galicia, from the frontiers of Silesia to the Bog, together with the city of Cracow, and a district round it in Eastern Galicia. Russia obtained so much of this latter province as should contain four hundred thousand souls. With respect to external politics, the emperor Francis agreed to acknowledge Joseph Buonaparte king of Spain; to accede to the continental system; and to break off all intercourse with Great Britain. The most mortifying condition of this treaty, however, was that by which the Austrian monarch gave up the inhabitants of the Tyrol to Bavaria; with a provision, indeed, that Buonaparte should procure for them a complete and full pardon. In every part of Germany peace was now established, except in these mountains, the inhabitants of which, though abandoned by that power in whose favour they had risen in arms, and to whom they had manifested an attachment unbroken by sacrifices and sufferings, still refused submission to the conquerors: the brave Hofer, a man worthy of being a leader among a nation of heroes, animated and directed the actions of his countrymen; and before him, untutored as he was in the art of war, the experienced troops of Europe fled in dismay. In vain did Buonaparte pour in fresh forces; all his schemes were foiled; and if, for a short time, the Tyrolese fled before his armies, or appeared not to oppose their progress, it was only to attack them to more advantage in the passes of the mountains, or to fall on them when they were unprepared. On their conquest, however, Buonaparte was determined; and he at length effected it, by pouring in continued reinforcements, and by the capture and infamous execution of the gallant Hofer.

ROME ANNEXED TO FRANCE.

WHILE Buonaparte was at Vienna, and within a few days of the great battle of Aspern, he caused it to be proclaimed in that city, that from the first of June the papal territory should be united with the French empire. The pope solemnly protested against the violence and injustice by which he had been stripped of his temporal sovereignty, and at the same time issued an act of excommunication against the French emperor, and all his co-operators in this unprovoked spoliation:

the thunders of the Vatican, however, had lost their terrors; and an act, which three centuries ago would have roused to arms all the states of Europe, was now witnessed without one single effort on the part of the surrounding sovereigns.

DIVORCE OF BUONAPARTE AND JOSEPHINE.

It had frequently been intimated that Buonaparte intended to divorce Josephine, for the purpose of uniting himself with a younger and more noble bride; and his quarrel with the pope, so far from impeding his object, relieved him from the necessity of asking a sanction which he was aware would have been refused. On the sixteenth of December the design was formally announced to the conservative senate; the project of a decree was submitted to that assembly on the same day; and before the sitting terminated, the law authorising the divorce was enacted. Buonaparte explained to the assembly the motives by which he was actuated; and Josephine declared that she willingly consented to the divorce, to further the policy of her husband and the interests of the state. A *verbal process* was then drawn up, to which was annexed a decree, pronouncing the marriage contract between them to be dissolved.

AFFAIRS OF SWEDEN.

At the commencement of the contest with Russia, the Swedes had displayed traits of heroism that would have reflected honour on the army of Charles the twelfth; but, notwithstanding the liberal subsidy granted by Britain, neither the population nor the finances of Sweden were equal to the exigency of her present situation. The progress of the Russians in Finland, and the increasing calamities of the war, aggravated by the ravages of a contagious distemper, and the knowledge of the army that it was the fixed purpose of the king again to measure his strength with Russia and France, excited universal discontent; and a confederacy was formed against him, which terminated in his expulsion from the throne. This bloodless revolution, which took place on the thirteenth of March, 1809, was effected without commotion; and the diet being assembled at Stockholm, the duke of Sudermania, uncle to Gustavus, was chosen regent, and afterwards king, under the title of Charles the thirteenth. On ascending the throne of Sweden he professed his determination not to consent to any peace with Russia that should be disgraceful to his country, or that should oblige her to take up arms against her faithful ally, Great Britain, and the war was accordingly renewed: misfortune, however, still attended the Swedish arms, and peace was at length purchased by the sacrifice of Finland. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty with Russia, negotiations were opened between Sweden and France; and, on the sixth of January, 1810, a treaty was concluded, by which Swedish Pomerania, with the principality of Rugen, was restored to Sweden; the former commercial relations between the two countries were revived; and Buonaparte prevailed upon his new ally to adopt the continental system, and to exclude British commerce from the ports of the Baltic.

EXPEDITION TO WALCHEREN.

AFTER the breaking out of the war between France and Austria, the English government made preparations for a formidable expedition, and forty thousand troops were assembled, with thirty-five sail of the line, and about two hundred sail of smaller vessels. It was the intention of government to keep its destination secret; but long before its departure the point of attack was generally known in England, and publicly announced in the French journals. The expedition was fitted out in the most complete manner, and the command of the army was conferred on the earl of Chatham, a man unfortunately proverbial for indolence and inactivity: the naval part was under admiral Sir Richard Strachan. On the twenty-eighth of July the armament sailed from the Downs; and on the first of August Flushing was invested. On the thirteenth the bombardment commenced, when the town and its inhabitants suffered dreadfully from Congreve's rockets, but the fortifications were little injured. On the fifteenth the French general Monnet, the commander, demanded a suspension

of arms, which was succeeded by the surrender of the town; and the garrison, comprising more than five thousand troops, were made prisoners of war. Soon afterwards a rumour reached England that no ulterior operations would be undertaken; and it appeared that no decision on this point was made before the twenty-seventh of August, when Sir Richard Strachan, having waited upon Lord Chatham in person, to learn his lordship's plans, was informed that he had come to the determination not to advance. The French, in the mean time, had not been inactive, and difficulties now presented themselves which might have embarrassed a more able and active commander; every preparation was made to oppose the passage both of our army and navy; the interior of the Netherlands, and of France, as far as Paris, was stripped of the national guards; and an army, formidable for numbers, if not from discipline and experience, had actually been collected for the defence of Antwerp and the shipping: the naval stores were removed, and preparations were made for conveying the ships up the river, beyond the reach of either the invading army or navy. Lord Chatham, with a great proportion of the troops, at length returned to England; and the rest found it expedient to give up all their conquests but the island of Walcheren. This pestilential station it was, after much indecision, resolved to keep, for the purpose of shutting up the mouth of the Scheldt, and for enabling our merchants to introduce British merchandise into Holland; but from this island, the sole fruit of one of the most formidable and expensive expeditions ever sent from this country, we were doomed to be driven by an enemy more cruel and destructive than the French. A malady of the most fatal kind soon appeared among the troops, and showed the necessity for immediate recall; but it was not till the thirteenth of November, when a great proportion of the forces had either died or been rendered incapable of performing their duty, that the fortifications were ordered to be destroyed; and on the twenty-third of December the island was evacuated in the sight of an enemy, who, aware that the ravages of disease would render attack unnecessary, had taken no measures to expel the invaders.

ATTACK ON A FRENCH FLEET—FRENCH CONVOY DESTROYED—MARTINIQUE, CAYENNE, AND BOURBON TAKEN.

In the spring of 1800, the French fleet, consisting of eight sail of the line and two frigates, escaped from Brest, and ran into the mouth of the Charente, where, joined by four sail of the line and two frigates, they anchored under the batteries; and Lord Cochrane, in the *Imperieuse*, being despatched from England to attack them, a number of vessels, with a supply of Congreve's rockets, joined Lord Gambier's fleet, and the preparations for the attack were immediately begun. The fitting up and management of an explosion ship were intrusted to Lord Cochrane, who, with one lieutenant and four seamen, committed himself to this floating volcano. On the eleventh of April the five ships, led on by captain Wolridge, and the explosion ship, bearing its small adventurous crew, proceeded to the attack, favoured by a strong northerly wind and the flood tide, when a boom stretched across the entrance was broken through, and the English advanced, undismayed by the heavy fire from the forts on the Isle of Aix. Lord Cochrane, having approached with his ship as near to the enemy as possible, set fire to the fuse, and, nine minutes after he had quitted her, she blew up with a tremendous explosion. His lordship had no sooner reached his own ship, than he proceeded to attack the French vessels thrown into confusion or driven on shore, and sustained their fire for some time before any other man of war entered the harbour. Early on the twelfth Lord Cochrane announced by signal that seven of the enemy's ships were on shore, and might be destroyed; but the state of the wind rendering it hazardous to enter the roads, in which the water was shallow, with the large ships, Lord Gambier, who had unmoved, anchored again three miles from the forts, and sent all the small vessels for the attack. Lord Cochrane, leading the way, opened a fire on a ship of fifty-six guns, which struck, and afterwards three others of the line were forced to strike, all of which were set on fire and

destroyed. The other French ships, being got into deep water, moved up the river Charente, where it was impracticable to molest them, but it was unlikely that they could all again put to sea.

Towards the end of October, three sail of the line, four frigates, and twenty large transports, were despatched from Toulon, under the French admiral Baudin, to the relief of Barcelona, when Lord Collingwood gave orders to admiral Martin to chase them. The sight of the English fleet was the signal for the flight of the French; and the line of battle ships, with one frigate, ran ashore between Cetis and Frontignan, where they were burnt by their crews. The transports took refuge in the bay of Rosas, where, under the shelter of four armed vessels, they seemed to regard themselves secure; but in this situation they were attacked by captain Hallowell, with the boats of the English squadron, and, after a gallant resistance, the whole were either burnt or brought off in the sight of thousands of spectators. In the West Indies, the island of Martinique, and the city of St. Domingo, were added to our numerous possessions; and the colony of Cayenne, under the government of Victor Hughes, fell as easy conquest to a combined attack made by English and Portuguese troops. In the Mediterranean the small Grecian islands of Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo acknowledged the British flag.

DIFFERENCES WITH AMERICA.

THE difference between England and America this year assumed a more confirmed character, although both countries professed an anxious desire for the revival of amicable relations. For the purpose of removing one of the most irritating parts of the British orders in council, they were modified, in the beginning of April, so as to permit neutral vessels to trade with any port whatever, except those in a state of actual blockade; and the blockade was confined to France, Holland, and the ports of Italy under the dominion of France. About the time that these regulations were issued, an assurance was given by the Hon. D. M. Erskine, the British minister to the United States, that the orders in council of January and November, 1800, would be withdrawn, as respected the United States, on the tenth of June, in the persuasion that the president would issue a proclamation for the renewal of the intercourse with Great Britain. In virtue of this assurance, Madison, who had succeeded Jefferson, as president, issued a proclamation on the following day, announcing that the trade between England and America would be renewed on the tenth of June. This pleasing prospect was dispelled by the discovery that the arrangements entered into by Erskine with the American government, were unauthorized by his instructions, and could not be carried into effect. Previously to this arrangement the American government, finding the embargo to fall with a severe pressure upon every part of the community, had raised it as to all other nations, and substituted in its stead a system of non-intercourse, and non-impetration towards England and France. By this act of congress, all voyages to the British and French dominions, and all trade in articles of their manufacture, were prohibited; with the reservation, however, that if either of the belligerents should so revoke or modify her edicts, that they should cease to violate the commerce of the United States, the trade with that country should be renewed. A number of American vessels having sailed for Europe on the confidence which they placed in the unratified arrangement, the orders of council were suspended in their favour, and Jackson was appointed to succeed Erskine as British envoy to the United States; but the discommodations that ensued took such an unfavourable turn that he retired from Washington to New-York, on its being notified that no further communication from him would be received.

MINISTERIAL DISPUTES AND CHANGES—JUBILEE.

THE ill success of many of the measures of ministers produced dissatisfaction in the nation, and variance among themselves; and on the twenty-first of September, a duel took place between Lord Castlereagh and Canning, two members of the cabinet, and secretaries of state, when, after firing a second time, Canning received his antagonist's ball in his

right thigh. This duel was preceded by a letter from Lord Castlereagh to Canning, in which his lordship accused the foreign secretary of having clandestinely endeavoured to procure his removal from office, on the ground of incapacity for fulfilling his duties. Both of them, before the duel, resigned their offices, as did the duke of Portland, on account of his age and infirmities; the remaining ministers made proposals to lords Grey and Grenville, which were rejected, and, in consequence, Perceval took the office of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; the marquis of Wellesley was recalled from his embassy in Spain to succeed Canning in the foreign department; Lord Liverpool was transferred from the home to the department of war and colonies; Ryder was appointed to succeed Lord Liverpool; and Lord Palmerston was at the same time appointed secretary at war, in the room of Sir James Pulteney.

Though the events of this disastrous year injured the popularity of ministers, no part of the public displeasure fell upon their venerable monarch, who on the twenty-fifth of October commenced the fiftieth year of his reign. The day was celebrated as a jubilee, with thanksgivings, feasts, and illuminations. These loyal demonstrations were mingled with a deep sympathy for the king, now labouring under the infirmities of age, and afflicted with almost total blindness, yet engaged in war against a power which had shaken every throne in Europe but his own.

CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN.

In the centre of Spain, marshal Victor attacked and defeated the division of the Duc del Infantado's army, under the command of general Venegas; while, in the north, Soult made himself master of Ferrol, as well as the fleet moored in the harbour: he afterwards possessed himself of Oporto, without any formidable resistance; although that place was defended by twenty-four thousand troops and two hundred pieces of cannon.

Early in April, the principal Spanish and French armies occupied the following positions—the Marquis del Romana was at Villafraia; general Cuesta, having been joined by the division under the duc d'Albuquerque, had halted in his retreat before the French at Talavera; general Reding, having suffered severely in an attempt to surprise Barcelona, and in a succession of engagements near Tarragona, had been reinforced by the army of general Blake, and was, with that general, employed against the French in Catalonia. Of the French forces, Soult was at Oporto; Ney in the neighbourhood of Corunna and Ferrol; and Victor was advancing towards Lisbon, by Badajoz, with the Spanish force under general Cuesta in his front. The only engagement worthy of notice was fought between marshal Victor and general Cuesta, at Medellin, a town of Estremadura, equidistant from Merida and Truxillo. In this the patriots lost, according to the French accounts, fourteen hundred men, in killed and wounded, with six standards, and all their artillery.

Such was the state of affairs in Spain when Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed from Portsmouth on the fifteenth of April, and arrived at Lisbon on the twenty-second, to take the command of the British army, which, by reinforcements, sent principally from Ireland, had been increased to thirty thousand men.

Sir Arthur determined to dispossess Soult of the city of Oporto, and with this view he assembled the British army at Coimbra on the seventh of May, and advanced towards the Douro. Soult, aware of the magnitude of the opposing force, withdrew the main body of his army, having left in his retreat by Orense and Penafiel, to Monte Alegre, not less than a fourth of his army, and all his artillery and equipments; and Oporto fell into the hands of the British almost without resistance. Sir Arthur Wellesley, having placed that city in a proper state of defence, returned to the south of Portugal, to protect Lisbon and its vicinity from the French army, which was advancing along the Tagus, under marshal Victor.

In the north-east of Spain, prodigies of valour had been displayed; the second siege of Saragossa rivalled the first, and will for ever occupy a distinguished place in the military annals of the country. After the fall of that city, an unsuccessful attempt was made by general Blake to regain it, in which the Spanish army under his command be-

came exposed to a fatal and inglorious defeat at Belchite.

BATTLE OF TALAVERA.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY [See note C, at the end of this Vol.] having concerted a plan with general Cuesta to attack the central French armies, and obtain possession of Madrid, a junction of their forces took place in the neighbourhood of Plasencia on the twentieth of July, and the combined army amounting to about sixty thousand men, of which twenty-four thousand were British, proceeded to Talavera. On the twenty-fifth Joseph Buonaparte and general Sebastiani formed a junction with marshal Victor at Toledo, by which their force amounted to forty-seven thousand men; and it was now obvious that they intended to try the result of a general action. In the afternoon of the twenty-seventh the enemy crossed the Alberche, and cannonaded the left of the British position, while their cavalry attacked the Spanish infantry, hoping to break the ranks and carry the town; but they were bravely resisted, and finally repulsed. Early in the evening marshal Victor pushed a division along the valley, on the left of a height occupied by general Hill, which he considered the key of the British position; and his efforts to obtain this eminence corresponded with the ostentation in which it was held. For a moment the attack was successful; but general Hill instantly charged the assailants with the bayonet, and regained the post. The French repeated their attack about midnight, but they were again repulsed with great slaughter. Both armies passed the night on the field, and several partial engagements were fought before the ensuing dawn. The French having ascertained that any attack upon the town, posted as the Spaniards were, was hopeless, at day-break on the twenty-eighth general Rufin advanced with three regiments in close columns against the eminence occupied by general Hill, but here they were again driven back, leaving the field covered with their slain. About eleven o'clock the enemy, finding himself baffled in all his efforts, suspended the attack, and dined upon the field of battle. Wine and bread were at the same time served out to the British troops; and during this pause in the work of destruction, the men in both armies repaired to a brook to quench their thirst, and stooped to the stream in presence of each other without molestation: numbers of them even shook hands across the brook before the battle recommenced. At noon, Victor ordered a general attack along the whole line, and directed his own three divisions against general Hill's position; but they were driven back, and their retrograde movement exposed Sebastiani's right, which suffered severely. Their general at length rallied them, and some columns under Villate advanced to their support. General Anson's brigade of dragoons, with general Fane's brigade of heavy cavalry, were ordered to charge them, when the British suffered dreadfully; but though they failed in breaking the enemy, they deterred him from any further attempt against the hill. The attack upon the centre, which commenced at the same time, was gallantly resisted by general Campbell, supported by the Spaniards, who turned the flank of the assailants, while the English took their cannon. General Sherbrooke repelled the force opposed to him, by a charge of horsemen from the whole division; but the brigade of guards, advancing too far, exposed themselves to the fire of the hostile batteries and retiring columns. At this moment, when the fate of the battle appeared worse than doubtful, Sir Arthur Wellesley secured the victory by moving from the heights a battalion of the forty-eighth, which, with the assistance of Cotton's brigade of cavalry, enabled the guards to retreat under cover. At the close of day the enemy were repulsed at all points, and retreated in good order across the Alberche, leaving behind them twenty pieces of cannon. The loss on both sides was severe; that of the enemy, who had entire brigades of infantry destroyed, was estimated by the English commander at ten thousand men. On the same authority it is stated that the British had eight hundred killed, three thousand nine hundred wounded, and six hundred and fifty missing, and the Spaniards twelve hundred and fifty killed and wounded. For this achievement the thanks of parliament were voted to the officers and men, and the commander was elevated to the peerage by the title of viscount Wellington. That those honours were well-merited

HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

at from the skill and prudence of the general, in the disposition of his different troops; and from the great prowess displayed on an action so long and obstinately.

The English army had scarcely time to congratulate itself on this victory, before intelligence arrived that Soult, Ney, and Mortier, had advanced to Extremadura, and were already in their retreat was now indispensable, as Soult had at Plasencia the provisions intended for his army; and as no doubt could be entertained that his army would again advance as soon as the approach of the French forces to Extremadura, Oseta was left at Talavera, as was hoped he might be able to maintain; but in any event, it was understood should by no means abandon the wounded. On the 6th of August the British force marched to Plasencia, with an intention to force the French under Soult, and in the evening Sir Wellesley received information that meant to quit Talavera immediately; and want of conveyance, he should be obliged to leave his hospitals. Surrounded with difficulty by thirty thousand men under Soult pressing from the north, and an army equally under Victor advancing from the east, the general determined to retreat over the bridge de Alcañices, and by a mountainous road to take up a position at Deleytosa, on the way to Truxillo. Here he was unmolested by the French, and was to recruit his army; but finding that there was no means disposed to supply the which had prevented his pursuit of the French before the battle of Talavera, he retreated to the west, where, during the remainder of the war, his army continued inactive.

SIEGE OF CADIZ.

After the battle of Talavera general Venegas, head of the army of La Mancha, consisting of thirty thousand men, was defeated near by Sebastiani, and superseded in the command by the marquis of Arizaga, who, having reduced the forces, and increased them to the number of fifty thousand, advanced upon Madrid, the nineteenth of November was defeated with great loss. The French soon afterwards reduced Cordova and Seville, and thus laid the road to Cadiz. In old Castile the duke of Angoulême, at the head of thirty thousand men, forcing the French at Albu de Tormes, retook the mountains of Plasencia, on the borders of Portugal. In Catalonia, Blake was unable to make head against the French army under Augereau, to whom, after a long and heroic defence, he was obliged to retreat on the tenth of December.

After the battle of Ocaña, the French, aided by Victor and Mortier, and aided by Joseph Buonaparte in person, advanced to the south of Spain; and having, on the 16th of January, 1810, penetrated to the Sierra Morena almost without resistance, established their head-quarters at Bayadene, overran Grenada, and took possession of Malaga. Victor occupied Seville on the 19th of January, the supreme Junta assembled in the city previously retired to the island of Leon. This last refuge of Spanish independence had been exposed to the greatest danger from their vacillation or treachery, and it was a remarkably rapid march of the duke of Angoulême, at the head of eight thousand men, that saved it. On his arrival at Cadiz he found that the king, who was suspected of a design to abdicate in favour of Joseph, had been deposed, and that authority vested in a regency. The necessary preparations were now made for defence, the troops capable of bearing arms were sent to Cadiz, and the Spanish fleet, amounting to twenty ships, was moored in the harbour, under the command of the British admiral Purvis, who brought with him his own squadron. The French occupied the bay, and endeavoured to annoy the town, but they did not venture to attack upon the island of Leon; they, however, fortified Matagorda, situate but two miles from the city, after it had been bravely defended by a body of British soldiers and

In Catalonia, the Spanish general, O'Donnell, who had collected a considerable force for the purpose of raising the siege of Hostalric, was defeated on the plain of Vich after an obstinate engagement; and, after a brave resistance of four months, the castle of Hostalric was taken, by which the French secured the communication between Gerona and Barcelona. In June they captured the important fortresses of Lerida and Mequinenza; but Tortosa, which was besieged immediately afterwards, did not surrender until the commencement of the following year. Valencia, for the surprise of which a plan was concerted between Suchet and some traitors within the city, was defended by general Caro, who marched out to attack the French, and defeated them with great slaughter. In the south six thousand French, stationed at Ronda, were surprised by a detachment from Algeiras, under general Lacy, and fled in disorder, leaving their arms and ammunition, which were distributed among the mountaineers. The spirit of resistance spreading to the frontiers of Murcia, Sebastiani was ordered to retire to Alicante. In August a French force, posted at Moguer, in the province of Seville, was expelled by a body of Spaniards and English, who, on the approach of a hostile reinforcement, returned to Cadiz. Another expedition, undertaken against Malaga in October, proved unsuccessful, and lord Blane, who commanded the troops, was taken prisoner.

In the month of April the British cabinet made an attempt to rescue the person of Ferdinand out of the hands of Napoleon. The person employed in this mission was an Irish adventurer of the name of Kelly, and the plan, it appears, was concerted with the Marquis Wellesley, the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, who had placed at Kelly's disposal a squadron of Quiberon, whence the prince was to embark. Having made his way to Valençay, the residence, or rather the place of imprisonment, of Ferdinand, Kelly disclosed his intentions to the Infante, Don Antonio, and to the Intendant of the household; but Ferdinand, on being acquainted with Kelly's visit, informed Berthemy, the governor of the castle, that an English emissary had found his way thither. Kelly was, in consequence, placed under arrest, and the vigilance of the French governor over the person and suite of the imbecile monarch, if possible, increased.

OPERATIONS IN PORTUGAL.

LORD WELLINGTON, after the battle of Talavera, determined to confine his operations to the defence of Portugal, till a more auspicious state of affairs should arise; and as the force which this country could send into the Peninsula was small, in comparison with the immense armies of France, and as the Portuguese troops could not at first be expected to equal the British, it was expedient to act where inequality of numbers would be compensated by local and artificial strength, and where he would possess the best means of supplying and increasing his force. Lord Wellington accordingly determined to make his stand within the lines of Torres Vedras, a position capable of being rendered impregnable: relying near the Tagus, his army could receive reinforcements and supplies readily from England; and his vicinity to the sea would enable him, in case of exigency, to embark without delay. The French general, on the other hand, would be in the very heart of a hostile country, the inhabitants of which were neither disposed nor able to supply his wants; and from the nature of the war in the Peninsula, it would be extremely difficult to procure the supplies from any great distance. To gain time for improving the lines of Torres Vedras, Lord Wellington determined to retard the progress of the enemy as much as possible, without hazarding a general engagement; and, in furtherance of this plan, he advanced, at the commencement of the summer, to the north-eastern frontier of Portugal, his force consisting at that time of about thirty thousand British, and nearly sixty thousand Spanish and Portuguese.

In the beginning of July the hostile armies were posted as follows: a small French corps was stationed before Badajoz, watched by the Spanish army of Romana, consisting of nine thousand men, and by general Hill, with a British force, amounting to about five thousand. The grand French army under Massena, composed of the divisions of Soult and

of Ney, and of large reinforcements brought from France, was posted before Ciudad Rodrigo, which fortress he determined to take before he advanced further into Portugal. That place made an obstinate defence during a terrific and destructive bombardment of sixteen days. The head-quarters of the English army were in front of Cacerico, where the first division, under general Spencer, was stationed; the second, under general Hill, was at Portalegra; the third, commanded by general Cole, was cantoned at Garda; the fourth, under general Ploton, was at Pinhel; and the light division, under general Crawford, including two regiments of Portuguese cazadores or marksmen, was advanced close to the French army at Ciudad Rodrigo. Each division had attached to it some Portuguese regiments, with one or more English officers in them, and by whose efforts they had been brought into such order and discipline, that it was reasonably expected they would, in the hour of trial, not disgrace their companions in the field.

After the fall of Ciudad Rodrigo, which did not surrender till the fortress was no longer defensible, Massena advanced to the siege of Almeida, and opened his trenches on the fifteenth of August. While a false attack was made against the north of the town, two thousand men dug the first parallel to a depth of three feet; and on Sunday the twenty-sixth, at five o'clock in the morning, eleven batteries, mounted with sixty-five pieces of cannon, opened their fire. The garrison consisted of five thousand men, of whose spirit no doubt was entertained; the city was well provided; and its works had been placed in so respectable a state, that lord Wellington felt assured of the enemy being detained till late in the season. On the night after the batteries opened, however, the large powder magazine in the citadel blew up with a tremendous explosion. More than half the artillery-men, a great number of the garrison, and many of the inhabitants, perished; the guns were dismounted and the works no longer defensible. The necessary and almost immediate consequence was the surrender of the place, and all the troops in the garrison were made prisoners of war. On the fall of Almeida, Massena advanced further into Portugal, and lord Wellington, who retreated slowly before him, towards Coimbra, resolved to take up a position on the Sierra de Busaco, which is a high ridge that extends from the Mondego in a northerly direction about eight miles, and there to resist the advance of the French army. In this retreat the severe but efficacious policy was adopted of rendering all the country in the line of march quite inhospitable to the French, by stripping it of all its inhabitants, with the whole of their moveable property, and by destroying what could not be carried off. The British and Portuguese troops were posted along the ridge of the mountain or Sierra, forming the segment of a circle, whose extreme points embraced every part of the enemy's position, and whence every movement below could be distinctly observed. On the twenty-sixth of September, the light troops on both sides were engaged throughout the line, and at six o'clock on the following morning, the divisions of Ney and Regnier made two desperate attacks upon lord Wellington's position, one on the right, the other on the left of the highest point of

the Sierra. Ney's division gained the top of the ridge, but was driven back with the bayonet; and, another, further to the right, was repulsed before it could reach the top of the mountain. On the left, the attack was made by three divisions, only one of which made any progress towards the summit, and this force, being charged with the bayonet, was driven down with immense loss. The Portuguese soldiers established this day their character for courage and discipline: they were worthy, lord Wellington said, to contend in the same ranks with British troops, in that good cause which they afforded the best hopes of saving. The enemy, thus repulsed in his attempts to open a passage for his further advance into Portugal, accomplished by a manoeuvre what force had failed to effect. On the evening of the twenty-eighth lord Wellington observed, as he had anticipated, the French army silently moving round the northern edge of the Sierra, toward Coimbra, which obliged him to quit Busaco, and retreat to the left bank of the Mondego. In the afternoon of the thirtieth the French advanced guard appeared in the front of Coimbra, and the next day lord Wellington fell back upon Leyria, and from thence to the lines of Torres Vedras.

So perfectly convinced was the French general that the retreat of lord Wellington was for the purpose of embarking at Lisbon, and that his sole object should be immediate and close pursuit, that he abandoned his wounded at Coimbra, with little or no protection, and advanced without taking the precaution to form and establish magazines. On his arrival at Torres Vedras, after reconnoitring the British line, he found their position to be impregnable, and here the error he had committed, in making so incautions an advance, became manifest. These lines, strong by nature, and greatly improved by art, extended to a distance of thirty-five miles, flanked, on one side by the sea, and on the other by the Tagus. The British army was formed into four divisions, each occupying one of the four passes of the mountains. The French force reached the vicinity of Torres Vedras harassed by fatigue, straitened for provisions, and without magazines in their rear; and when the relative strength and situation of the two armies was known in England, the destruction of the enemy was regarded as inevitable. Massena, however, kept his position in front of Torres Vedras till the fourteenth of November, when, being constrained to seek better quarters for the winter, he marched for Santarem. On the next morning the allied army broke up, and followed the march of the enemy, hoping that the time for his destruction had now arrived; but, on examining his position, it was not judged advisable to make an attack; lord Wellington therefore contented himself with fixing his head quarters at Cartaxo, about ten miles nearer Lisbon, and in these positions the two armies remained at the close of the year 1810.

In the summer of this year captain Mends, with a small squadron of light vessels having on board five hundred Spanish troops under general Forlier, destroyed all the French batteries, except Castro, from St. Sebastian to St. Andro, on which he found above a hundred pieces of heavy cannon; having thus laid that great extent of sea-coast bare of defence, he obtained two good anchorages for British vessels.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Parliament convened—Inquiry as to Walcheren Expedition—Breach of Privilege—Sir Francis Burdett's Motion and Conduct thereon, and his commitment to the Tower—Bullion Question, and other proceedings—Capture of Amboyna, Islands of Bourbon, France, Guadaloupe, and Santa Maura—Marriage of Buonaparte—Annexation of Holland to France—Other annexations—Burning Decrees of Buonaparte—Attempt on Sicily—War with Russia—Differences with the United States—State of Spanish America—The King's Mental Malady—Regency—Opening of Parliament—Proceedings as to Commercial Distress, and other Affairs—American Disputes—Capture of Java—Naval Actions—Further Measures against British Commerce.

PARLIAMENT—WALCHEREN EXPEDITION.

PARLIAMENT assembled on the twenty-third of January, 1810, and the opening speech, which was read by commission, contained but little specific matter besides late disasters, and the necessity of affording further assistance to Spain and Portugal. Lord Porchester moved for an inquiry into the policy and conduct of the late expedition to Walcheren, by a committee—not a select and secret committee, he said, before whom garbled extracts might be laid by ministers themselves, in order to produce a partial decision, but a committee of the whole house, by which oral evidence might be examined at the bar. This motion was opposed by ministers, but was carried against them by a majority of one hundred and ninety-five to one hundred and eighty-six. On the first of February, the day before the investigation commenced, Yorke gave notice that he should, during the inquiry, enforce the standing order of the house for the exclusion of strangers. Sheridan deprecated the idea of proceeding in an investigation, in which the nation was so deeply interested, with closed doors, and asked, whether it could be endured that the people should be kept in complete ignorance of what parliament was doing at one of the most awful moments of its existence. A majority of members, however, one hundred and sixty-six to eighty, decided that the standing order, for the exclusion of strangers, should remain unaltered. Amongst the papers laid before parliament, was a "copy of the earl of Chatham's statement of his proceedings," dated the fifth-enth of October, 1809, presented to the king on the fourteenth of February, 1810. The tenor of the narrative was to impute blame to the naval part of the expedition, and his lordship represented its failure to have arisen, either from insufficient arrangements on the part of the admiral, Sir Richard Strachan, or from unavoidable difficulties, inherent in the nature of the expedition itself, which, being entirely of a naval nature, did not come within his province. The presenting of such a document to the sovereign by a military commander, without the intervention of any responsible minister, and without the knowledge of the accused party, was pronounced a clandestine and unconstitutional attempt to poison the royal ear; and a motion was made by Whitbread for an address to his majesty, praying that copies of all papers submitted to him by the earl of Chatham, concerning the expedition to the Scheldt, might be laid before that house, was carried, in opposition to ministers, by a majority of seven. This proceeding was followed by a vote of censure, proposed by Whitbread, and amended by Canning, in which lord Chatham's conduct was pronounced highly reprehensible; and his lordship, to avoid an address to the king for his removal, resigned his office of master-general of the ordnance. The examination of evidence upon the Walcheren expedition, occupied the house from the second of February to the twenty-sixth of March, when lord Porchester moved two series of resolutions, to the effect, that the expedition was undertaken under circumstances which afforded no rational hope of adequate suc-

cess, and at the precise season of the year when the disease which had proved so fatal was known to be most prevalent; that the advisers of that ill-judged enterprise were therefore highly reprehensible; and that their conduct in delaying the evacuation of Walcheren called for the severest censure.—After four nights' debate, there appeared, for lord Porchester's resolutions, two hundred and twenty-seven, and against them, two hundred and seventy-five voices. The house next decided upon an amendment of general Crawford's, purporting, that though the house considered with regret the lives which had been lost, it was of opinion that his majesty's ministers had proceeded upon good grounds in undertaking the expedition—which amendment, though substantially at variance with the first part of the resolutions, was carried by a majority of forty. The second set of resolutions, censuring ministers for delaying the evacuation of Walcheren, was negatived by two hundred and seventy-five against two hundred and twenty-four; and a resolution, approving their conduct for retaining the island till the time it was abandoned, was carried by two hundred and fifty-five against two hundred and thirty-two.

BREACH OF PRIVILEGE—SIR F. BURDETT'S MOTION.

THE exclusion of strangers from the house of commons, during this inquiry, excited much public observation; and the conduct of Yorke, who moved it, and of Windham, who made some unpopular observations on the practice of reporting debates in the newspapers, being canvassed in some instances with too much freedom, Yorke, on the nineteenth of February, complained of a breach of privilege, his conduct in that assembly having been made the subject of discussion in a speaking-shop called the British Forum; and, on the twenty-sixth, John Gale Jones, the manager of the society, was summoned to the bar, and committed to Newgate. Though several members expressed their doubts of the policy of his commitment, the power of the house to do so was denied by Sir Francis Burdett alone, who, not having been present at the former debate, moved, on the twelfth of March, for the discharge of Jones, on the ground that the house had exceeded its authority, which was negatived by one hundred and fifty-three against fourteen. The speech delivered on this occasion, Sir Francis published in a periodical paper on the twenty-fourth, with a letter prefixed, addressed to his constituents, "denying the power of the house of commons to imprison the people of England." In consequence of this publication, it was moved by Lethbridge, and decided by a majority, that he had been guilty of publishing a scandalous and libellous paper, reflecting upon their just rights and privileges; and a motion for his commitment to the Tower was made by Sir Robert Salisbury, and carried, after a long and animated debate, by a majority of one hundred and ninety to one hundred and fifty-five voices. The division did not take place till seven o'clock on the morning of Friday, the sixth of April, when the speaker signed the warrant, and delivered it to the serjeant-at-arms. That officer

was informed by Sir Francis that he would be ready to receive him on the next morning, which being viewed by the sergeant as implying that he would go peaceably to the Tower, he retired. Sir Francis, however, alleging the illegality of the warrant, refused to go unless constrained by actual force, which he was determined to resist. After taking the opinion of the attorney-general, the sergeant, accompanied by a number of police officers, and a detachment of troops, forced an entry into his house, and conveyed him to the Tower. As the escort which guarded the prisoner was on its return, a numerous mob attacked them with stones and brickbats, and some shots were fired, by which two or three lives were lost, and several wounded; the mob assembled round the house of Sir Francis also committed many outrages in the neighbourhood. On the tenth, a letter sent by Sir Francis to the speaker, after the receipt of his warrant, became a topic of debate, and a resolution was unanimously passed, declaring it a high and flagrant breach of the privileges of the house.

Sir Francis Burdett commenced actions against the speaker of the house of commons, for issuing the warrant for his arrest and imprisonment; against the sergeant at arms, for executing the warrant generally, and for breaking open the outer door of his house in its execution; and against earl Mordaunt, the governor of the Tower, for illegal imprisonment; the object of Sir Francis being to ascertain, whether an appeal lay to a court of law, against proceedings of the house of commons acting as accuser and judge, and affecting the liberty of the subject—if the punishment could be remitted by a court of law, the privilege claimed would be restricted if not destroyed; in all which he failed, the plea that the warrant being issued by the authority of the house of commons was a legal instrument, and that therefore the arrest and imprisonment were legal, being admitted. Thus the attempt to overthrow this branch of the privilege of parliament served to confirm it, and gave to the claims of the house of commons a solemn judicial recognition.

BULLION QUESTION—SUPPLIES, &c.

HUMPHREY, on the first of February, moved for a variety of returns respecting the present state of the circulating medium, and the trade in bullion, on the production of which a committee was appointed for the purpose of inquiry into the high price of bullion, and its effect on the value of the paper currency. The committee were of opinion, that the evils complained of were to be attributed to an excessive issue of bank of England paper; and it was stated in their report that "a general rise of all prices, a rise in the market price of gold, and a fall in the foreign exchanges, will be the effect of an undue quantity of circulating medium in a country which has adopted a currency not exportable to other countries, or convertible at will into a coin that is convertible." It was added, that no sufficient remedy for the present evil, or security for the future, could be pointed out, except the repeal of the law which suspended the cash payments of the bank, to effect which the committee was aware that some difficulties must be encountered; but all hazards to the stability of the bank, and all injury to public credit might be obviated, by restricting cash payments for two years from the present time, and by intrusting to the bank itself the charge of conducting and completing the operation.

On the sixteenth of May the budget was brought forward, and the supplies voted for the year amounted to fifty-two million one hundred and eighty-five thousand pounds, of which the proportion for Ireland was six million one hundred and six thousand pounds. The ways and means, without the imposition of any new taxes, were estimated at a surplus of one hundred and forty-one thousand two hundred and two pounds over the demand, including, however, a loan of eight million pounds, which was borrowed at the favourable rate of four pound four shillings and three-pence three farthings per cent. The foreign subsidies were four hundred thousand pounds for Sicily, and nine hundred and eighty thousand pounds for Portugal; and a vote of credit was passed for three million pounds. Perceval stated that the official value of the imports was nearly five million pounds more than in the most prosperous year of peace; that the exports of our

manufactures exceeded in amount those of 1802, by eight million pounds; and that though there was a diminution of nearly four million pounds in the exports of foreign goods, yet the average was highly favourable to the country. He added, that the orders of council had already reduced the receipts of the customs in France from two million five hundred thousand pounds, to five hundred thousand pounds, being a diminution of four-fifths of their whole amount.

Petitions from the catholics were presented to both houses, and gave rise to protracted discussions, but were rejected by considerable majorities. Several measures of reform experienced a similar fate. A bill, introduced by Banks for rendering perpetual the act preventing the grant of offices in reversion, was rejected by the lords. Brand's motion for a committee to inquire into the state of the representation, and into the means of rendering it complete, was negatived by a great majority. Various alterations were proposed by Sir Samuel Romilly in the criminal code; and it was unanimously resolved, that the subject of penitentiary houses should be taken into consideration in the next session. Addresses were voted in both houses, on the motion of lord Holland and Brougham, beseeching his majesty to persevere in his endeavours to induce foreign nations to co-operate in the abolition of the slave trade. The latter, with great ability and eloquence, exposed the practices of certain persons, even in this country, who carried on that traffic in a clandestine manner, as the penalties were pecuniary and it was a mere commercial speculation, what risk might be run for a certain profit by an adventurer in the slave trade; and a resolution for taking into consideration, early in the next session, such measures as might tend to prevent those violations of the law, was unanimously adopted.

The twelfth report of the commissioners of military inquiry disclosed a flagrant instance of public delinquency. It appeared that Joseph Hunt, a member of the house of commons, and late treasurer of the board of ordnance, had misapplied certain sums of public money to a considerable amount; and on the motion of Calcraft he was expelled the house. The defaulter had, on the plea of ill health, emigrated to Lisbon. On the twenty-first of June parliament was prorogued.

CAPTURE OF AMBOYNA AND OTHER ISLANDS.

THE Dutch settlement of Amboyna, with its dependencies, was carried by a *coup de main* in February, by an expedition under captain Tucker, who obtained a booty; and the chief of the spice islands, Banda, with its dependencies, surrendered unconditionally to captain Cole, of the Carolina frigate, who conducted the attack with uncommon gallantry and skill. The island of Bourbon, and the Maurities, or Isle of France, having long afforded shelter to a large number of French privateers, which had captured East India shipping to an enormous amount, expeditions were planned against them. The Isle of Bourbon was first attacked, for which purpose a large force was collected under lieutenant-colonel Keating and commodore Rowley, who were preparing for an assault on St. Dennis, the principal town, when a proposal from the governor for a capitulation was acceded to, and, two days afterwards, the whole island submitted. A body of troops from India and the Cape of Good Hope, amounting to about ten thousand, destined for the reduction of the Isle of France, under major-general John Abercrombie, effected a landing on the twenty-ninth of November; admiral Bertie commanded the naval force. On the second of December the troops prepared for attacking the forts; but on the day following, general de Ouen, the French governor, capitulated, on condition that the troops should return to France without being considered as prisoners of war; by which the Isle of France, an immense quantity of stores and valuable merchandise, five large frigates, some smaller ships of war, and twenty-eight merchantmen, with two captured British East Indianmen, were surrendered to his majesty's arms.

In the West Indies, the island of Guadaloupe, the last that remained to the French in that part of the world, surrendered, on the fifth of February, to a combined naval and military force, under admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, and lieutenant-general

Sir George Beckwith; in the Ionian Sea, the island of Santa Maura, the ancient Leucadia, was taken on the sixteenth of April, by an armament from Zante, under captain Eyre of the *Magnificent*, and brigadier-general Oswald, after a vigorous resistance; and in the Baltic sea, the island of Anholt was defended by captain Maurice and three hundred and eighty men, against a Danish force of nearly three thousand, which landed there on the twenty-third of March; but were repulsed, with the loss of four hundred and four taken, besides many killed and wounded.

MARRIAGE OF BUONAPARTE—ANNEXATION OF HOLLAND TO FRANCE.

THE marriage of Buonaparte to the archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, to which his divorce from Josephine, in the close of 1800, was the prelude, took place early in this year. On the twenty-seventh of February he announced to the senate that he had despatched his cousin, the prince of Neufchâtel (Berthier), to demand for him the hand of the daughter of the emperor Francis, agreeably to a contract that had been made, and which is supposed to have been a secret article in the treaty of peace. The marriage took place at Vienna on the eleventh of March, the archduke Charles receiving the hand of his niece, as representative of his old antagonist; and on the thirteenth the new empress set off on her way to Paris, where the ceremony was repeated on her arrival, with every mark of imperial grandeur, on the first of April. The train of the bride was supported by four queens; and after the marriage was concluded, Buonaparte conducted her to St. Cloud, where, three days afterwards, they received the congratulations of the senate. It was at first conceived that the archduchess was an unwilling, though resigned, victim to the preservation of her family; but it soon appeared that she was delighted with her conquest over the man who had conquered Europe, while Napoleon equally felicitated himself in a connection which seemed to secure the perpetuity of his new dynasty.

Proceeding in his plans of encroachment, Buonaparte seized the seven Dutch provinces, which in 1806 he had formed into a kingdom, in favour of his brother Louis. From that period, indeed, they had been a dependency upon France; but in some things Louis had not shown himself sufficiently obsequious, especially in the restrictions upon commerce. On the first of July he resigned his nominal dignity in favour of his two sons, declaring his queen regent; and, in a farewell address to the legislative body, he stated the circumstances that had rendered it necessary for him to sign a treaty with his brother, the emperor, whereby he had been deprived of all authority. He advised them to receive the French with respect and cordiality; he expressed a warm affection for his late subjects; and, indeed, throughout his short reign, he always appeared as the friend of the people upon whom he had been arbitrarily imposed. It does not appear to have been the wish, and certainly was not the policy, of Buonaparte to deprive his brother of the regal state to which he had raised him, if he could have made him subservient to his ruling passion of ruining the commerce of Great Britain, or obtaining what he called a maritime peace, by the revocation of the English orders in council. With this view he had, towards the close of 1800, sent for Louis to Paris, and, after many conferences, Louis reported to his ministers that there could no longer be any independence or national existence for Holland, should the maritime war be continued; and as it was possible that the cabinet of London, rather than suffer its annexation to the French empire, might be induced to make peace with France, or to change its measures with respect to neutral commerce, he directed them to send to England some discreet man of business, to urge the advantages of the independence of Holland to that country. In conformity with this message, which could only be considered as coming from Napoleon himself, Mynheer Peter Cesar Labouchere arrived in London in February, and had several conferences with the marquiss Wellesley, who told him that while the Milan and Berlin decrees remained in force, it was not to be expected that we should relax our efforts for self-defence; the orders in council were not the cause, but the

consequence of these decrees; and even were the latter promised to be recalled, it would not be convenient for England to admit, in principle, that the British measures of reprisals should be discontinued as soon as the cause that provoked them should be removed. The negotiation having thus failed, the annexation was determined upon; the abdication of Louis in favour of his children was considered of no validity, not having been previously concerted with the emperor; and the seven provinces were merged in the French empire.

OTHER ANNEXATIONS—BURNING DECREES.

OTHER annexations were those of the Valais, for the purpose of securing the passage of the Alps by the mountain of Simplon, through which a road had been making during the preceding ten years; and of the Hanse Towns, with the whole territory between the Elbe and the Rhine. The electorate of Hanover, also, was annexed to the kingdom of Westphalia, and to all the dependant kingdoms the conscription laws were extended. In France itself the chains of despotic power were rivetted by a rigorous police, and restrictions on the liberty of the press. Decrees for seizing and burning English merchandise were carried into execution with great rigour in the Hanse towns, in France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Prussia, and Denmark; while the holding of any intercourse with Great Britain, or with British ships, was made felony in the captains of any vessel; and was accordingly liable to be punished with death; the owner of the ship was to be branded; and minor punishments were denounced against all who should be in the least concerned in this prohibited traffic, down to the meanest porter. The king of Prussia, deflected by the curtailment of his power, and by the death of his beautiful and high-spirited queen, viewed all these changes with apparent unconcern. In Italy the ecclesiastics, by their influence, still maintained the supremacy of the pope; and a greater course than ordinary of that order having been remarked at Rome, an ordinance was issued, that they should immediately repair to the usual places of their respective residences; and on symptoms of dissatisfaction being manifested in the ecclesiastical states, a French corps, twenty thousand strong, was collected in the vicinity of Rome, and the churches and other public buildings were converted into barracks for its accommodation.

In Sweden the influence of France was strengthened by an event which may be ranked among the most extraordinary occurrences of the year. The duke of Sudermania, who, it will be recollected, had been called to the throne in 1809 by the name of Charles the Thirteenth, being at an advanced age, and without children, had deemed it necessary that a successor to the throne should be nominated; and the states had accordingly elected Christian Augustus, prince of Augustenberg, a subject of Denmark, who repaired to Stockholm in January, 1810, and took the oath of fidelity to the Swedish monarch. On the twenty-ninth of May, while reviewing some regiments of cavalry, he was suddenly taken ill, and falling from his horse, soon expired. His death was attributed to poison; and on the twentieth of June, when his funeral procession was passing through the streets of Stockholm, the populace rose upon count Perren, in the presence of a regiment of guards, and barbarously murdered him. On the fifteenth of August the states were assembled at Orebro, for the election of another successor to the throne. The candidates were, the eldest son of the deposed Gustavus the fourth; the prince of Holstein, elder brother of the deceased prince of Augustenberg; the king of Denmark; and the French marshal Bernadotte, prince of Ponte Corvo, a soldier of fortune, who had married into Buonaparte's family. The election took place on the twenty-first of August, when the latter was unanimously chosen crown-prince of Sweden, and an ambassador was despatched to Paris, to announce the decision to the emperor and to the prince elect. On his arrival in Sweden, Bernadotte, who had acquired great wealth, and was liberal in the employment of it, endeavoured by every possible means to ingratiate himself with the nation, and to acquire its confidence; he professed to change his religion, and to adopt the Lutheran tenets of the Swedish church; and on the first of

November he was installed, in the presence of the assembled diet, when he addressed the states in a judicious speech.

Shortly afterwards, the Swedish government, at the requisition of Buonaparte, declared its adherence to his continental system, prohibited all intercourse with the British dominions, and interdicted the importation of colonial produce. The Danes were also active in fitting out frigates and gun-boats for annoying the trade of Great Britain in the Baltic; but although they had considerable success, they could not prevent the English from taking possession of the island of Anholt, in the Cattegat, as a depositary for prohibited merchandise.

ATTEMPT ON SICILY.

In the beginning of July, Joachim Murat, the newly created king of Naples, had collected a powerful armament on the coast of Calabria, consisting of thirty seven thousand troops, two hundred and eight gun-boats, and seven hundred boats of other descriptions, for the invasion of Sicily. The British commander, Sir John Stuart, made the best preparations in his power for resisting the threatened attack, by disposing all his troops, about fifteen thousand in number, along the shore, and guarding the whole coast by batteries and gun-boats. The Neapolitan army was encamped on the heights above the castle of Sylla, and the gun-boats and small craft lay at anchor, under cover of heavy batteries, which continually threw shot and shells into the British quarters in Sicily. Daily skirmishes took place between the Sicilian flotilla, prepared by Sir John Stuart, and that of king Joachim. Generally speaking, this was rather productive of a superb spectacle, than of any serious injury to either side; though in the course of repeated attacks upon the Neapolitan flotilla, great numbers of the vessels were destroyed, taken, or dispersed. On the eighteenth of September, a debarkation of about three thousand five hundred men, Neapolitans and Corsicans, was effected near the Faro; but not being properly supported, nine hundred of them were taken prisoners by major-general Campbell, and the rest were driven for shelter into their gun-boats. This repulse was followed, on the third of October, by a singular proclamation from Joachim, which declared the expedition to Sicily to be adjourned; the object of the emperor having been answered in the proof he had obtained that the enemy's flotillas could not obstruct the passage; and that Sicily might be conquered whenever it should be seriously attempted.

In the Russian cabinet French influence also predominated, and Alexander, for whose quarrel England engaged in war with Turkey, made war himself against that power for consenting to a peace with England. In 1800 the Russian troops invaded Bulgaria, and obtained several advantages; and in 1810 several sanguinary battles were fought, but none were decisive. There was an unusual demonstration of vigour on the part of the Ottomans; for though closely pressed by the Russians, and the war in Servia was greatly to the advantage of the insurgents there, they nevertheless sent troops into Syria against the powerful sect of the Wechabites, or Wahabites, the avowed enemies of Islamism.—These Wechabites also betook themselves to piracy, which occasioned an armament to be sent against them in April, into the Persian gulf, by the British government at Bombay.

DIFFERENCES WITH THE UNITED STATES—STATE OF SPANISH AMERICA.

THE differences between Great Britain and the united states of America still remained undisturbed; and the American minister in London demanded the recall of Jackson the British ambassador, which was accordingly ordered, but without any mark of compromise on his conduct. In August, Buonaparte, availing himself of an act passed by congress for the conditional repeal of the non-intercourse act, declared, that the Berlin and Milan decrees should cease to operate on the first of November; and the American president issued a proclamation on the second of November discontinuing all restrictions in relation to France and her dependencies, ordering, at the same time, that if Great Britain did not revoke her edicts by the second of February, the interdict should be enforced against her.

Such was the unpromising state of the differences between Great Britain and America at the close of

the year 1810, when a commencement was made of these civil dissensions in Spanish America, which afterwards produced so much bloodshed. The manner in which these colonies were governed by the mother country had long been a subject of much discontent; but such was their attachment to the general cause of Spain, that the French usurpation excited an ardent zeal in its defence, and the colonists readily submitted to the provisional governments of Old Spain, and sent liberal contributions for their support. The bad success, however, of the measures adopted by the central junta and the regency, led them to consider of the means whereby they might secure themselves from a French yoke; at the same time that they might, by their own efforts, redress the grievances under which they laboured. This spirit first manifested itself in the province of Caracas, where the magistrates were deposed, and a provisional junta was formed for carrying on the government upon the principle of fraternisation and unity with the mother country. Similar revolutions took place almost simultaneously in other provinces; and on the nineteenth of April, Caracas, Cumana, Barinas, Margarita, Barcelona, Merida, and Traxillo, formed a union, under the name of the American confederacy of Venezuela. The principal leaders in this revolution, while they looked forward to ultimate independence, concealed their intentions at first under a profession of warm attachment to Old Spain, and swore allegiance to Ferdinand the seventh, whom they doubtless believed to be for ever lost to them; but they did not recognise the authority of the regency at Cadiz, which they affirmed the central junta had no right to appoint without first assembling the cortes. The revolutionists were declared traitors, and their persons placed under blockade till they should acknowledge the regency as the legitimate representatives of Ferdinand the seventh; at the same time the promise of an amnesty was held out for what had passed, on condition of future obedience. Two parties now appeared to divide Spanish America; the loyalists, who submitted to the regency, and the independents, who insisted upon governing themselves. King Joseph also endeavoured to form a third; but he met with very different success, so general was the aversion to the French usurpation, though the dissensions of the other two parties had fermented into the flames of civil war. The junta of Caracas, desirous of knowing what might be expected from Great Britain in this novel conjuncture, entered into a correspondence with the British governor of Curaçoa, who did not hesitate to admit it, though he felt it incumbent upon him to send to his government for instructions. In reply to his application to the ministry, the earl of Liverpool, on the twenty-ninth of June, wrote a letter, the substance of which was, that under the obligations of justice and good faith, his majesty must disavow every attempt to separate the Spanish provinces in America from the mother country; yet if Spain should be condemned to submit to the yoke of the common enemy, his majesty would think it his duty to afford every kind of assistance to those provinces in rendering them independent of French Spain, and to open in them an asylum to such Spaniards as should disdain to submit to their oppressors, where they might preserve the remains of this monarchy for their lawful sovereign, should he ever recover his liberty. A copy of this letter being communicated to the regency, was published in all the Spanish newspapers, as a public declaration of the system on which the British government intended to act with respect to the South American colonies.

A strong suspicion was entertained by the independents in Paraguay, that there might be a secret negotiation for enforcing the pretensions of the princes of Brazil to the whole country between the Porana and La Plata, in exchange for the islands of Madeira and St. Catherine: this apprehension arose from the appearance, in the month of March, of a Portuguese army, ten thousand strong, on the frontiers of the Spanish colonies; but it was quieted by a letter from lord Strangford, the British minister at the court of Brazil, to the Buenos Ayres junta, in which any such intention was disavowed.

KING'S MALADY—REGENCY.

HIS majesty, in consequence, as was supposed, of deep affliction from the sufferings of his young

est daughter, the princess Amelia, which terminated in her death on the second of November, was again attacked by the mental malady under which he had before laboured, and his advanced age left no just grounds to hope for his recovery. The parliament stood prorogued to the first of November, on which day both houses met, expecting to be further adjourned; but the king was not in a state to sign the commission, and as the reports of the physicians afforded hopes of his speedy recovery, successive adjournments took place, until it became necessary to appoint a regency; on the twentieth of December, three resolutions, framed on the precedents of 1788-9, were proposed by Perceval, as preparatory to the introduction of a bill for supplying the defect in the personal exercise of the royal authority. By this bill the prince of Wales was appointed regent, and empowered to exercise the royal authority in the name of his majesty. He was, for a specified time, restrained from granting peerages, or summoning heirs-apparent, or appointing to titles in abeyance; likewise from granting offices in reversion, or for a longer time than during pleasure, excepting those allowed by law to be granted for life, or during good behaviour, as well as pensions to the chancellor, judges, &c. These restrictions were to terminate on the first of February, 1812, provided parliament should have been sitting six weeks, and should be then assembled. The care of his majesty's person and the direction of his household were vested in the queen, who was to be assisted by a council, the members of which were, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the duke of Montrose, the earl of Winchelsea, the earl of Aylesford, lord Eldon, lord Ellenborough, and sir William Grant. If his majesty should be restored to health; the queen and her council were to notify that event by an instrument transmitted to the privy council, who were to assemble and make entry of it; after which the king by his sign manual might require them to assemble, and at his pleasure direct proclamation to issue, when the powers of the act were to cease.

1811.—Lambe moved an amendment, that the entire royal power should be conferred upon the prince of Wales, without any restriction. A debate ensued, in the course of which arguments of a similar tendency with those used under the same circumstances during Pitt's administration were adduced, and with the same result, the amendment being negatived by two hundred and twenty-four against two hundred; the smallness of which majority denoted a general opinion that ministers held their places by a very doubtful tenure. Indeed the opposition had every reason to contemplate the establishment of the regency as the conclusion of the existing administration, the members of which had never possessed the prince's confidence.

After much discussion, the regency bill, by resorting to the fiction of signifying the king's assent to an act founded on that very incapacity which disabled him from performing any legislative function, finally passed into a law on the fifth of February, 1811; and as it was well known that the political attachments and principles of the prince-regent lay on the side of earl Gray and lord Grenville, it was expected that the existing administration would be dissolved, and their opponents taken into power; but the installation of the prince, as regent, took place on the sixth of February; and no arrangements for a new ministry had been made. The malady of the king, after undergoing frequent and great variations, assumed a much more mild and favourable form, and the physicians again pronounced his recovery as not far distant. This circumstance, combined with others, determined the prince to retain the present ministers, which he communicated to Perceval, in a note dated the fourth of February: at the same time stating, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection made him unwilling to do a single act which might retard his father's recovery; and that this consideration alone had dictated his decision. He added, that it would not be one of the least blessings which would result from the restoration of his Majesty, that it would resume the regency from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs ill calculated, he feared, to sustain the interests of the kingdom in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British constitution.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

On the twelfth of February the session was opened with the usual formalities; and a speech was delivered by commission, in the name of the regent, which, after expressing the most unfeigned sorrow on account of the calamity that had imposed upon him the duty of exercising the royal authority, congratulated parliament on the success of his Majesty's arms, both by sea and land, and trusted that he would be enabled to continue to afford the most effectual assistance to the brave nations of the Peninsula. It was his earnest wish to bring the discussions with the United States of America to an amicable termination, and he trusted to the zeal of parliament for adequate supplies in order to bring the great contest in which the country was engaged to a happy issue. The usual address was carried in both houses.

A proof of the manner in which the prince-regent regarded his temporary authority was afforded by a communication made to the house of commons on the twenty-first of February, when the chancellor of the exchequer stated that his royal highness, on being informed that a motion was intended to be made for a provision for the royal household, declared that he would not add to the burthens of the people by accepting of any addition to his public state as regent. Adam stated that the prince had put into his hand a letter from the chancellor of the exchequer, relating to the intended provision, accompanying it with written instructions, that, should any proposition for an establishment be made, he should inform the house that his royal highness wished to discharge the duties of the temporary regency without an increase. In case, however, of such circumstances occurring as might lead to a permanent regency, he conceived that the question would then be opened anew to the consideration of his royal highness.

The commercial distresses of the nation were so seriously felt, that the attention of government was necessarily fixed upon them; and on the first of March a committee of twenty-one members was appointed to investigate the state of the commercial credit of the country, and to make their report thereon. On the eleventh the report was taken into consideration, and an act was passed, whereby the sum of six million pounds was to be advanced to certain commissioners, for the assistance of such merchants as should apply for the same, on giving sufficient security for repayment. It might naturally have been supposed that, in the midst of so much embarrassment and distress, the money voted by parliament at the recommendation of the committee would have been eagerly sought after, and soon exhausted. Such was the case in 1793; the reverse, however, happened now, and the sums applied for were to a less amount than the provision made. Yet the commercial distresses continued to increase during the year, and displayed themselves by frightful lists of bankrupts in every Gazette, amounting to an aggregate of which no former year in the annals of the country afforded a parallel, and they were mainly attributable to the effects of the American embargo, to the operation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and to the sequestration and confiscation of British property on the continent.

The report of the bullion committee was brought under consideration on the sixth of May, when Horner, the chairman, moved a series of resolutions grounded upon the report, and contending that the standard value of gold, as a measure of exchange, could not possibly fluctuate under any change of circumstances, though its real price was unquestionably subject to all the variations arising from the increase or diminution of the supply; that bank paper, measured by this standard, was depreciated; and that the consequence was to render our exchanges with the continent unfavourable, to advance prices, to occasion immense losses to creditors, and materially to injure all monied incomes. Vanisart, secretary of the treasury, who took the lead in opposing the bullionists, moved a number of counter resolutions, in which it was declared that bank notes were not depreciated; that the political and commercial relations of this country with foreign states were sufficient to account for the unfavourable state of the foreign exchange, and the high price of bullion; that it was highly important that the restrictions on cash payments at the bank should be

removed whenever it was compatible with the public interest; but that to fix a definite period earlier than that of six months after the conclusion of peace, which was already fixed, would be highly inexpedient and dangerous. These discussions occupied the house of commons no less than seven nights, when the resolutions moved by Horner were rejected, and those presented by Vansittart adopted by a large majority. Before the session closed, however, a practical illustration was adduced by lord King, that the question was not set at rest by this decision. His lordship, in a notice sent to his tenants, reminded them that they had agreed to pay their rents in good and lawful money of Great Britain, and as he would no longer accept of bank notes at their nominal value, he called upon them to pay either in guineas or in equivalent weight in Portuguese gold coin, or in bank notes sufficient to purchase, at the existing market price, the weight of as much standard gold as would discharge the rents. Lord Stanhope thought this proceeding so mischievous that he introduced a bill into the house of lords, on the twenty-seventh of June, for preventing the current gold coin of the realm from being paid for more than its mint value, and for preventing bank notes from being received for any smaller sum than that for which they were issued. The fate of this bill was very extraordinary: on its first reading ministers opposed it, on the ground that such a measure was unnecessary; but on the second reading they had discovered their error, and the prorogation of parliament was actually delayed for the purpose of passing it into a law.

The practice of flogging in the army had frequently been a subject of animadversion, both in and out of parliament; but though government had hitherto strenuously opposed the motions which had been made to abolish it, Manners Sutton, the judge advocate, when the mutiny bill came before the house of commons on the fourteenth of March, introduced a clause by which a discretionary power was given to courts-martial of sentencing to imprisonment, instead of corporal punishment. A bill was also passed for effecting an interchange of militias between Great Britain and Ireland. The attention of parliament was likewise called, by Brougham, to the enormities practised by captains of vessels and others, who still carried on the African slave trade. His proposition, which passed into a law, was to render any British subject who might engage in this traffic liable to transportation, for any period not exceeding fourteen years.

Among the catholics of Ireland an opinion had universally prevailed that the prince was favourable to their claims; and on his investment with power, their activity and zeal in promoting their object greatly increased. Among other measures, they had proposed to establish a committee in Dublin, composed of delegates from each county, for the management of their affairs, which being deemed unlawful, Wellesley Pole, secretary to the lord-lieutenant, addressed a circular to the sheriffs and chief magistrates of the counties, requiring them to arrest all persons concerned in the election of such delegates; and this letter, being brought before parliament, excited considerable discussion. On the third of March, Peel, having returned from Ireland, stated, in explanation, that the catholic committee of 1800 had confined their deliberations to the business of petitioning; whereas the delegates of 1816 were empowered to manage the catholic affairs generally; and that a committee of grievances, which met weekly, imitated all the forms of the house of commons. The lord-lieutenant had taken the opinion of the great law officers, and the attorney-general had drawn up the circular letter which was issued. The catholic petitions were this session rejected. Not discouraged by this defeat, the Irish catholics held a meeting on the ninth of July, at Dublin, for the appointment of delegates to the general committee of catholics, when five persons were apprehended for a breach of the convention act, one of whom, Dr. Sheridan, was tried and acquitted. A new committee of delegates met on the nineteenth of October, at a theatre, and having placed lord Fingal in the chair, despatched their business before the magistrates arrived to disperse them. On the twenty-sixth the aggregate meeting was held, when it was resolved to present an humble address to the prince regent

as soon as the restrictions on his authority should cease.

The sensation excited by a bill introduced by lord Sidmouth, for altering the toleration act, can scarcely be described. In forty-eight hours, three hundred and thirty-six petitions against it were poured into the house of lords; and when the bill came to be read a second time, on the twenty-first of May, it was encountered by five hundred more. Such an expression of the public feeling was not to be resisted: ministers themselves, and even the dignitaries of the church, and under these circumstances it was rejected without a division. On introducing the bill, lord Sidmouth stated, that, till within the last thirty or forty years, the toleration act had been construed in such a manner as to exclude all persons unqualified, by the want of the requisite talents and learning, and unfit, from the meanness of their situation, or the profligacy of their character, from exercising the functions of ministers of religion; but since that period, all who offered themselves at the quarter-sessions, provided they took the oath, and made the declaration required by law, obtained the requisite certificates, not only as a matter of course, but as a matter of right. In order to remedy this evil, he proposed, that, to entitle any man to obtain a license as a preacher, he should have the recommendation of at least six respectable householders of the congregation to which he belonged; and that such congregation should be actually willing to listen to his instructions. Those who were itinerants were to bring a testimonial, stating them to be of sober life and character, together with the belief that they were qualified to perform the functions of preachers. The effects expected from this bill were, that improper and unaccredited men would have been prevented from assuming the most important of all duties,—that of instructing their fellow creatures in the principles of religion and virtue. As it might, however, have been occasionally perverted to purposes of intolerance, it is better, perhaps, that it was lost.

On the twentieth of May, Perceval opened the budget for the year. The supply voted for the public service amounted to about fifty-six million pounds, including a sum of two million pounds granted to the government of Portugal, and one hundred thousand pounds as an eleemosynary aid to the distressed Portuguese. The loan for the present year, he stated at twelve million pounds, the interest on which he proposed to discharge by an additional duty on British and foreign spirits. He further stated it to be his intention to impose an additional duty on timber, pearl and pet ashes, and foreign linens, which, with a tax of one penny per pound on cotton wool, imported from the United States of America, he estimated at eight hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred pounds. Owing, however, to the opposition made to the principle of taxing a raw material, the proposed duty on cotton wool was abandoned; and a tax upon hats, which had long operated as a burdensome and vexatious impost on the fair trader, while it sunk into insignificance as a subject of revenue, shared the same fate.

One of the earliest acts of the prince regent, after his assumption of the royal functions, was the restoration of his brother, the duke of York, to the post of commander-in-chief of the army—a measure which induced lord Milton to propose a vote of censure on the advisers of it. The chancellor of the exchequer acknowledged the responsibility of his majesty's servants in recommending the measure in question. Sir David Dundas, who had lately filled the office, was obliged, by illness, to retire from its arduous duties, and there was not the slightest hesitation in the minds of ministers, whom they should recommend to supply the vacancy:—the eminent services rendered to the army by the duke of York left them no choice; and as to the proceedings on a former occasion, alluded to by the noble lord, they pledged the house to nothing. On this occasion, several gentlemen who had, during the proceedings in the year 1800, taken part against the duke of York, did not hesitate to avow, either that they had been formerly carried away by the current of public opinion, or that they considered the case, as it now presented itself, in a different point of view. The votes for lord Milton's motion were forty-seven; against it, two hundred and

thirty-six; constituting a majority of two hundred and forty-nine in favour of the re-appointment.—The action at large seemed to have been affected with a similar change of opinion, and the duke resumed his post with all the facility of a public functionary who had quitted his office without imputation.

His majesty's health, in the early part of the year, underwent several variations; but in the report of the queen's council, made on the sixth of July, a few days before the prorogation of parliament, which took place on the twenty-fourth, it was stated that his health was not such as to enable him to resume the personal exercise of the royal functions.

AMERICAN DISPUTES.

THE orders in council not being repealed on the second of February, Pinkney, the American minister in London, was recalled, and had his audience of leave of the prince regent on the first of March, from which time the American ports were open to the ships of France, and closed against those of England. An encounter which took place between a British sloop of war, the *Little Belt*, commanded by captain Bingham, and the American frigate, called the *President*, under commodore Rodgers, had nearly proved the signal of open war between the two nations; but their respective governments disavowed the issue of any hostile orders to the commanders, and were disposed to take no further notice of the affair. In the spring, an envoy extraordinary was sent to the United States on the subjects in dispute, but he found it impossible to effect an adjustment without exceeding his instructions, by holding forth an expectation that the orders of council would be repealed. On the meeting of congress in November, the president recommended vigorous measures of preparation, both by sea and land, in consequence of the hostile inflexibility of the British cabinet: the finances of the American government, however, seemed but little suited to meet the expense of a war; and the friends of peace, though outvoted in the legislative assemblies, put some confidence in the prospect of loans and taxes to cool the martial ardour of a people unaccustomed, like those of Europe, to acquiesce in such burdens.

CAPTURE OF JAVA—NAVAL ACTIONS.

THE Dutch settlements in the island of Java, from which the mother country had, in the days of her prosperity, derived great wealth and consequence, were now destined to augment the preponderating power of Britain in the East, a formidable expedition being fitted out against them by lord Minto, governor-general of India, who entrusted the command of the troops to Sir Samuel Auchmuty, and accompanied them in person. On the fourth of August, a landing was effected about twelve miles eastward from the city of Batavia; and on the eighth, the city of Batavia surrendered without resistance. The garrison retreated first to Weltevreden, and then to a fortified position or entrenchment which surrounds Fort Cornelia. On the twenty-sixth a general assault of the works was ordered,

when the lines were forced—the fort was stormed—and the whole of the hostile army was killed, taken, or dispersed: General Jansens fled with a few cavalry, but he was soon compelled to capitulate, and the whole island of Java surrendered to the British arms,—which after this event had neither an enemy nor a rival, from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn.

In the Italian seas a brilliant achievement was performed by four frigates, under captain Hoste, against a French force of five frigates, and several smaller vessels, with five hundred troops on board, destined to garrison the island of Lissa. Confiding in their superiority, the French attacked the English with more than their accustomed skill, following up that skill with a considerable share of activity and bravery. The unconquerable spirit of British seamen, however, was most brilliantly displayed on this occasion; and the result was, that the ship of the French commander, who fell in the action, was destroyed, and two were captured. A fourth escaped after striking her colours. In the Indian sea, three French frigates, with a reinforcement of troops for the Mauritius, having appeared off that island after its capture, they were pursued by three frigates and a sloop, when one was taken; another escaped after having struck; and the third, having proceeded to Tamatave, which had been repossessed by the French, was there captured, with the fort and the vessels in the harbour. In every direction the enemy's coast was kept in continual alarm; and in none could his vessels, armed or unarmed, move in safety.

MEASURES AGAINST BRITISH COMMERCE.

A SON was born to Napoleon on the twentieth of April. The ancient title of King of Rome, which had long lain dormant, was immediately revived for the young prince, and he was welcomed with all the extravagant adulation usually bestowed on the heirs of absolute monarchy or extensive dominion. Nothing, however, could for a moment divert the attention of the ruler of France from his favourite object,—the exclusion of English commerce from the continent; and while the French people were substituting horse beans for coffee, and extracting sugar from beet-root and palm sea-weed, they were called upon to applaud the wisdom and goodness which dictated the exclusion of colonial produce, and the burning of British merchandise. The conscription law was applied to the levying of seamen in the thirty maritime departments, and the quotas liable to serve in the years 1813 to 1816, were placed at the disposal of the minister of marine.—At Antwerp twenty ships of the line were ordered to be built, and the basin was rendered capable of containing fifty sail. Spanish prisoners were employed in the dock-yards and fortifications; and men of all countries were collected to man the fleet. About this time it began to be apparent that no great cordiality subsisted between Buonaparte and the emperor Alexander; and in an answer to an address from a council of commerce, he complained that Russia had not caused his decrees to be respected; adding, "I am, and always will be, master of the Baltic."

CHAPTER XL.

Surrender of Tortosa and Olivenca—Battles of Barossa and Albuera, and various Operations of the contending Armies—Loss of Tarragona and Valencia—Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz—Lord Wellington enters Spain—Battle of Salamanca—Capture of Madrid—Retreat of Allies to Portuguese Frontier—Parliament assembled—The King and the Regent—Overtures to Lords Grey and Grenville—Assassination of Perceval—Ministerial Negotiations—Riots in Manufacturing Districts—Repeal of Orders in Council—War by Americans—Proceedings in Parliament—Invasion of Russia by Buonaparte—Battles of Smolensko and Borodino—Destruction of Moscow—Disastrous Retreat of the French—Invasion of Canada—Actions at Sea—Meeting of Parliament—Charges against Princess of Wales—Appointment of Vice-Chancellor—Declaration on the American War—Treaty with Sweden—Proceedings and Prerogation of Parliament.

SURRENDER OF TORTOSA—BATTLES OF BAROSSA AND ALBUERA.

ON the second of January Suchet made himself master of Tortosa, the siege of which was truly honourable to the Spanish name; and on the twenty-second Olivenca was taken possession of by Soult, almost without being defended. On the latter day died the gallant and truly patriotic marquis de la Romana, in a fit of apoplexy, at Badajoz. Within a month afterwards, his corps, the command of which had devolved on general Mendizabel, was totally defeated by Soult.

An expedition sailed from Cadiz, under the command of lieutenant-general Graham and Don Manuel La Pena, to attack the French who were employed in the siege of that city, and to open a communication with the Isle de Leon, in the absence of a considerable part of the besiegers' force. On the morning of the fifth of March, this force, comprising a body of English, Spanish, and Portuguese, arrived on the low ridge of Barossa, about four miles from the mouth of the river Santi Petri. A spirited and successful attack on the rear of the enemy's lines at Santi Petri, opened the communication with the Isle of Leon; after which general Graham moved down from the position of Barossa to the Torre de Bernesa, about half way to the Santi Petri, to secure the communication across that river, over which a bridge had been recently thrown; but the general, when he advanced into the middle of the wood through which his route lay, received notice that the enemy was advancing towards the heights of Barossa, and, considering that position as the key to Santi Petri, he immediately made a counter-march, to support the troops left for its defence: before this corps, however, could wholly disengage itself from the woods, the Spanish troops on the ridge of Barossa were seen retreating, whilst the left wing of the enemy was rapidly ascending. To retreat in the face of an enemy superior in numbers, and so advantageously posted, would have exposed the allies to great danger: relying, therefore, on the courage of his troops, an immediate attack was determined on by the English commander, which was executed with the utmost bravery, and in an hour and a half the French were in full retreat; but, after so unequal a contest, the allies found pursuit impracticable. The enemy lost about three thousand in killed, wounded, and prisoners, including general Bellegarde, and many other officers, killed, and generals Ropin and Rousseau taken, with six pieces of cannon. The English loss in killed and wounded amounted to twelve hundred and forty-three, amongst whom were several officers high in estimation. Admiral Sir Richard Keats ably seconded the operations of the army, and a small body of seamen and marines stormed and dismantled the works of the enemy at the mouth of the Gaudalete. General Graham, adding it impossible to procure supplies, withdrew the next day across the

Santi Petri, and afterwards returned to the Isle of Leon. La Pena, who was blamed for not having more effectually co-operated with the British, returned with his forces to Cadiz; and the French resumed the blockade.

General Massena began his retreat from Santarem, where he had never found an opportunity to engage Lord Wellington with any favourable prospect. The vanguard of his lordship, however, attacked his rear near Pombal, and drove it from its position, on the eleventh of March; but this advantage was much more than counterpoised by the loss of Badajoz, which, after a vigorous resistance, surrendered to marshal Soult on the same day. Massena, continuing his retreat through Portugal, was closely pursued by Lord Wellington, having been attacked on the fourteenth, and forced to abandon a strong position near Casca Nova; he was also obliged to change the line of his retreat, in which he was harassed by the militia under colonels Franck and Wilson, and was driven from the Terra di Moira, with the loss of six thousand prisoners. General Beresford, on the twenty-sixth of March, attacked the advanced guard of marshal Mortier, and pursued it to the gates of Badajoz; and on the fifteenth of April he forced Olivenca to capitulate. On the tenth of the same month the Catalonians took Figueras by surprise, having maintained intelligence with the Italian troops in that place. Lord Wellington attacked the rear of Massena's army on the third of April, near Sabugal on the river Coa; and after a spirited contest, the French position was carried by the bayonet. His lordship was in turn attacked by Massena, in his position of Fuente de Honore, on the third of May, and the French gained some advantage at the commencement of the action, which was retrieved by the British before night; the battle was renewed next day by the enemy, but they were at length obliged to recross the Agueda, without accomplishing their object of throwing a body of troops into Almeida. The garrison of that fortress, however, succeeded in evacuating the place, and blowing up the works, on the night of the tenth of May. These events established the fame of the British general-in-chief. Massena, rapidly pursued by the English, conducted his retreat in the most able manner; but his route was tracked by the most horrible desolation; and he and his followers were executed, by the British commander, of acts of cruelty and wanton mischief which would have disgraced a horde of barbarians.

By the eighth of May general Beresford had invested Badajoz, and repelled, though with some loss, the sorties of the garrison: scarcely, however, had he commenced the siege, when intelligence arrived that marshal Soult had left Seville, with fifteen thousand men, and was marching to its relief. This information was confirmed on the night of the twelfth of May; in consequence of which the English commander immediately suspended his operations, removed the battering cannon and

stores to Elvas, and, having been joined on the fourteenth by the Spanish generals Castanos and Blake, he prepared to meet the enemy. Soult, in the afternoon of the fifteenth, appeared in front of the allies with a force of about twenty thousand men, having been joined in his march by a corps of five thousand, under Latour Maubourg. The allied army completed its dispositions for receiving the enemy on the morning of the sixteenth: it was then formed in two lines, on a rising ground, running nearly parallel to the little river Albuera. Several of the Spanish corps, although they made forced marches, were unable to join the army till the middle of the preceding night. The French began the attack, in which they attempted, after pushing across the river, to turn the right flank of the allies, and to carry the village and bridge of Albuera in front; and they succeeded so far as to drive from their ground the Spanish troops, who were posted on the heights to the right of the line, and to occupy their place. In this situation they were enabled to keep up a raking fire upon the whole position of the allies, so that it became necessary to recover it; and the most vigorous efforts were made, with that view, at the point of the bayonet. A dreadful carnage ensued, by which some regiments were nearly annihilated; occasioned, principally, by a body of Polish lancers, who broke in, unperceived, upon the rear of the right division, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Colbourn. One regiment, the thirty-first, alone escaped the fury of this attack, and kept its ground till the arrival of the third brigade under major-general Houghton, who fell, pierced with wounds, as he was cheering his men to advance. At length, however, the enemy was driven back, with great slaughter, across the river. The main attack being thus frustrated, that of the village, upon which no impression had been made, was relaxed, and the remainder of the day was spent in cannonading and skirmishing. Soult retired to the ground he had previously occupied; and on the night of the seventeenth he commenced his retreat towards Seville, leaving Badajoz to its own defence, and relinquishing the care of many of his wounded to the allies. In this battle, though it ended so honourably to the allies, the British sustained a greater loss than in any action previously fought in the Peninsula, and its influence was seriously felt on subsequent occasions; but the steadiness and gallantry of the troops obtained the highest commendations, as well from their commander as from both houses of parliament; though the generalship displayed was not equally applauded, as it was known that lord Wellington was of opinion, that the heights on the right should have been occupied by British troops.

Shortly after this engagement lord Wellington joined general Beresford, leaving his army, in the north of Portugal, under the command of general Spencer, and the siege of Badajoz was recommenced. The French army opposed to general Spencer was now commanded by marshal Marmont, Massena having been recalled to Paris. It soon appeared that the French were resolved that Badajoz should not fall, if they could possibly prevent it; and, in order to enable Soult again to advance to its relief, Marmont detached fifteen thousand men under Drouet, to reinforce him. Lord Wellington therefore resolved, if possible, to gain possession of Badajoz, before the French army, thus reinforced, should advance for its relief; and, for this purpose, two different attacks were made against it. But both attempts were unsuccessful, and the siege was soon after raised.

LOSS OF TARRAGONA AND VALENCIA.

On the twenty-eighth of June Suchet took Tarragona by assault, when a most inhuman slaughter of the inhabitants took place; on the first of August general Blake was repulsed in an attack on Niebla; and on the ninth Soult defeated the army of Murcia, in the vicinity of Baza. On the fourteenth the Spaniards surprised the French in Santander; on the nineteenth Figueras was retaken by the French general Macdonald, after a tedious blockade; and on the twenty-fifth the Spanish general Abadía, was defeated by Dorsenne, in the neighbourhood of Astorga. Lord Wellington formed the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo on the fourth of September; but the French having collected all their troops from the north and from Navarre, to that which had retreated from Portugal, on the twenty-fifth lord Wel-

lington retired, and his rear was attacked by the advanced guard of Marmont. The infantry, however, forming a square, and presenting a firm front, retreated without being broken. It is in such contests of man to man, that the superiority of mind and manhood is decided; and happily the decision was uniformly in favour of British troops in the sharp contests on the frontiers of Portugal. General Hill, with a division of the allied army, by a series of bold and skilful manœuvres, surprised and completely routed a French column, commanded by general Girard, on the twenty-eighth of October, taking one thousand four hundred prisoners, the whole of Girard's artillery, baggage, and commissariat, together with the contribution of money which he had levied at Merida. Suchet having taken the town of Murviedro, and invested the castle, which is built on the ruins of the ancient Saguntum, general Blake attacked him on the twenty-fifth of October; but the former was victorious, and the castle capitulated on the twenty-sixth. Suchet passed the Guadalquivir on the twenty-sixth of December, defeated the patriots, and compelled Blake to retire within the walls of Valencia. The baron d'Eroles, on the other hand, had defeated the French near Perigeorda, on the twenty-sixth of October.

1812.—On the ninth of January, the important city of Valencia capitulated, with an army of eighteen thousand men; by which event three hundred and seventy-four pieces of cannon, and immense magazines, also fell into the hands of the enemy. The commencement of this year was distinguished by the raising of the siege of Tariffa, which had been bravely defended, by a small garrison of English and Spaniards, from the twentieth of December to the fourth of January, against eleven thousand men, under marshal Victor. On the nineteenth of January, lord Wellington, who was now in a condition to resume offensive operations, carried Ciudad Rodrigo by assault, after a fortnight's siege, where he captured the heavy train of the French army. Major-general M'Kinnon fell, mortally wounded, in the breach; and the loss of men was considerable. On this occasion a vote of the Cortes conferred on lord Wellington the rank of a grandee of Spain of the first class, with the title of duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. In the eastern parts of the kingdom the patriotic generals carried on the war against the common enemy with considerable spirit. The French commander, Monbrun, was compelled to retire from before Alicante, after an ineffectual cannonade of the fortress. The French attacked general Lacy, who was posted on the heights of Atafalla, near Tarragona, on the twenty-fourth of January, when the patriots eminently distinguished themselves; but, overwhelmed by the numbers and discipline of the enemy, they were ultimately obliged to retreat to the mountains. By the treasury of its governor, the town of Peniscola, a place of great strength, seated on a bold promontory overlooking the Mediterranean, was soon afterwards surrendered to the French.

CAPTURE OF BADAJOZ.

GENERAL BALLASTEROS defeated, near Malaga, a French corps under general Marausin, on the sixteenth of February. On the sixteenth of March lord Wellington again invested Badajoz; on the thirty-first he opened his fire; and, on the sixth of April three practicable breaches were made, when an assault in the night was determined upon. Simultaneous attacks on different parts of the works were planned, of which that on the castle, by escalade, conducted by lieutenant-general Picton, was the only one that succeeded; and his third division was established in it by about half-past eleven. In the mean time the breaches in the bastions were vigorously assailed by other divisions; but the assaults, after six hours hard fighting, and considerable loss, were obliged to retire, the garrison having employed every imaginable contrivance for repelling the assault. The possession of the castle, however, which commanded all the works, decided the fate of the town; and at day-light, on the 7th, general Philippon, the commandant, surrendered, with the whole garrison, which at the beginning of the siege, had consisted of five thousand men, but about twelve hundred had been killed or wounded during its progress, besides those who perished in the assault. This triumph compelled the French, who had advanced into Portugal as far

as *Castello Branco*, for purposes of plunder, to draw off the besieging army from *Badajoz*, and to commence a precipitate retreat. On the south of the *Tagus*, the British cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton, defeated the cavalry of Soult at *Villa Franca*, on the eleventh of April.

WELLINGTON ENTERS SPAIN—BATTLE OF SALAMANCA.

ALL the frontier towns having thus fallen into his hands, lord Wellington determined no longer to delay the expedition into Spain which he had long meditated. As a preliminary, he directed Sir Rowland Hill, who still commanded in the south, to endeavour to destroy the bridge of *Almaraz*, which formed the only communication lower than *Teledo*, which the French considered a most important station, by which a great army could cross the *Tagus*; and, after a difficult march of seven days, the enterprise was effected in the most brilliant style. Such, indeed, was that general's success on services of this nature, that he kept the enemy in continual alarm. On the thirteenth of June the allied army broke up from their cantonments on the *Aragua*, and on the sixteenth entered *Sevilla*. The French had created in this place three forts, which lord Wellington hoped speedily to reduce: his first attack, however, was unsuccessful; and it was found necessary to wait for some days the arrival of a battering train. The enemy hovered round, endeavouring to communicate with the garrison, and to throw in supplies; but all their attempts were frustrated by the activity of Sir Thomas Graham. On the twenty-seventh the principal fort was stormed, when the rest immediately surrendered, and the French army took a position behind the *Douro*, breaking down the bridges over that river, the passage of which lord Wellington was not provided with the means of forcing. Here *Marmont* was joined by *Bonnet*, which, with other reinforcements, rendered his force equal or superior to that of the English commander, and he consequently determined to act on the offensive. After a great variety of skilful manoeuvres on both sides, *Marmont*, inspired with the extravagant hopes of destroying, at one blow, the whole English army, extended his line, in order to enclose the allies within the position which they had taken up, near *Salamanca*, an error which was instantly perceived and improved by his opponent. On the twenty-second of July, nearly the whole army being brought opposite to the enemy's left, an attack was commenced upon that wing. Three divisions, under generals *Leith*, *Cole*, and *Cotton*, charged in front, while general *Fakenham* formed another across the enemy's flank. This single movement decided the victory. The left wing made no resistance; the British troops overthrew every thing opposed to them. In the centre the contest was more obstinate. The fourth division was forced to retreat, and general *Beresford* was wounded, and obliged to leave the field; these troops, however, being reinforced by those which had routed the French left wing, victory declared alike in their favour. The right wing soon shared the fate of the two others; and as the evening closed, the whole force of the enemy was in total rout. Although the darkness of the night favoured their retreat, seven thousand prisoners, eleven pieces of cannon, six stands of colours, and two eagles, fell into the hands of the allies. *Marmont* lost an arm, *Bonnet* was severely wounded; and the care of saving the wrecks of the army devolved on general *Clanell*. In killed, wounded, and missing, the loss of the allies amounted to five thousand two hundred and twenty, and that of the enemy must have been still greater. The Portuguese displayed great bravery, and sustained a heavy loss, their killed and wounded amounting to eighteen hundred and fifty six. Thus in the course of four years lord Wellington had defeated seven of the most celebrated French marshals.

CAPTURE OF MADRID—RETREAT.

JOSEPH BUONAPARTE marched from *Madrid*, on the twenty-first of July, with about fourteen thousand troops, to join *Marmont*; but, receiving intelligence of his defeat at *Salamanca*, he marched towards *Segovia*. The allies pushed forward, and, as the first consequence of their important victory, obtained possession of *Madrid* on the twelfth of August; where they took twenty-five hundred prisoners, one hundred and eighty-nine pieces of cannon,

nine hundred barrels of gun-powder, twenty-three thousand two hundred and fifty-four muskets, and large magazines. Lord Wellington next advanced towards *Burgos*, and made himself master of some of the outworks; but all his attempts against the castle failed, and he at length raised the siege, after sustaining considerable loss, and commenced a retrograde march towards the *Douro*, the French army having been reinforced by all the disposable troops in the north of Spain, and advices having also been received that *Soult*, *Buchet*, and *Joseph Buonaparte*, with seventy thousand men, were fast approaching the passes against Sir Rowland Hill, who had no adequate force to oppose them. Having recalled his troops from *Madrid*, and directed general Hill to proceed northward to join him, lord Wellington moved upon *Salamanca* where he hoped to establish himself: but *Soult* having united his forces with those of *Boeham*, which had advanced from *Burgos*, obliged him to continue his retreat. On the twenty-fourth of November he fixed his headquarters at *Freynda*, on the Portuguese frontier, after a masterly retreat before an army of ninety thousand men, including a most efficient cavalry, against which he could only oppose fifty-two thousand. Though unable to maintain himself in the centre of the peninsula, lord Wellington's advance had the effect of obliging the invaders to break up the lines of *Ostia*, and evacuate *Seville*, *Grenada*, *Cordova*, and all the south of Spain.

The patriotic corps had numerous skirmishes with the French, in which they were frequently successful; and the guerrillas also carried on their desultory operations with wonderful enterprise and effect. By a decree of the regency and the cortes, lord Wellington was constituted generalissimo of the Spanish armies, which excited a remonstrance from *Ballastrero*, the Spanish general, who was therefore superseded by the regency in the command of the fourth army. His lordship had previously been created earl, and afterwards marquis, of Wellington—titles which he had nobly acquired by his conduct of the peninsular war.

PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED—THE KING AND REGENT—OVERTURES TO LORDS GREY AND GRENVILLE.

PARLIAMENT assembled on the seventh of January; and the speech of the prince regent, after lamenting the disappointment of the hopes so confidently entertained of his majesty's speedy recovery, congratulated parliament on the skill and valour displayed by the British army in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, as well as upon the extinction of the colonial power of the enemy in the east; and concluded with an assurance, on the part of the regent, that he would continue to employ all such means of conciliation, for adjusting the existing differences between Great Britain and America, as might be consistent with the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown.

The king's symptoms had gradually become more discouraging, and, in the beginning of the present year, there remained little hope of his restoration. As separate establishments for the regent and the king were now necessary, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed that an addition of seventy thousand pounds per annum should be made to the civil list out of the consolidated fund; that the king's establishment, the annual expense of which was estimated at one hundred thousand pounds, should be placed under the control of the queen, who would have the care of his person; that ten thousand pounds per annum be added to her majesty's income; and that a commission of three persons should be appointed for the management of the king's private property. These propositions were agreed to, as was a bill, by which the sum of one hundred thousand pounds was voted to the prince regent to meet the expenses consequent on his assumption of the royal authority. A grant of nine thousand pounds per annum was likewise voted to each of the princesses, in addition to four thousand pounds payable from the civil list.

On the thirteenth of February, when the regency restrictions were on the eve of their termination, the prince addressed a letter to the duke of York, expressing his approbation of the conduct of ministers, but intimating a wish that some of those persons with whom the early habits of his public life were formed would strengthen his hands, and constitute a part of his government. Two days after

one date of this letter, lords Grey and Grenville, to whom the duke of York had, in compliance with the request of the prince regent, communicated his sentiments, addressed a reply to his royal highness, in which they expressed, on public grounds alone, the impossibility of their uniting with the existing government, their differences of opinion embracing almost all the leading features of the actual policy of the empire. On one subject their sentiments were especially at variance: they were so firmly persuaded of the necessity of a total change in the system of governing Ireland, and of the immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which so large a portion of the people laboured, an account of their religious opinions, that to recommend to parliament that repeal would be the first advice which they would feel it their duty to offer to his royal highness. All hope of forming an extended administration was therefore at an end.

The ministry now consisted of two parties; at the head of one of which was Perceval, and of the other the marquis of Wellesley. The differences between these statesmen were partly personal, and partly political: the high and aspiring views of the marquis would not permit him to serve under Perceval, though he had no objection to serve with him, or to serve under either the earl of Moira or lord Holland; and when it appeared that the regent intended to continue Perceval at the head of his councils, the marquis resigned his office, and the seals of the foreign department were transferred to lord Castlereagh. On the nineteenth of March lord Boringham moved an address to the prince regent, beseeching him to form such an administration as might most effectually call forth the entire confidence and energies of the united kingdom, and afford to his royal highness additional means of conducting to a successful termination, a war, in which were involved the safety, honour, and prosperity of the country. Earl Grey stated the points on which lord Grenville and himself had declined a union with the existing administration, which, he said, was founded on the express principle of resistance to the catholic claims; a principle loudly proclaimed by the person at its head, from the moment he quitted the bar to take a share in political life; and where he led, the rest were obliged to follow. With respect to the disputes with America, he wished to bear in mind the principle so well expressed by the late Edmund Burke, that, "as we ought never to go to war for a profitable wrong, so we ought never to go to war for an unprofitable right." On making bank notes a legal tender, an impassable line of separation existed between him and the present ministry; and as to the war in the peninsula, it was his wish that we should not proceed on the present expensive scale, without having some military authority as to its probable result. He complained of an unseen and separate influence behind the throne, the existence of which was denied by lord Mulgrave, who avowed the hostility of ministers to the Catholic claims, which was assumed, by the earl of Moira, as a sufficient reason why they ought to be removed. The motion was negatived.

ASSASSINATION OF PERCEVAL.

The power of the administration appeared now more firmly established than ever, when it was deprived of its leader by a tragical and extraordinary event. On the eleventh of May, as Perceval, chancellor of the exchequer, was entering the lobby of the house of commons, a man, named John Bellingham, shot him through the heart. He staggered, fell, and in a few minutes expired. The assassin, who made no attempt to escape, was examined at the bar of the house of commons, where it was apprehended that this was only the first act of a deep and extensive conspiracy; but it soon appeared that the act was merely in revenge of a supposed private injury. Bellingham having, in a commercial visit to Russia, undergone imprisonment for debt unjustly, as he asserted, and for which he thought the British government was bound to procure him redress, its refusal to take any cognizance of his case made such an impression on his mind, constitutionally disposed to dark melancholy, that he resolved to make a sacrifice of some conspicuous member of the government. On his trial, which took place four days after the commission of the deed, he displayed great self-possession, yet his sanity was involved in doubt; he discovered intellectual powers capable of discerning all the tendencies of hu-

man actions, but stimulated to the confines of madness by an acute sense of real or supposed wrongs which he claimed the right of avenging. After admitting the act, denying malice towards Perceval, declaring he would rather have shot lord Gower, the late ambassador to Russia, and attempting a palliation rather than a defence, he was found guilty, and executed on the Monday following.

The day after the assassination of Perceval a message was sent down to parliament by the prince regent, expressing the wish of his royal highness that a suitable provision should be made for his family. A grant of two thousand pounds a year was accordingly conferred on his widow, and the sum of fifty thousand pounds voted to her twelve children. It was afterwards proposed, and agreed to, that the annuity of Mrs. Perceval should, at her demise, descend to her eldest son.

In private life few men were more deservedly respected than Perceval. On quitting Cambridge he pursued the study of the law, as a profession, and on entering parliament, in 1793, he attached himself to the politics of Pitt; but he was not distinguished as a public speaker till he became prime minister. His talents were not splendid; but, as chancellor of the exchequer, he displayed considerable skill in augmenting the public burdens, at a time when the war was conducted on a scale of unprecedented expenditure. His advancement, however, can only be attributed to his inflexibility on the Catholic question, at a time when a majority of parliamentary talent, though a minority in number, was in favour of some concession.

MINISTERIAL NEGOTIATIONS.

In consequence of the vacancy occasioned by the death of Perceval, overtures were made by lord Liverpool to the marquis Wellesley and Canning; but they declined to associate themselves with government, assigning, as their reason, the avowed sentiments of ministers on the catholic question. Robert Wootley moved an address to the prince regent, praying that he would take such measures as might be best calculated to form an efficient government. The motion having been carried, an address was presented; and in answer, his royal highness said that he would take it into his wisdom and immediate consideration. The marquis Wellesley, who was first applied to, proposed, as the chief conditions on which the new cabinet should be formed, the early reconsideration of the catholic question, and the more vigorous prosecution of the war in Spain; and, on failing with lords Liverpool and Melville, he communicated with lords Grey and Grenville, but they also declined his proposals.—Lord Moira was afterwards empowered to negotiate with them, and it was expected that the treaty would be brought to a favourable issue. This, however, was also broken off; and at length, on the eighth of June, lord Liverpool acquainted the lords that the prince regent had that day appointed him first commissioner of the treasury, and authorized him to complete the arrangements for the ministry. Lord Sidmouth was appointed secretary of state for the home department; the earl of Harrowby, president of the council, and Viscount Chancery of the exchequer.

RIOTS—REPEAL OF ORDERS IN COUNCIL—WAR DECLARED BY AMERICA.

TOWARDS the close of 1811 a spirit of riot and insubordination had manifested itself in the county of Nottingham, which, in the course of the present year, extended to the neighbouring counties, and in some degree pervaded all the manufacturing districts of England. The avowed and immediate object of the insurgents, who assumed the name of Luddites, was the destruction of certain articles of machinery, the use of which had superseded or diminished manual labour. In consequence of the report of the secret committee appointed by parliament on the subject, a bill was brought into the house of commons, which made it a capital offence to administer illegal oaths; and the power of the magistrates, in the disturbed districts, was considerably enlarged. In the interval between the spring and the summer assizes, special commissions were issued to try the offenders, when numerous convictions took place for every gradation of offence; and of the capital crimes, eight at Lancaster, and two at Chester, suffered the penalty of the law. In the metropolis, some most barbarous

murders and other atrocities, committed during the winter, excited general alarm; and a more efficient system of nightly watch was established than had hitherto existed.

In consequence of the distress of the commercial and manufacturing classes, the new ministers at length consented to the repeal of the orders in council; and on the twenty-third of June a declaration from the prince regent appeared in the *London Gazette*, absolutely and unequivocally revoking these orders as far as they regarded American vessels; with the proviso, that if, after the notification of this repeal by the British minister in America, the government of the United States should not revoke its interdictional acts against British commerce, that revocation on our part should be null and void. It afterwards appeared that, five days before the declaration was published in London, the American government had declared war against Great Britain.

On the seventeenth of June Vansittart, the new chancellor of the exchequer, brought forward the budget, which had been nearly arranged by Percival before his death. The amount of the charges he stated at seven million twenty-five thousand seven hundred pounds for Ireland, and fifty-five million three hundred and fifty thousand six hundred and forty eight pounds, for Great Britain. This sum certainly was an enormous, he might say a terrible extent of charge; but great as it was, the resources of the country were still equal to it; and, by an enumeration of the ways and means, he produced a result of fifty-five million three hundred and ninety thousand four hundred and sixty pounds, including a loan of fifteen million six hundred and fifty thousand pounds. In the course of the year a former loan had been obtained to the amount of six million seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds which, added to the new one, and to the exchequer bills funded in 1813, created an annual interest of one million nine hundred and five thousand nine hundred and twenty-four pounds; to provide for which, he proposed to discontinue the bounty on the exportation of printed goods, and to increase the duties on tanned hides and skins, glass, tobacco, sales by auction, postage of letters, and assessed taxes, the aggregate annual product which he estimated at one million nine hundred and three thousand pounds. That on leather was strongly opposed, but the entire budget received the sanction of the parliament.

The advocates of the catholic cause resolved to appeal again to the legislature; and Canning, on the twenty-second of June, proposed a resolution, that the house, early in the next session of parliament, would take into consideration the laws affecting his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, with a view to a final and conciliatory adjustment. This motion, which was supported by lord Castlereagh, was carried by a majority of two hundred and twenty-five against one hundred and six; and a similar resolution, moved in the lords by the marquis Wellesley, on the first of July, was supported by one hundred and twenty-five, and opposed by one hundred and twenty-six voices. Of the royal dukes, two voted on one side, and three on the other; even the bench of bishops was divided, three of them voting for, and fifteen against, the pledge, to consider the subject. A bill to extend and secure the privileges of the dissenters was introduced by lord Castlereagh, on the tenth of July, and carried; by which it was proposed to repeal certain intolerant statutes, and to amend others, relating to religious worship and assemblies, and to persons preaching or teaching therein. A bill for improving the ecclesiastical courts in England also received the sanction of the legislature.

Returns under the population act passed in the last session were laid before parliament, from which it appeared that, in Great Britain, the total population in 1801, was ten million four hundred and seventy-two thousand and forty-eight, and, in 1811, eleven million nine hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and forty-four; making an increase of one million four hundred and thirty-nine thousand five hundred and ninety-six residents, which, added to the number serving in the army and navy abroad, made a total increase of one million six hundred and nine thousand, four hundred and ninety-eight persons. These results revived

the important question of substitutes compared with population. By accounts produced about this time, it appeared that, during eleven years, from 1775 to 1786, the average quantity of grain imported was five hundred and sixty-four thousand, one hundred and forty-three quarters; from 1786 to 1799 one million one hundred and thirty-six thousand one hundred and one quarters; from 1799 to 1810, including three years of scarcity, one million four hundred and seventy one thousand and three quarters. The average prices were thirty shillings per quarter in the first period, forty shillings in the second, and sixty shillings in the third; and during the last year, not less than four million two hundred and seventy-one thousand pounds went out of the country to purchase sustenance for its inhabitants.

The act for prohibiting the grant of offices in reversion was renewed for two years. A bill was also introduced for abolishing sinecure offices executed by deputy, by which the office of paymaster of widows' pensions was done away, and the regent's confidential servant, colonel M'Mahon, on whom it had been recently conferred, although the commissioners of public accounts and military inquiry had long since reported the place as one of those sinecures which ought to be abolished, was appointed keeper of the privy purse, and private secretary to his royal highness. Strong animadversions were made on the latter office; and the suggestion of Wilberforce, that the salary should be paid out of the regent's privy purse, was adopted. An act likewise passed, by which payments of bank notes, in or out of court, were declared legal, to the effect of staying an arrest, and its provisions were extended to Ireland.

In April, when Buonaparte was meditating a war against Russia, he made overtures for peace with England, and a correspondence took place upon the subject, which terminated unsuccessfully, after the interchange of a single despatch, Buonaparte having demanded as a preliminary, the recognition of the Comorian dynasty in Spain. No notice of this correspondence was taken in parliament before the seventeenth of July: on the thirtieth parliament was prorogued; and on the twenty-ninth of September a proclamation was issued announcing its dissolution.

INVASION OF RUSSIA BY BUONAPARTE—DESTRUCTION OF MOSCOW—RETREAT OF THE FRENCH.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1810, Russia by a public ukase altered her commercial system, which in the opinion of the depot of France was equivalent to a declaration of war against him. In February 1811 five divisions of the Russian army moved from the Danube to Poland; Alexander, who had been provoked by the seizure of the duchy of Oldenburg, on no other pretence than that of convenience, published a protest which annihilated the treaty between France and Russia: Napoleon therefore, prepared to invade Russia. The object of the invader was great; and the army which he assembled for the achievement of that object was in full proportion to its magnitude. The confederation of the Rhine furnished one hundred and eighteen thousand six hundred and eighty-two men; Russia was compelled to allow her whole military force to be employed in this war against her own independence; and a contingent of thirty thousand men was furnished by Austria. According to a statement of the earl of Liverpool, the number of the French army, previously to its entrance on the Russian territory, was not less than three hundred and sixty thousand men; and in assembling this immense force, much time was necessarily employed. Buonaparte left Paris and arrived at Dresden in May; he declared war against Russia on the twenty-second of June; and having crossed the Niemen without opposition, he entered Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland, on the eighteenth. The Russian plan was that of gradual retreat before the invaders, making a stand only in favourable positions, and trusting to the increasing difficulties of advance, and the inclemencies of the seasons, to stop their career. On the twenty-ninth of July, after various movements, Buonaparte entered Wilpak; on the sixteenth of August he advanced towards Smolensko, where the Russians were posted in great force; and, after a furious contest, in which the invaders were three times repulsed,

they entered the city, which they found burning and in ruins. About this period the veteran general Kutusoff was called from retirement to take the chief command, instead of general Barclay de Tolly, who had incurred censure for retreating from Smolensko; on the other hand, Buonaparte omitted to attack the Russians on their march from Smolensko to repass the Dnieper. On the seventh of September, he fought the bloody battle of Borodino, otherwise of Mookwa, in which two hundred and twenty-five thousand men were engaged. The Russians remained masters of the field, but the victory was claimed by both armies. On each side he less in killed and wounded was not less than forty thousand. Notwithstanding this severe check, the French succeeded, after a little skirmishing, in entering Moscow, where they hoped to have found quarters for the winter; but the governor, count Topotchnin, had determined on one of the greatest sacrifices recorded in history; and, after the painful operation of withdrawing from their homes two hundred thousand human beings, the only measure which could disappoint the enemy was resorted to, and the destruction of the ancient capital of Russia by fire was so completely effected, that scarcely a sixth part of that extensive city escaped. The French troops entered Moscow on the fourteenth of September, before the flames had reached their sight, and continued to occupy the ruins until the assemblage of fresh bodies of Russian troops, and the approach of winter, began to prove the danger of prolonging their stay—during which Buonaparte endeavoured to impose on Europe by lying bulletins.

Buonaparte, after having in vain offered peace to the emperor of Russia, commenced a retrograde movement on the nineteenth of October; from which period the retreat of his army towards the frontiers of Poland was only an unbroken series of defeats and disasters, miseries and deaths, without parallel in the annals of the world. From the time of his crossing the Niemen to that of the arrival of the wretched remnant of his army at Moldetschino, three hundred thousand human beings, French and Russians together, not including sick and wounded, were sacrificed to the guilty ambition of one man! Of the immense French force which invaded Russia, not one hundred thousand could be mustered at the close of the campaign!—In reality, at Moscow, where Buonaparte declared the campaign to be terminated, it was only beginning on the part of Russia. Buonaparte did not remain to witness the last scenes of the tragedy; but leaving his men to perish by the sword of the enemy, by famine, or by frost, he literally fled in disguise from Smorgny to Paris, where he arrived on the eighteenth of December, and was the herald of his own discomfiture, intimating that France would now be more in need of him than he of France. His name and presence, however, were still terrible; and he proceeded, without fear or mercy, to drain the population and resources of France, in order to appear again in the field.

Russia exerted herself in the cabinet as well as in arms: in the course of the year she effected peace with Britain, with Sweden, with Spain, and with Turkey. To Britain she gave the most substantial proof of her sincerity, by charging her with the protection of her naval force, which was sent to winter in the English ports.

INVASION OF CANADA—ACTIONS AT SEA.

AMERICA, as already stated, declared war against England on the eighteenth of June, but the British government did not resort to the same measure till the thirteenth of October, in the hope that the repeal of the orders in council would have induced the Americans to revoke their hostile declaration; their conduct, however, betrayed so much partiality for the French, and so much dislike of the British and of their naval pre-eminence, that although the latter government displayed as much conciliation as the extraordinary measures of Buonaparte would allow, the different spirit in which the most equivalent concessions of the French were received betrayed such a decided feeling of hostility towards England, that war could no longer be averted. By land the first efforts of the Americans were directed against Canada, which was invaded by general Hull, with so little skill, that on the sixteenth of August he surrendered his entire army, consisting of two thousand five hundred men, with thirty-three pieces of ordnance, to an inferior force of British

and Indians, under general Brock; and on the thirteenth of October a second army, sent on the attempt on Canada, was completely defeated, nine hundred prisoners being taken, and the remainder either killed or wounded. The English loss was very slight; with the exception of general Brock, who was killed while commanding the troops, before the engagement actually commenced. At sea the Americans were more successful; a circumstance to be ascribed chiefly to the great superiority of their frigates, in size, weight of metal, and number of men. Their advantage, in the capture of the *Guerriere* by the *Constitution*, consisted only in an accession of fame,—for the *Guerriere* was burnt; but, in their subsequent capture of the *Macedonian*, the prize was carried, in a sound state, into an American port. Their privateers also made numerous captures in the West Indies. Ministers were much censured by the opposition for a want of foresight, in not being prepared with a more efficient naval force to contend with the Americans; and several ships of the line were afterwards ordered out.

The naval force of France was so reduced a state, that scarcely any thing remained to be done. In February, however, the *Victorious*, of seventy-four guns, captain Talbot, took the *Rivoli*, of seventy-four guns, in the Adriatic. In March, the *Rasario* sloop, captain Harvey, in company with the *Griffin*, defeated a French flotilla of thirteen sail, six of which were destroyed or taken off *Boulogne*; and in May, the *Northumberland*, captain Hotham, destroyed two French frigates and a brig, under the batteries of the Isle of Groa.

In the East Indies, the strong fortress of Bencoolen capitulated to a British force, under colonel Martinelli; an expedition, fitted out at Batavia, against Palembang, was completely successful; the military force employed in it afterwards subdued the sultan of Djedjourtin; and a treaty of alliance was concluded between Great Britain and Ponnia.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—CHARGES AGAINST PRINCESS OF WALES.

THE new parliament assembled on the twenty-fourth of November, when the house of commons unanimously re-elected Abbot for their speaker; and on the thirtieth the prince regent, for the first time, delivered a speech from the throne, the topics of which were principally the political and military occurrences of the year. Alluding to the peculiar war, his royal highness expressed his firm reliance on the determination of parliament to continue every aid in support of a contest, which had first given to the continent of Europe the example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France. On the usual motion for an address, in the house of lords, the marquis Wellesley took a review of the past Spanish campaign, and argued that the system adopted by ministers was timid without prudence, and narrow without economy; profuse without the fruits of expenditure, and slow without the benefits of caution. Lord Liverpool, in reply, dwelt on the great exertions which had been made, and the addresses were voted in both houses without a division.

One of the first measures of the new parliament was the grant of two hundred thousand pounds to the sufferers in Russia by the invasion of that country. The sum of one hundred thousand pounds was also granted to lord Wellington.

For a long period no subject of a domestic nature had fixed upon the public mind with so much force as the discord and alienation which had, for years, subsisted between the prince regent and his illustrious consort. The cause of these dissensions it would be perhaps impossible to trace; but that they originated at a period so early as the first year of the residence of the princess of Wales in this country, and that they were of such a nature as almost to dissolve the marriage contract, is clear from a correspondence which took place between those illustrious personages in the year 1795. The marriage was solemnized on the eighth of April, 1795; the birth of their only child was on the seventh of January following; and in April, in the same year, the princess was informed, by a message from the prince, conveyed through the medium of lord Cholmondeley, that the intercourse between them was, in future, to be of the most restrictive nature—in fact, that a separation as to all conjugal

relations was, from that time and for ever, to take place. In this arrangement the princess expressed her acquiescence, but she considered the subject of too important a nature to rest merely on verbal communication; and, in compliance with her request, the pleasure of his royal highness was communicated in writing. In 1803, when the royal pair had been for some years living in a state of separation, the duke of Sussex informed the prince, that Sir John Douglas had made known to him some circumstances respecting the behaviour of the princess, which might, if true, not only affect the honour and peace of mind of his royal highness, but also the succession to the throne. Sir John and Lady Douglas having made a formal declaration of the charges they thought proper to advance against the princess of Wales, this declaration was submitted by the prince to Lord Thurlow, who gave it as his opinion that the matter must be referred to the king. In consequence of this opinion, and some further examinations, a warrant was issued by his majesty, dated the twenty-ninth of May, 1806, directing and authorising Lord Erskine, as Lord Chancellor—Lord Grenville, as first lord of the treasury—Earl Spencer, as one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state—and Lord Eldon, as chief justice of the court of king's bench, to inquire into the truth of the said allegations, and to report to him thereon. These commissioners first examined on oath the principal informants, Sir John Douglas, and Charlotte, his wife; who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness; and the latter, not only that she had observed it, but that her royal highness had not made the least scruple of talking about it with her, and describing the stratagems she meant to resort to in order to avoid detection. Lady Douglas further deposed that, in the year 1802, the princess was secretly delivered of a male child, which had been brought up in her own house, and under her own inspection. On this part of the inquiry the commissioners reported, that there was no foundation whatever for believing that the child living with the princess was the child of her royal highness; nor had any thing appeared to them that could warrant the belief that she was pregnant at any period within the compass of their inquiries. That child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-street hospital, on the eleventh of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the princess's house in the month of November following. As the declarations on which the commissioners had been ordered to inquire and report contained other particulars respecting the conduct of her royal highness, which must necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable impressions, they proceeded to state that several strong circumstances of this description had been positively sworn to, by witnesses who could not, in their judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, they had no ground to question. "It appears, therefore," continued the commissioners, "that as, on the one hand, the fact of pregnancy and delivery are, to our minds, satisfactorily disproved, so, on the other, we think that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and Captain Manby, must be credited until they shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration."

Immediately on the receipt of a copy of this report, the princess of Wales addressed a letter to his majesty, in which, in the face of the Alibi, she asserted not only her innocence as to the weightier parts of the charge preferred against her, but her freedom from all the indecencies and improprieties which had been imputed to her by the lords commissioners, upon the evidence of persons who spoke as falsely as Sir John and Lady Douglas themselves. On the seventeenth of August she again wrote to the king, requesting that she might have authenticated copies of the report, and of the declarations and depositions on which it proceeded. Having received these papers, the princess submitted them to her legal advisers, Lord Eldon, Percival, and Sir Thomas Plumer; and on the second of October she transmitted to his majesty an elaborate letter on the subject. Nine weeks having elapsed without any reply, the princess again wrote, expressing her anxiety to learn whether she might be admitted to the royal presence; in reply to

which her royal highness was informed, that her vindication had been referred to his majesty's confidential servants, who had given it as their opinion that it was no longer necessary for his majesty to decline receiving the princess into his royal presence; but at the same time he hoped that such a conduct would be in future observed by her, as might fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection which the king always wished to show to every part of his royal family. The princess no sooner received this communication than she named a day, on which, if agreeable to his majesty, she would have the happiness to throw herself, in filial duty and affection, at his feet. The day, however, was at first postponed by his majesty, who afterwards informed the princess that, at the request of the prince of Wales, he declined to see her until her vindication had been examined by the lawyers of the prince, and until his royal highness had been enabled to submit the statement which he proposed to make thereon. The princess remonstrated in strong terms against this interposition, and trusted that his majesty would recall his determination not to see her till the prince's answer respecting her vindication was received.

After a lapse of three weeks the princess informed his majesty that, having received no intimation of his pleasure, she was reduced to the necessity, in vindication of her character, to resort to the publication of the proceedings upon the inquiry into her conduct: and that the publication alluded to would not be withheld beyond the following Monday. To avoid this painful extremity she had taken every step in her power, except that which would be abandoning her character to utter infamy, and her station in life to no uncertain danger, and possibly to no very distant destruction. This letter was dated the fifth of March, soon after which Percival and his friends were intrusted with the seals of office; and when the ministerial arrangements were completed, a minute of council was made, dated the twenty-second of April, 1807, wherein it was humbly submitted to his majesty, that it was essentially necessary, in justice to her royal highness, and for the honour and interest of his majesty's illustrious family, that the princess of Wales should be admitted into his presence, and be received in a manner due to her rank and station. Notwithstanding this advice, it does not appear that she was ever restored to complete favour, and her intercourse with her daughter also became subject to great restraint. Nothing, however, occurred, that is publicly or officially known, till January, 1812, at which time the princess was so much harassed from the society of her daughter, that she determined to write to the prince-regent on the subject. In this letter, which was transmitted to ministers on the fourteenth, she dwelt with great force upon the injustice of widening the separation between mother and daughter, which she considered as not only cutting her off from one of the few domestic enjoyments which she still retained, but as countenancing those calumnious reports which had been proved to be unfounded. In consequence of this letter, which shortly appeared in a daily journal, the prince-regent directed that the whole of the documents relating to the investigation of 1806, (inappropriately called the "delicate investigation,") should be referred to the privy council, to report whether the intercourse between the princess and her daughter should continue under restriction. In virtue of this appointment, the members of the council assembled on the twenty-third of February, when they reported that, in their opinion, it was highly fit and proper that the intercourse between the princess of Wales and the princess Charlotte should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.

1813.—On the first of March the princess of Wales addressed a letter to the speaker of the house of commons, in which she complained that the tendency of this report, a copy of which had been transmitted to her by Lord Sidmouth, was to cast aspersions upon her honour and character. Thus assailed by a secret tribunal, before which she could not be heard in her own defence, she was compelled to throw herself upon the house, and to require that the fullest investigation might be instituted into the whole of her conduct during her residence in this country. On the fifth of March C. Johnstone, after avowing that he had no concert with, or authority from, the princess, submitted to the house

of commons a motion for an address to the prince-regent, requesting him to order that a copy of the report made to his majesty on the fourteenth of July, 1866, touching the conduct of her royal highness the princess of Wales, be laid before the house, with a view to an inquiry now, while the witnesses on both sides were still living, into all the allegations, facts, and circumstances, appertaining to that investigation; a proceeding, which, in his opinion, was due to the honour of her royal highness, the safety of the throne, and the tranquillity of the country. Lord Castlereagh, in opposing the motion, said that the house could not consider the papers called for at all necessary to remove any apprehension as to the successor to the throne. The innocence of the princess of Wales had been established on the report of the members of two successive administrations; and, if a prosecution had not been instituted against her accusers, it arose only from a wish to avoid bringing such subjects before the public. It may suffice to add, that the document called for was not produced; the princess was declared free from imputation; and addresses of congratulation poured in upon her from all quarters of the kingdom.

VICE-CHANCELLOR APPOINTED—DECLARATION ON AMERICAN WAR.

In consequence of the great accumulation of business in the court of chancery, a bill, proposed by lord Redesdale, was passed this session for the appointment of a vice-chancellor of England, with full power to determine all cases of law and equity in the court of chancery, to the same extent as the chancellors had been accustomed to determine; and his decrees were to be of equal validity, but subject to the revision of the lord-chancellor, and not to be enrolled until signed by him. On the ninth of January, a declaration was issued, in which the prince-regent stated that he could never acknowledge any blockade which had been duly notified, and which was supported by an adequate force, to be illegal, merely upon the ground of its extent, or because the ports or coasts were not at the same time invested by land; neither could he admit that neutral trade with Great Britain could be constituted a public crime, subjecting the ships of any power to be demoralized; that Great Britain could be debarred of her just and necessary retaliation through the fear of eventually affecting the interests of a neutral; or that the right of searching neutral merchant vessels in time of war, and the impressment of British seamen found therein, could be deemed any violation of a neutral flag.

PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT.

On the twenty-fifth of February, a motion for referring the catholic claims to a committee of the whole house, was carried in the commons by two hundred and sixty-four votes against two hundred and twenty-four; and, on the thirtieth of April, Grattan presented a bill for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications under which his majesty's Roman catholic subjects laboured. On its passage through a committee, Abbot, the speaker, divided the house on the clause by which Roman catholic members were to be admitted to a seat in parliament; and, on its being rejected by a majority of two hundred and fifty-one against two hundred and forty-seven, the bill was abandoned by its friends. The extensive principles of religious toleration professed in the discussions on this question rendered the time favourable for relieving persons impugning the doctrine of the Trinity from the pains and penalties to which they were by law subject, and William Smith moved for leave to bring in a bill for this purpose. As the law stood, he said, any one denying the existence of any of the Persons of the Trinity was disabled from holding any office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military; and, if a second time convicted, he was disabled to sue or prosecute in any action or information, or to be the guardian of any child, and was liable to imprisonment for three years. The bill underwent no opposition in either house. It may also be here mentioned that an act was passed, during this session, for establishing some proportion between the stipends of curates and the value of the livings which they served; the necessitous condition of many who performed the duty of non-resident

clergymen having too long been a reproach to the church of England.

The heavy expenses of the war rendered a new plan of finance necessary; and, in submitting his propositions to a committee of the whole house, Vansittart said, that further measures might be taken for promoting and facilitating the redemption of the land-tax, the produce of which should be applied to the reduction of the national debt. In the second place, he proposed that, on all leases hereafter to be contracted, there should be a provision made for discharging the debt; and his third proposition was a measure for the repeal of part of the act of 1802, regarding the sinking-fund, probably in consequence of its having been demonstrated about this time, that the sinking fund had added as much to the public debt as it had redeemed, besides heavy expenses. This fund, he said, should be generally supported to a certain amount; but he believed it might be shown that its enormous increase, by throwing into the market immense sums of money at one time, would produce injurious effects. When the establishment of a sinking-fund was proposed by Pitt, in 1786, the national debt amounted to nearly two hundred and forty million pounds—a sum of which few then living ever hoped to see the redemption, but which, he said, had already been effected; while, within the same period two hundred million pounds of war taxes had been paid by the unexampled exertions of the country. By the original constitution of the fund the stock purchased by the commissioners was not cancelled, but was still considered to be their property; and the interest was regularly applied by them to the further discharge of the national debt. This arrangement, securing an accumulation by compound interest, was now abolished. Till the complete redemption of the debt, Vansittart proposed to make good to the sinking-fund the annual sum of eight hundred and seventy thousand pounds, which would have been appropriated to the different sums provided for in 1802, if that consolidation had not taken place, and if those sums had been accompanied by the usual redeeming fund of one per cent. If this plan were adopted no fresh taxes would be required for four years, except about one million pounds for 1813. In submitting the proposed ways and means for the year, in case his plan with respect to the sinking-fund should not be adopted, the chancellor of the exchequer stated that the sum to be raised was one million one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds, for which he meant to provide by an additional duty on tobacco, in lieu of the proposed auction duty of last year; additional duties on the consolidated customs, with some exceptions; an addition of one shilling one penny per bottle on French wines; an increase of two-thirds on goods imported from France and her dependencies; an increase generally of one half the present amount of the war duties on exports; and an additional duty of a penny per pound on the export of foreign hides. The various resolutions were agreed to without material opposition.

The renewal of the charter of the East India company, concerning which innumerable petitions had been presented, came before the house of commons on the twenty-second of March, lord Castlereagh having stated, that the term of the existing charter would expire in May, 1814, and that his majesty's ministers had to consider three propositions—Whether the existing government in India should be allowed to continue in its present state—whether an entire change should take place in the system—or whether a middle course should be adopted. On a question of so much importance it was deemed necessary to hear evidence at the bar; and the witnesses, chiefly persons who had occupied high stations in India, were generally against opening the trade, or allowing missionaries to repair to the east for the purpose of converting the natives. On this subject, however, so much zeal had been displayed in many of the petitions, that, after much discussion, it was at length resolved that such measures ought to be adopted as might tend to the introduction of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement, among the natives; and that facilities should be afforded to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in, India for these purposes. After the subject had occupied the attention of parliament for some months, a bill, founded on certain

resolutions proposed by lord Castlereagh, was introduced, and read a third time on the thirteenth of July. It secured to the company, for a further term of twenty years, or until April, 1834, all their possessions in India, including the later acquisitions, continental and insular, to the north of the equator. Their exclusive right to commercial intercourse with China, and to the trade in tea, was confirmed. British subjects in general were permitted to trade to and from all ports within the limits of the charter, under certain provisions: all ships engaging in this private trade to be of the burden of three hundred and fifty tons or upwards, and those for the settlements of Port William, Port St. George, Bombay, and Prince of Wales's Island, to be provided with a license, which the court of directors were bound to grant: to all other places a special license was required, which the directors might grant or refuse, subject to an appeal to the board of control. The church establishment in the British territories in India was placed under the direction of a bishop and three archdeacons. The application of the company's territorial revenues was directed to the maintenance of the military force and of the establishments at their settlements, the payment of the interest of their debts in England, the liquidation of their territorial debt, their bond debt at home, and such other purposes as the directors, with the approbation of the board of control, might appoint. The dividend on India stock was limited to ten per cent. until the fund, called the separate fund, should be exhausted, when it was to be ten and a half per cent.; and the number of king's troops, for which payment was to be made by the company, was limited to twenty thousand, unless a greater number should be sent to India at the request of the directors. Thus the new charter secured to the East India company all the political power they could reasonably desire, whilst the continuance of their exclusive right of trading between China and Great Britain left the most valuable portion of their mercantile business without competition.

TREATY WITH SWEDEN.

THE treaty with Sweden was laid before parliament on the eleventh of June, and excited strong animadversions. The king of Sweden having engaged to employ a force of not less than thirty thousand men in concert with the Russians, Great Britain so far acceded to a compact between the courts of Stockholm and Petersburg, as not only to oppose no obstacle to the annexation of Norway to Sweden, but to assist, if necessary, in obtaining that object, by a naval co-operation; his Britannic majesty also engaging, independently of other succours, to furnish to Sweden, for the service of the current campaign, the sum of one million pounds, and to cede to her the island of Guadaloupe. The king of Sweden reciprocally granted to the subjects of his Britannic majesty, for twenty years, the right of *entrepôt* in the ports of Gottenburg, Carlshamn, and Stralsund, for all commodities of Great Britain and her colonies, upon a duty of one per cent. *ad valorem*. Lord Holland deprecated the transfer of Norway, denounced the cession of Guadaloupe, and opposed the subsidy as inconsistent with the financial difficulties under which the country was labouring. His proposal, however, to suspend the execution of the treaty, was rejected.

The session closed on the twenty-second of July with a speech from the throne, expressing satisfaction at the favourable state of affairs on the continent, and regret at the continuance of war with the United States; declaring, however, that the prince-regent could not consent to purchase peace by a sacrifice of the maritime rights of Great Britain. He approved of the arrangements for the government of British India, and expressed his resolution to employ the means placed in his hands by parliament, in such a manner as might be best calculated to reduce the extravagant pretensions of the enemy, and facilitate the attainment of a safe and honourable peace.

CHAPTER XLI.

Prussia declares against France—Battle of Lutzen—Armistice—Renewal of hostilities—Austria joins the grand alliance—Battle before Dresden—Battle of Dennewitz—Bavaria joins the allies—End of Buonaparte at Leipzig—Revolution in Holland and successes in Spain—Battle of Vittoria—Capture of St. Sebastian—Lord Wellington enters France—Failure of Sir John Murray before Tarragona—Campaign in America—Naval Engagements—Meeting of Parliament—Proceedings—Peace with Denmark—Transfer of Norway to Sweden—Murat joins the Allies—Lord Wellington crosses the Adour—Battle of Orthez—Soult retreats to Toulouse—The Allies cross the Rhine, and enter France—Treaty of Chaumont—Battle of Craon—Occupation of Paris by Capitulation—Abdication of Buonaparte—Battle of Toulouse—Convention of Paris—Entrance of Louis XVIII.—Treaty of Peace—Royal visitors to England—Restoration of the Pope—Return of Ferdinand to Spain—South American affairs—Parliamentary proceedings—Honours conferred on Duke of Wellington—Princess of Wales—State of Ireland—Treaty with Holland—Congress of Vienna.

PRUSSIA DECLARES AGAINST FRANCE— BATTLE OF LUTZEN.

IN the year 1813, the first event of importance which occurred was the defection of the Prussian general D'York, who entered into a convention with the Russian general, Wittgenstein, now appointed to the command in chief on the death of the veteran Kutusoff, but shortly afterwards succeeded by Barclay de Tolly. That convention the king of Prussia, then within the grasp of Buonaparte, refused to ratify; but no sooner had he freed himself from the apprehension of peril—no sooner did he perceive that there was a chance of emancipation for himself and for his country—than he conferred the most distinguished approbation upon D'York.

As the year advanced a Russian envoy was despatched to Vienna; an Austrian ambassador arrived in London; and Sweden, by landing a considerable force in Swedish Pomerania, struck the first decisive blow against the French. During the three first months Buonaparte strained every nerve to recruit his armies, or, more properly speaking, to create new ones. By the third of April, decrees had been passed for levies to the amount of five hundred and thirty-five thousand men; and it was then estimated that he would have four hundred thousand on the Elbe, two hundred thousand in Spain, and two hundred thousand partly on the Rhine, and partly in Italy. On the fifteenth of April he left Paris the empress Maria Louisa having first been declared regent of the French empire "till the moment when victory should return the emperor." Previously to this the king of Prussia had issued an edict, abolishing the continental system; the emperor of Austria was understood to have formed the resolution of taking part against France, unless Buonaparte should listen to his offer of mediation; and the crown-prince of Sweden, over whose intentions some clouds of doubt yet hung, had resolved to place himself at the head of the Swedish armies.

About this time a Danish mission arrived in England, and for a while the hope was indulged that peace between Britain and Denmark would be restored; but the demands of the latter being inadmissible, or, according to other accounts, the cession of Norway to Sweden being demanded by this country, occasioned the failure of the negotiation.

On the second of May was fought the great battle of Lutzen, in which the village of Gross-Gorschen was six times taken and retaken by the bayonet; but the allies at length drove the French from their positions, and remained masters of the field; though they subsequently found it necessary to fall back beyond the Elbe, which they effected in perfect order. Here they received considerable reinforcements, and another dreadful battle, or rather a succession of battles, took place from the nineteenth to the twenty-second, at and near Bautzen, of the same character as the action at Lutzen; the

result of which, according to the French account, was, that they lost between eleven and twelve thousand men in killed and wounded, and the allies ten thousand; and that they advanced about thirty miles, the allies retiring before them, unbroken and formidable, into the Prussian territory. These engagements were fatally ominous to Buonaparte: in the action of the twenty-first he was deserted by a part of the Saxon and of the Wittenberg troops; and on the twenty-second the celebrated marshal Duroc was mortally wounded. In an engagement previous to the battle of Lutzen the French also lost marshal Bessieres, who was killed by a cannon ball.

AUSTRIA JOINS THE ALLIANCE.

BUONAPARTE now listened, or affected to listen, to the proposition for a congress to be held at Prague, for negotiating a general peace; and, in pursuance of that object, a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon on the first of June; and on the fourth an armistice, to continue on all points till the twentieth of July, was finally concluded and ratified—hostilities not to recommence without six days notice. At the request of Austria, who appears to have been the prime mover in this affair, the armistice was prolonged till the tenth of August: every attempt, however, at negotiation failed; and on the seventeenth, agreeably to notice, hostilities again commenced. Austria, having signed a treaty by which she became a member of the grand alliance, having for its object the recovery of the independence of Europe, had issued a declaration of war against France; and at the different interviews which, during the armistice, had taken place between the respective sovereigns and their ministers, it had been determined that the crown-prince of Sweden should be invested with the chief command of the combined forces.

BATTLES OF DRESDEN, DENNEWITZ, AND LEIPZIG.

VARIOUS movements and affairs of posts took place immediately on the renewal of hostilities; but it was not until the twenty-eighth of August that a general battle was fought before Dresden, in which general Vandamme and six other French generals, with many officers of rank, six standards, sixty pieces of artillery, and ten thousand prisoners were taken. On the twenty-sixth general Blücher, whose active and intrepid exertions obtained him that distinction which has attached so much glory to his name, had taken fifty pieces of artillery, thirty tumbrils and ammunition waggons, and ten thousand prisoners; and, renewing the contest on the following day, he took thirty more pieces of cannon, and five thousand prisoners. The loss of the French was also increased, and the allies proportionately strengthened, by the desertion of two Westphalian regiments during the principal battle. In the action of the twenty-eighth the brave, but unfortunate, general Morau received a mortal

wound while in earnest conversation with the emperor of Russia. He had arrived at Gottenburgh from America in May, and proceeding to join his countryman and early companion in arms, Bernadotte, was appointed to the high station of major-general of the allied army. His judicious advice respecting the plan of the campaign was considered of high importance, and his loss was much regretted by the allies. On the twenty-ninth general Blücher again defeated the enemy, taking general Putzon prisoner, with twenty eagles, and twenty-two pieces of cannon.

The crown-prince achieved a signal victory on the sixth of September, at Dennewitz, over marshal Ney, on which occasion the loss of the French was stated at sixteen thousand men. From the recommencement of hostilities, down to this period, the entire loss of the enemy was estimated at upwards of a hundred thousand men, and two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon.

Feeling the severity of their losses an extraordinary sitting of the French senate was held on the fourth of October, the empress Maria Louisa attending in person. The object of this sitting was to pass a decree for another levy of two hundred and eighty thousand men. But France had yet greater, severer losses to sustain. The defection of the king of Bavaria, and his junction with the allied powers; the defeat, the total rout of Buonaparte at Leipzig on the sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of October, with the loss of one hundred and twenty thousand men, and one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, were yet to be proclaimed to the world. Previously to this last and decisive conflict, (during which seventeen battalions of German infantry, with all their staff, and two regiments of Westphalian hussars, with twenty-two pieces of artillery, came over to the allies,) Buonaparte had been concentrating his forces at Leipzig, while the allies extended themselves on every side, and prepared for battle. In the grand contest for this city a greater force was assembled than had almost ever acted on so confined a theatre, and the attack of the allies on the sixteenth, after much slaughter, left both armies in nearly the positions they held at its commencement. The seventeenth passed chiefly in preparation for the great action of the next day, which was directed upon the town itself, and at the conclusion of which Buonaparte had lost fifty thousand men, and sixty-five pieces of cannon. His army began to decle toward Wittenfels during the night, and in the morning of the nineteenth the magistrates of Leipzig requested a suspension of arms, for the purpose of arranging a capitulation; but, as it was easily seen that this was an artifice to facilitate the escape of the French, the emperor Alexander would allow no respite, and the allied forces were led to the attack. After a short resistance they carried the city, which was entered by the emperor of Russia, the king of Prussia, and the crown-prince of Sweden, about two hours after Buonaparte had quitted it. The French were flying in utter confusion over the Elster; the bridge was blocked up; prisoners were taken by thousands; and many who plunged into the stream perished. The whole of the rear guard fell into the hands of the allies; among the prisoners were Regnier, Bruue, Vakhry, Bertrand, and Lauriston, together with the king of Saxony and his whole court; Macdonald with difficulty gained the opposite bank, and prince Periatowski was drowned in the attempt.

Buonaparte retreated through Erfurt with about seventy or eighty thousand men, and at Hanau was opposed by thirty thousand Bavarians, under general Wrede, who did not retire until they had sustained a considerable loss. On the second of November he reached Mentz, and, continuing his retreat through Frankfort, crossed the Rhine on the seventh of November, when he again deserted the shattered remains of his army, and fled to Paris.

The immediate consequences of this grand overthrow were great and glorious beyond expectation. The house of Orange was reinstated in Holland; Hanover and Brunswick were restored to their rightful sovereigns; the confederation of the Rhine was dissolved; the Rhine itself was passed by the allies; and the "sacred territory" of France covered, as it had been, by so many vassal states, was now laid open to its very frontier.

The first steps of Buonaparte, after his arrival at Paris, were to throw an oppressive weight of taxation upon the people, and to decree a new levy of

three hundred thousand conscripts, to be sacrificed at the shrine of unprincipled ambition. Shortly after the issuing of this decree, the allied powers promulgated a declaration, offering peace to Buonaparte on the liberal basis of guaranteeing to the French empire "an extent of territory which France, under her kings, never knew." On this basis Buonaparte professed himself willing to treat; and a congress was therefore expected to assemble at Manheim to negotiate a general peace. It was the desire of Buonaparte that, during the negotiating, an armistice should be proclaimed; but to this the allies very prudently refused to assent.

REVOLUTION IN HOLLAND.

The revolution in Holland appeared as the sudden burst of public feeling, though it did not take place without previous concert. The people of Amsterdam rose in a body, and, with the old cry of *Oranje Boven*, put up the Orange colours, and proclaimed the sovereignty of that house. On the sixteenth of November an administration was organized under the direction of the armed burghers, and many of the leading citizens took upon themselves the care of preserving order. Similar measures were adopted at the Hague, Rotterdam, and other places. The intelligence of these events was brought over on the twenty-first to London, by a deputation, for the purpose of inviting the prince of Orange to place himself at the head of his countrymen—a call which he readily obeyed. On the twenty-fifth of November he embarked at Deal, accompanied by the earl of Clancarty, and on the third of December made his solemn entry into Amsterdam, where he was proclaimed by the title of William the first, sovereign prince of the united Netherlands.

SUCCESSSES IN SPAIN—BATTLE OF VITORIA.

In Spain lord Wellington had, on the twenty-sixth of May, entered Salamanca, the French precipitately evacuating the city on his approach; and on the following day, apparently fearful of being cut off by the rapid advance of the allied army, they commenced a hasty evacuation of Madrid, and of all the posts in its vicinity. Lord Wellington continued to advance, the French flying before him in every direction; and, on the thirteenth of June, they blew up the inner walls of Burgos, fled from that fortress, and abandoned the whole of the country to the Ebro, which general Graham immediately passed. Lord Wellington's next laurels were gathered on the plains of Vittoria, where, on the twenty-first of June, he obtained a complete victory over Marshal Jourdan. The French lost one hundred and fifty one pieces of cannon, four hundred and fifteen waggons of ammunition, all their baggage, provisions, and treasure, with their commander's baton of a marshal of France. Lord Wellington continued the pursuit, and on the twenty-fifth took their only remaining gun. The battle of Vittoria was celebrated in England by general illuminations and splendid fetes; in Spain medals were struck on the occasion; and the cortes, by an unanimous vote, decreed a territorial property to lord Wellington, in testimony of the gratitude of the Spanish nation.

Buonaparte immediately superseded Jourdan and appointed Soult to succeed him, with the title, or rank, of lieutenant-general of the emperor, an honour never before conferred upon any of Buonaparte's generals. Previously to his joining the army he issued a proclamation, stating that his imperial majesty's instructions, and his own intentions, were, to drive the allies across the Ebro, and to celebrate the emperor's birth-day in the town of Vittoria! Soult, however, was destined, in his turn, to acknowledge the superiority of British prowess. From the twenty-fifth of July to the second of August, a series of engagements took place, the result of which was the retreat of the enemy into France, with a loss of fifteen to twenty thousand men, four thousand of whom were prisoners.

CAPTURE OF ST. SEBASTIAN—WELLINGTON ENTERS FRANCE.

The siege of St. Sebastian, which had been invested shortly after the battle of Vittoria, was conducted by Sir Thomas Graham; and, on the twenty-fifth of July, an attempt to storm the fortress proved unsuccessful. As the port was necessary for the supply of provisions and other ne-

cessaries by sea, not a day was lost in prosecuting the siege; but it was not till the thirty-first of August that another assault was undertaken. The breach, which, at a distance, appeared very ample, proved to be of such a nature that it would admit the men only in single files; and, if any succeeded in gaining the narrow ridge of the curtain, his station proved instantly fatal. Two hours of severe but fruitless exertion ensued, and the attack was almost in a desperate state, when Sir Thomas Graham adopted the expedient of directing the guns against the curtain over the heads of his own troops. The firing was executed with such admirable precision and effect, that in an hour the defenders were driven from their works, and retired to the castle, leaving the town in full possession of the allies, who sustained the severe loss of two thousand three hundred men in killed and wounded. The importance of the place induced Soult to cross the Bidassoa in great force for its relief; but he was gallantly repulsed by the Spanish troops alone. The castle surrendered on the eighth of September, and the garrison, now reduced to about eighteen hundred men, were made prisoners.

On the seventh of October the allied army crossed the Bidassoa, and planted the British standard in France. Pampluna, the siege of which had been left to the care of the Spanish general Don Carlos D'Espagna, surrendered on the thirty-first of October; a circumstance which relieved Lord Wellington from every apprehension respecting his rear, and enabled him to concentrate and dispose of his forces at pleasure. His march was impeded by heavy rains; but, on the tenth of November, the French were driven from an intrenched position along the Nivelle, and pursued to Bayonne. On the ninth of December, and four following days, Soult, who intended to drive the allies across the Ebro, and to celebrate Buonaparte's birth-day in Vittoria, sustained another series of defeats on the banks of the Adour. Immediately after the action three German regiments, apprized of the important changes which had taken place in the northern parts of the continent, went over in a body to the allies.

FAILURE BEFORE TARRAGONA.

From this brilliant career of success in the north of Spain, we must now turn to the eastern coast of the Peninsula, where general Sir John Murray disembarked his forces on the thirty-first of May, and, on the third of June, invested Tarragona; but, after advancing his batteries against it, he received reports that Suchet was marching from Valencia, for its relief, with a superior force, and he immediately re-embarked his army, leaving his cannon in the batteries, although admiral Hallowell was of opinion that they might have been brought off if he had remained till night. Sir John Murray's conduct afterwards underwent an investigation before a military tribunal, but it was attributed to an error in judgment. Lord William Bentinck, who succeeded him in the command, resumed the siege of Tarragona in August, and Suchet, who had retired into Catalonia, advanced to Villa Franca; and, the British general having withdrawn, he entered Tarragona, destroyed the works, withdrew the garrison, and again retired towards Barcelona. As the grand effort against France was making on the side of the western Pyrenees, the third Spanish army was detached in order to co-operate with Lord Wellington, and the remainder of the troops in this quarter acted on the defensive. Suchet, however, although able to maintain his footing in Spain, could not hope to gain any material advantage; and such was now the commanding situation of Lord Wellington, that the liberation of the Peninsula might be considered as accomplished.

CAMPAIGN IN AMERICA—NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS

THE events of the war with the United States were at this period, when continental affairs were so highly important, viewed with comparatively little interest. The Americans collected a large force in the back settlements, and again approached Detroit, when colonel Proctor, on the twenty-second of January, routed their advanced guard, and captured five hundred men, including their commander, general Winchester. In the end of April the American general Dearborn, with five

thousand men, took possession of York, at the head of Lake Ontario, from whence general Sheaffe, who had not one thousand men was compelled to retreat. About the same time general Vincent was obliged, by superiority of numbers, to evacuate Fort George, on the Niagara frontier, and, on the fifth of June, he compelled the enemy again to fall back on Niagara; but soon afterwards colonel Proctor was attacked by the American general Harrison, with ten thousand men, who captured nearly the whole of his force; he himself escaping with a few attendants. On the tenth of September nine American vessels encountered six British on Lake Erie, in which unequal contest the American commander's vessel at one time struck; but at length the whole British squadron, reduced to a complete wreck, fell into the hands of the enemy. In the end of October three American armies, each amounting to ten thousand men, marched from different points upon Lower Canada; but this great effort was completely frustrated, and, on the whole, the campaign was honourable to the British arms.

Great Britain did not fully maintain that decided superiority in naval combats which had so long distinguished her, although in none did she suffer disgrace. The preceding year closed with the loss of the English frigate Java, captain Lambert, with lieutenant-general Hislop, and his staff on board, bound to Bombay. She was met off the coast of Brazil by the American frigate Constitution, captain Bainbridge, of much superior force; and after a furious action, in which she was disabled, and completely disabled, she surrendered to her antagonist in a state which obliged him to set her on fire as soon as the wounded were removed. Captain Lambert and many of his crew were killed. The Peacock British sloop, of eighteen guns, was also sunk in an engagement with the American sloop Hornet. The time, however, arrived, in which the British flag was to recover its glory. Captain Broke, of the Shannon frigate, had been cruising for some time near the port of Boston, where the Chesapeake frigate then lay; and that the enemy might not be prevented from coming out, by the apprehension of having more than one opponent to deal with, captain Broke, on the first of June, drew up before the harbour in a posture of defiance. Captain Lawrence, of the Chesapeake, accepted the challenge, and put to sea; while crowds of the inhabitants, in the greatest confidence as to the issue, lined the beach to witness the approaching conflict. After the exchange of two or three broadsides, the Chesapeake fell on board the Shannon, and they were locked together. At this critical moment captain Broke, observing that the enemy flinched from their guns, gave orders to board. In less than ten minutes the whole of the British crew were on the decks of the Chesapeake; and in two minutes more the enemy were driven, sword in hand, from every point; the American flag was hauled down; and the British Union floated over it in triumph. In another minute they ceased firing from below, and called for quarter; and the whole service was performed in fifteen minutes from its commencement. Both ships came out of action in the most beautiful order, their rigging appearing as perfect as if they had only been exchanging a salute. The Shannon sailed immediately with her prize for Halifax, where captain Lawrence died of his wounds. The loss, on both sides, was very severe for so short a contest; that of the English being twenty-three killed and fifty-six wounded, and the Americans about seventy killed and one hundred wounded. In St. George's channel the American sloop of war Argus was also captured by the British sloop Pelican.

PARLIAMENT.

PARLIAMENT was opened so early as the fourth of November, by the prince-regent, with a speech from the throne, of which the new alliances against France, and the war with America formed the principal topics. The prince declared that no disposition to require from France sacrifices inconsistent with her honour, or just pretensions as a nation, would ever be an obstacle to peace; and that he was ready to enter into discussions with the United States on principles not inconsistent with the established maxims of public law, and with the maritime rights of the British empire. The addresses on the speech were carried without opposition. After the treaties with Russia and Prussia had been laid be

Save the house, lord Castlereagh introduced a bill to enable his majesty to accept the services of a proportion of the militia out of the United Kingdom, for the vigorous prosecution of the war. The bill passed through both houses without opposition, every possible exertion to bring the great contest on the continent to a speedy issue being considered desirable. The sanction of parliament was also obtained, without a dissentient voice, for a loan of twenty-two million pounds, as well as for the aids granted to Sweden, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, either in direct subsidies or in bills of credit. Two millions had been advanced to Portugal, two to Spain, and one to Sweden. The sum to be allowed to Russia and Prussia was estimated at five million pounds; and the advance to be made to Austria consisted of one million pounds, together with one hundred thousand stand of arms, and military stores in proportion. Men of all parties concurred in supporting the foreign policy of ministers, and the advocates of peace admitted that there were no means of securing that blessing but by perseverance in the mighty contest which had been so gloriously begun. On the twentieth of December parliament was adjourned until the first of March, 1814.

PEACE WITH DENMARK—TRANSFER OF NORWAY—MURAT JOINS THE ALLIES.

Peace between Great Britain and Denmark was re-established on the fourteenth of January. Britain engaged to restore all her conquests except Heligoland; prisoners of war, on both sides, were to be released; Denmark was to join the allies with ten thousand men, on receiving a subsidy of four hundred thousand pounds from England; and Pomerania to be ceded, by Sweden, to Denmark, in lieu of Norway. It was not, however, without great reluctance that the king of Denmark parted with one of his crowns, and the people of Norway could not be reconciled to a transfer which militated against their national and political prejudices. Violent commotions consequently took place; a declaration of Norwegian independence was made; and prince Christian, hereditary prince of Denmark, was proclaimed regent. Hostilities commenced between Sweden and Norway about the middle of July; by the latter end of August prince Christian was compelled to relinquish his claims; and the sceptre of Norway, after having been so long annexed to the Danish dominions, passed into the hands of the king of Sweden.

The mortifications of Buonaparte were increased by the defections of Murat, his brother-in-law, who had been created king of Naples by his interest, and who, by a treaty dated the eleventh of January, engaged to assist Austria with an army of thirty thousand men, and opened his ports to the English. In Holland, a body of English and Dutch, under Sir Thomas Graham, created a diversion in favour of the allies.

WELLINGTON CROSSES THE ADOUR—BATTLE OF ORTHES.

In the south of France, at the commencement of the year, the progress of lord Wellington was retarded by the state of the weather; but as soon as it became tolerably favourable, he resolved to pass the Adour, in which he was greatly assisted by admiral Penrose, with the vessels and boats collected for the service. The army now received its supplies from the little harbour of St. Jean de Luz, which was crowded with English shipping. The Gave d'Oleron was also passed, and Soult withdrew to a commanding position in front of Orthes, where, being reinforced by general Clamel, he determined to wait the issue of an action. On the twenty-seventh of February lord Wellington issued his orders for a general attack, when the French were driven from one position to another, till the rapid advance of Sir Rowland Hill, who had forced a passage over the Gave de Pau, above the town, and marshalled a strong body of cavalry upon the road to St. Sevre, threw them into inextricable confusion. On the twenty-eighth, the pursuit was continued to St. Sevre, where general Beresford crossed the upper part of the Adour. On the first of March the advance of the main army was impeded by heavy rains: Sir Rowland Hill, however, proceeded to Aire, which he attacked on the second, and, after an obstinate resistance, the enemy was again put to flight, leaving the road to Bordeaux completely

open. The retreat of Soult's army was towards Toulouse, whither the main body of the British pursued him; whilst Bayonne was invested by Sir John Hope. In this state of affairs, Buonaparte released Ferdinand the Seventh and his brother Don Carlos.

ALLIES ENTER FRANCE—TREATY OF CHAUMONT—BATTLE OF CRAONE.

The allied armies operating on the Rhine probably exceeded half a million. Prussia and Austria had, between them, an effective force of two hundred and fifty thousand; Russia alone had nearly two hundred thousand; and to these may be added thirty thousand Swedes, ten thousand Danes, and a large number of troops contributed by the princes of the confederation of the Rhine.—On crossing that important river, the allies issued a proclamation, in which they declared that, though victory had conducted them into France, they had not come to make war upon her; their wish and object were simply, to repel far from them the yoke that the French government endeavoured to impose on their respective countries—countries which possessed the same rights to independence and happiness as France. As conquerors and saviours were not their objects, they therefore called upon the magistrates, land-owners, and cultivators, to remain at their homes, as the progress and stay of the allied armies would be characterised by the maintenance of public order, respect to private property, and the most severe discipline. Notwithstanding all they had suffered, they were not animated by a spirit of vengeance; they knew how to distinguish and separate the ruler of France from France herself: to him they attributed all their calamities; and not even were they disposed to retaliate on the French nation any of those miseries which the revolution had brought on Europe.—While Buonaparte never made war but for the purpose of conquest, and to gratify his ambition, other counsels guided the allied monarchs. They, indeed, were ambitious—they, indeed, sought glory; but their ambition and glory were of a very opposite character from those of Buonaparte. The only conquest which they desired, was that of peace; not such a peace as Buonaparte had often shocked Europe with, but a peace which should secure to their own people, to France, and to Europe, a state of real repose. "We hoped to find it before touching the soil of France; we come hither in quest of it!"

Marshal Blücher's army, amounting to eighty thousand men, crossed the Rhine in three columns; general St. Priest, at Coblenz, general Langeron and D'York at Cassel, and general Bachelin at Mannheim; while, at the same time, Brabant was entered by fifty thousand men, to co-operate with the forces from England. But it was not only with her troops and money that this country was determined to assist the allies in their glorious purpose of restoring the tranquillity of Europe: as it was natural to suppose that the downfall of Buonaparte, or, if he displayed a sincere desire for peace, a treaty with him, would take place, it was proper, in either case, that Britain, who had done so much, and who was so much interested in the result, should have her representative present with the allied armies; and lord Castlereagh was selected for this purpose.

Buonaparte found the French nation very reluctant in coming forward against the invaders; and the regular armies, which still remained to him, were by no means equal to cope with them: they therefore advanced into France with little opposition. By the middle of January part of the allied forces occupied Langres, an ancient and considerable town, one hundred miles within the French frontier. The principal armies which Buonaparte had been able to collect were under the command of marshals Victor and Marmont. The former advanced into Alsace, where he met the Bavarians, under general Wrede; the French, however, were compelled to evacuate this province, and, being brought to action in Lorraine, were defeated with great loss, and retreated on Lunéville. The conscripts, according to their usual custom, were greatly in advance, having pushed on between Epinal and Nancy. The second French army, under Marmont, was ordered to oppose the advance of Blücher; but neither in relative force nor equipment was it equal to this object. Marmont, therefore,

retreated before the Prussian general to the Saare, behind which river, and within the frontiers of Old France, he took up a position. His retreat was much harassed on one flank by count Sacken, who occupied Worms, Spires, and Deux Ponts; while, on the other, he was approached by general D'York, who occupied Treves and Saar-Louis. From this sketch it is evident that, even within a month after the allies had crossed the Rhine, they were gaining fast upon Paris, while the French armies which had hitherto been collected were quite incompetent to resist them with effect.

On the twenty-fifth of January, Buonaparte left Paris, preceded by Berthier, having previously confided the regency, during his absence, to Maria Louisa. The French armies about this time were assembling within the line of the Meuse; Chalosse-sur-Marne being the point towards which MacDonald, Marmont, Victor, and Mortier, were retreating from different quarters. The allied armies were also concentrating and pressing on the same point: Blücher by the way of Nancy and Toul; and Schwartzberg, who had the chief command of the Austrian and Russian armies, by Langres and Chaumont. Anxious to prevent the junction of his opponents, Buonaparte moved forward to St. Dizier, and on the twenty-ninth attacked Blücher at Brienne, where, after a sanguinary conflict, he remained master of the field. On the first of February he again attacked the Prussian general at La Rothiere, where he was beaten, with the loss of seventy-three pieces of cannon and of four thousand prisoners, and driven over the Aube to Troyes, from whence the advance of Schwartzberg compelled him to retreat to Nogent, and abandon the ancient capital of Champagne. This rapid career, which threatened speedy ruin to Buonaparte, stimulated him to fresh exertions, and he determined on the plan of concentrating his force at particular points. His first efforts were directed against Blücher, whom he compelled, after a variety of actions, to retreat. In the mean time, however, prince Schwartzberg, with the Austrians, was advancing upon Paris, and a corps had gained possession of Fontainebleau on the seventeenth of February, which obliged Buonaparte to turn his arms on that side; and, after much fighting, Schwartzberg was compelled to withdraw his positions on the Seine, and establish his head-quarters at Troyes. This city was evacuated by the allies on the twenty-third; it was, however, recovered on the fourth of March by general Wrede, at which time Buonaparte was marching against Blücher.

During these operations the plenipotentiaries from the several belligerent powers assembled at Chatillon, where Caulincourt appeared on the part of France. The treaty, which proceeded upon the ground of placing France in the same territorial situation as she stood under her kings, with some addition to her ancient limits, contained a proposition that her capital should be occupied by the allied armies till the conclusion of a definitive treaty. Buonaparte, elated by the temporary successes which he had recently gained, seized with fury the paper containing the proposal, exclaiming, while he tore it, "Occupy the French capital! I am at this moment nearer to Vienna than they are to Paris!" The advantages, however, of the allies were immense; every fortress which fell on either side of the Rhine augmented their means of invasion; the Oder, the Elbe, and the Rhine, had become a triple line of reserves, from which they continually drew reinforcements; and the obstacles that had hitherto retarded their progress were daily diminishing. Anxious, however, to ascertain Buonaparte's views and intentions, the allied sovereigns allowed Caulincourt to present a counter proposition, stipulating only that it should correspond with the spirit and substance of the conditions already submitted; and the tenth of March was fixed upon, by mutual consent, as the period at which the final determination should be made.

In the mean time a treaty was signed at Chaumont, by which Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia, undertook each to bring one hundred and fifty thousand men into the field, and engaged, should Buonaparte reject the propositions submitted to him, to employ all their means in a vigorous prosecution of the war. Britain also engaged to furnish a subsidy of five million pounds to be equally divided among the other three powers; reserving

to herself, however, the right of furnishing her contingent in foreign troops, at the rate of twenty pounds per annum for infantry, and thirty pounds for cavalry. The treaty finally stipulated that the league should continue for twenty years, and should extend also to such other powers as might determine to join the confederation. At length, on the fifteenth of March, the French plenipotentiary presented a counter-proposition, demanding that the Rhine should form the boundary of the French empire; that Antwerp, Flushing, Nimeguen, and part of Waal, should be ceded to France; and that Italy, including Venice, should form a kingdom for the viceroy, Eugene Beauharnois. In addition to these claims he demanded indemnities for Joseph, Jerome, and Louis Buonaparte; and for the viceroy, as duke of Francfort. As these demands would confer power on France out of all proportion to the other great political bodies of Europe, the ministers of the allied sovereigns declared that, to continue the negotiations, under the present auspices, would be to renounce the objects they had in view, and to betray the confidence reposed in them. Austria herself abandoned Buonaparte to his fate, and the congress was dissolved.

Operations were not relaxed in consequence of these negotiations. On the fifth of March Buonaparte was repulsed at Soissons, which town, after having twice changed masters, had been most opportunely reduced by Wismingerode and Baler, at the head of thirty thousand men. He then made a flank movement on Orleans, which covered the left wing of Blücher's army, and an obstinate engagement ensued, during which the Prussian general detached ten thousand cavalry, with instructions to throw themselves on the flank and rear of the French; but this manoeuvre was unsuccessful, and on the seventh Blücher retreated in admirable order upon Laon, where he was joined by the Russians who had evacuated Soissons. Here he was attacked by Buonaparte, with his whole force, on the ninth; and, after a severe action on that and the following day, he retained his position, the French retreating towards Soissons, with the loss of forty-eight pieces of cannon and five thousand prisoners. In Blücher Buonaparte found an antagonist, who, in every vicissitude, presented an example of constancy and heroism; and to whose prowess he is said to have paid an involuntary tribute, on one occasion, by exclaiming that he would rather fight ten regular generals than that old drunken hummer; for the day after he had totally defeated him, he was sure to find him as ready as ever to renew the combat.

In the course of his route Buonaparte seized Rheims, and continued his march towards prince Schwartzberg, who, on the twenty-first, took a position before Arcis-sur-Aube. After an obstinate engagement, Buonaparte, apprehensive of a surprise from Blücher, avoided a general action, and retreated upon Vitry and St. Dizier. His efforts were now directed to prevent the junction of Schwartzberg and Blücher; but in furthering his object, by passing the Aube with his whole army near Vitry, he left himself open to the bold decision which was immediately adopted by the allies, who lost no time in placing themselves between the French army and Paris, and proceeding thither, with a united force of at least two hundred thousand men.

On the twenty-fourth of March prince Schwartzberg established his head-quarters at Vitry; and on the same day field-marshal Blücher arrived, with a large proportion of his army, at Châlons. General Wismingerode and Chernicheff were now despatched, with ten thousand horse and fifty pieces of cannon, to observe the march of Napoleon on St. Dizier, and to menace his rear. The arrangements being complete, the king of Prussia issued orders to marshal Blücher to direct his force on Paris; and on the twenty-fifth the Austro-Russian army faced about from Vitry, and took the same direction, by the route of F. a. Champenise, where a junction between the two armies was formed. On their march the allies had the good fortune to intercept a column of five thousand men, escorting from Paris an immense convoy of ammunition and provisions for Buonaparte. The grand army established its head-quarters at Coulmiers on the twenty-seventh, having marched twenty-seven leagues in three days, and being now only thirteen

business from Paris. The plan of the allied sovereigns was to concentrate the whole of their force on the right banks of the Marne and the Seine, and so attack Paris on the north, by taking a position on the heights of Montmartre. On the twenty-eighth they continued their progress to Meaux, and in the evening arrived in the neighbourhood of the French metropolis, without having encountered any formidable obstacle.

OCCUPATION OF PARIS—ABDICATION OF BUONAPARTE.

HITHERTO Buonaparte had displayed to his army the most invincible confidence in the final result of the campaign, considering the armies to which he was opposed as cut off in their retreat, and enclosed in the heart of France. Roused at length from this delusion by intelligence, received on the twenty-seventh, that the allies were marching directly on Paris, he advanced to the Aube. On the twenty-ninth at daybreak, whilst preparing to pass that river at the bridge of Doulan-court, a courier arrived with intelligence that marshals Marmont and Mortier, after having fallen back before the enemy, were making dispositions to defend the capital; and aware of the insufficiency of their means, he foresaw the catastrophe which was about to destroy the great edifice of his power. The troops left for its defence consisted of the remains of the corps which had fallen back before the allied armies; five or six thousand regulars in garrison, commanded by generals Compans and Ornans; and thirty thousand national guards, of whom eight or ten thousand at the most were fit for active service. This small army, under the immediate command of Joseph Buonaparte, assisted by Mortier and Marmont, and the governor-general, Hulin, had taken a position in front of the heights of Montmartre, under cover of some intrenchments hastily thrown up, and lined with one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery; their line extended to the villages of Pantin, Remedeville, and Belleville. The canal, and the nature of the ground altogether, rendered this position a strong one, particularly as the allied cavalry had no extent of ground to make a charge. In the interim, Buonaparte had issued orders to defend the capital to the last extremity, being himself, as he announced, on his march to relieve it. At dawn on the thirtieth, the allies, wishing if possible to spare the effusion of blood, sent a flag of truce into Paris; but admittance being refused, they resolved to attack the enemy on the heights, the result of which was a brilliant victory, and the possession of Paris. In every direction the French troops had been driven to the barriers, and the capital was about to be forced, when marshal Marmont, on whom the command had devolved, despatched an officer to general Barclay de Tolly to solicit a truce; engaging to abandon all the ground which he occupied beyond the barriers, and to sign a capitulation for the surrender of the city in two hours. The Russian general instantly submitted this proposition to his imperial master, and to the king of Prussia, who were both on the field, and the truce was agreed to without hesitation. At four o'clock in the afternoon count de Nesselrode entered the city, furnished with full powers to ratify the capitulation, which was concluded at two o'clock in the morning of the thirty-first of March.

Buonaparte arrived at Troyes at eleven o'clock at night on the twenty-ninth, having exhausted his troops by a march of twenty leagues that day, and early on the following morning took the direction of Sens; but so great was his impatience, that with an escort of one thousand five hundred cavalry, he proceeded with the utmost rapidity to Fontainebleau, and in the night of the same day arrived at Cour de France, about four leagues from Paris. Early in the morning of the thirty-first he received intelligence that his capital had capitulated, and that no efforts could now prevent the entrance of the allied armies into Paris. In this emergency he held a council with his officers, at which it was determined that Buonaparte should repair to Fontainebleau, and there rally his army, while Caulincourt proceeded to the head-quarters of the allied monarchs, furnished with full powers to coincide in such conditions as the conquerors might be disposed to dictate.

The military government of Paris was confided to general Baron Saacken; and the propriety of this choice was manifested by the good order and tran-

quility which prevailed in all quarters. The senate was the only body which possessed any authority; but this assembly thought itself crushed beneath the ruins of Buonaparte's throne, till a declaration on the part of the emperor Alexander called it into action. This proclamation was no sooner promulgated than the senators were suddenly convoked by prince Talleyrand de Perigord, in his quality of vice-grand elector. Sixty-five senators assembled, by this authority, on the first of April, threw off the imperial sway, and created a provisional government, charged with the office of re-establishing the functions and administration of the state. The installation of the provisional government was signified by an address to the French armies, in which it was said, "You are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon: the senate and all France release you from your oath." On the following day, the second of April, the senate decreed that Buonaparte had forfeited the throne of France, and that the people, as well as the army, were released from the oath of fidelity. At the close of the sitting the members proceeded, in a body, to the emperor of Russia, who, after receiving their homage, addressed them in these terms:—"A man, who called himself my ally, came as an unjust aggressor into my dominions. It is against him, and not against France, that I have carried on the war. I am the friend of the French, and you cause me to renew this declaration. It is just and wise that France should have strong and liberal institutions, commensurate with her present enlightened state. The allies and I have only come to protect the freedom of your decisions. As a proof of the durable alliance which I wish to contract with your nation, I restore to you all the prisoners now in Russia. The provisional government has solicited this of me: I grant it to the senate in consequence of the resolution which it has taken." Thus were two hundred thousand French captives restored without ransom, and returned, from the extremities of Europe and Asia, to the bosom of their families.

Marshal Marmont, in a correspondence with prince Schwartzburg, on the third of April, professed his readiness to accede to the decree by which Buonaparte was declared to have forfeited the throne of France; but he required, as a guarantee, that all troops quitting the standard of Napoleon should have leave to pass freely into Normandy; and that, if the events of the war should place Buonaparte as a prisoner in the hands of the allies, his life and safety should be guaranteed, and he should be sent to a country chosen by the allied powers and the French government. To these demands prince Schwartzburg acceded; and Marmont, with his corps of twelve thousand men, passed within the lines of the allies. In the mean time Buonaparte collected all his troops at Fontainebleau, amounting to sixty thousand men, and announced that it was his intention to march his army to the capital, and to repel the invaders. The struggle, however, had become hopeless, and major-general Berthier was deputed to repair to the palace during the night of the third of April, and to recommend to Buonaparte the salutary measure of abdication. The first mention of the subject roused him into rage; but when marshals Ney, Oudinot, and MacDonald, who afterwards arrived, assured him that this alone could save the country, his spirit seemed subdued, and he consented to abdicate his throne in favour of his son, the infant king of Rome. This proposal it was determined to submit to the senate and the French nation; and on the fourth marshals Ney and MacDonald, accompanied by Caulincourt, were deputed to repair to Paris for that purpose. At the conference which ensued, Talleyrand, general Pozzo di Borgo, and others, attended; and the result was, that the Bourbon dynasty should be restored. At the breaking up of the conference marshals Ney and MacDonald returned to Fontainebleau, where they arrived at eleven o'clock at night on the fifth. Ney was the first to enter the apartments of the palace, when Buonaparte inquired, with earnestness, if he had succeeded. "In part, sire," said the marshal, "but not with regard to the regency—it was too late—revolutions never give way. This has taken its course, and the senate will tomorrow recognise the Bourbons." The marshal then proceeded to state that the personal safety of the emperor and his family had been stipulated for; that he would be permitted to retire to the Isle of Elba, which was to be possessed by him in full sove-

reignity; and that a sum of two million of francs would be allowed for his annual expenditure. In virtue of these arrangements Buonaparte consented to the entire renunciation of his rights, and on the sixth of April announced his abdication in the following terms:—"The allied powers have proclaimed that the emperor Napoleon is the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe: the emperor, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces, for himself and his heirs, the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no personal sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for the interest of France." In the event of her surviving him, a reversion of one million of francs was to be enjoyed by his consort, Maria Louisa, to whom were assigned the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla; and a revenue of two million five hundred thousand francs was assigned in various proportions to his mother, brothers, and sisters. These revenues were to be charged on the great book of France. Joseph and Jerome Buonaparte fled from Blois, after endeavouring to compel their sister in law to accompany them to Orleans. Next day count Schouwalow arrived to take her under his protection, and to conduct her to the head quarters of the emperor of Austria. On the twentieth Buonaparte departed from Fontainebleau for Elba, accompanied by generals Bertrand and Drouot, who retired with him to that island. The exiles were escorted on their journey by four superior officers, acting as commissioners to the allied powers, together with one hundred and fifty foreign troops, supported by detachments placed at a distance from each other.

On the twelfth of March the city of Bourdeaux was occupied by marshal Beresford, with a detachment of fifteen thousand men, at the request of the inhabitants, who, having mounted the white cockade and declared for the Bourbons, had received the duc d'Angoulême, nephew to the unfortunate Louis the sixteenth, and husband to his daughter, with general acclamations. On the twenty-fifth of March two deputies from Bourdeaux arrived in England, and waited on Louis the eighteenth at Hartwell House; shortly after which deputies also came from other parts of France.

BATTLE OF TOULOUSE.

SOULT retreated towards Toulouse, which, though not naturally very strong, he had time to place in a posture of defence, as the continual falls of rain impeded the advance of the allied army. On the eighth of April the French cavalry were driven from a village on a small river which falls into the Garonne, below the town. The ninth was occupied in making preparations; and on the tenth they were carried into execution. After a long and arduous contest, the allied army established themselves on three of the sides of Toulouse; and, having turned the French army, compelled it finally to retreat, leaving three generals, D'Hauterive, Burrot, and St. Hillair, and sixteen hundred men, prisoners in the hands of the victors. Of the numerous battles fought by lord Wellington, in the south of Europe, that of Toulouse, which was the last of the campaign and of the war, is among the most sanguinary: the engagement, which commenced at seven o'clock in the morning, did not cease till the same hour in the evening; and the number of the killed and wounded, in the allied armies, amounted to nearly five thousand. On the eleventh intelligence reached Toulouse that Buonaparte was dethroned, and the information was immediately communicated to marshals Soult and Suchet; but they did not consider it sufficiently authentic to induce them to lay down their arms; and, in the interval, Sir John Hope was made prisoner in a sortie of the enemy from Bayonne. Other arrivals, however, placed the fact out of all doubt, and a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon, on the same basis as the convention of Paris.

CONVENTION OF PARIS—ENTRANCE OF LOUIS EIGHTEENTH.

At the period of the restoration, Louis the eighteenth was confined, at his rural retirement in England, by sickness and infirmity; in consequence of which his brother, the comte d'Artois, was appointed Lieutenant-general of France, and made his public entry into Paris on the twelfth of April, surrounded by several of the great officers of state, and attended by a group of French marshals.

On the fifteenth the emperor of Austria, who had hitherto remained at Dijon, also entered the French capital in great state. On the twenty-third a convention was signed between the allied powers and France, by which it was agreed that hostilities should every where cease, and that the allied armies should evacuate the French territory in fourteen days; the boundary line to be observed being that which constituted the limits of France on the first of January, 1792. Fifteen days were allowed for mutual evacuations in Piedmont, and twenty days in Spain; the fleets were to remain in their then present stations; but all blockades were to be raised, and the fisheries and coasting trade permitted. All prisoners were mutually liberated, and sent to their respective countries. On the third of May Louis the eighteenth (who had been conducted into London by the prince-regent, and conveyed from Dover to Calais by the duke of Clarence, at which places he was joyfully welcomed) made his solemn entry into Paris. The procession was very brilliant, and passed in perfect order and decorum; but the expressions of satisfaction were by no means universal, particularly among the soldiery. On the preceding day he had issued a declaration, forming the basis of that constitutional charter by which the liberties of the nation were to be secured. The representation was to be vested in two bodies, the chambers of peers and of deputies; the taxes to be freely granted; public and individual liberty to be secured; the liberty of the press, saving necessary precautions for public tranquillity, to be respected; liberty of worship allowed; property to be inviolable, and the sale of national estates irrevocable; the ministers responsible; the judicial power independent, and the public debt guaranteed; the pensions, ranks, and honours of the military, and the ancient and new nobility, were to be preserved, and the legion of honour maintained.

PEACE.

On the thirtieth of May a definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris, by which the integrity of the French boundaries, as they existed on the first of January, 1793, was assured, with some small additions on the side of Germany and Belgium, and a more considerable annexation on that of Savoy, including Chamberi and Annecy, together with Avignon, the Venaissin, and Menthonard. The navigation of the Rhine was declared free—the duties payable on its banks to be hereafter settled; Holland, under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, was to receive an increase of territory—the sovereignty in no case to be united with a foreign crown; the German states were to be independent, and united by a federal league; Switzerland to be independent under its own government; Italy, out of the Austrian limits, to be composed of sovereign states; Malta, and its dependencies, to belong to Great Britain. France recovered all the colonies, settlements, and fisheries which she possessed on the first of January, 1792, excepting Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Isle of France, with its dependencies, which were ceded to England; and a part of St. Domingo, which was to revert to Spain. The king of Sweden renounced, in favour of France, his claims on Guadaloupe, and Portugal restored French Guiana. In her commerce with British India, France was to enjoy the facilities granted to the most favoured nations, but not to erect fortifications in the establishments restored to her. The naval arsenals and ships of war, in the maritime fortresses which she surrendered in the late convention, were to be divided between her and the countries in which such fortresses were situated; Antwerp, in future, to be only a commercial port. Plenipotentiaries from the powers engaged in the late war were to assemble at Vienna, to complete the dispositions of the treaty. The king of France engaged to co-operate with his Britannic majesty in his efforts for obtaining the total abolition of the slave-trade; and, after the private claims of her subjects on France should have been satisfied, Great Britain generously consented to remit in her favour the whole excess for the maintenance of prisoners of war.

ROYAL VISITERS TO ENGLAND.

THE restoration of peace, after so long and arduous a struggle, was hailed in England with the most lively satisfaction; an air of gladness, joy,

and exultation, was diffused over the whole country; and the metropolis was converted into a scene of gaiety, never surpassed on any occasion; by the arrival, early in June, of the emperor of Russia and his sister, the grand dutchess of Oldenburg, the king of Prussia and his sons, with the most distinguished of the allied generals, including Blücher, Platow, Barclay de Tolly, Czernichev, D'York, and Bulow. Prince Metternich, and several of the most distinguished continental statesmen, also accompanied them. They were received and entertained with all the honours due to such illustrious visitors; and, after a stay of about three weeks, during which illuminations, gales, and feasting, were the order of the day, they returned to the continent, to be present at a general congress of the European powers at Vienna.

RESTORATION OF THE POPE—AND FERDINAND—SOUTH AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

ONE of the first acts of the French provisional government was to facilitate the return of pope Pius the seventh to his dominions; who, to evince his gratitude to his patrons and to all Europe, adopted the extraordinary measure of re-establishing the order of Jesuits, a detestation of whose principles had, in 1773, become so universal in the catholic world, that their suppression was effected by the concurrent efforts of the Bourbon sovereigns. He had also announced his intention of reviving all the monastic institutions, and invited the dispersed members of those fraternities to repair to Rome, where the vacant convents should be prepared for their reception.

In Spain, one of the latest artifices of Buonaparte was that of proposing to liberate Ferdinand the seventh, on condition that he should deliver up certain garrisons to the French. By this means the enemy would have been reinforced with twenty thousand men, which might have turned the scale against lord Wellington, and thus the spreading of the insurrection in favour of Louis the eighteenth, in the southern departments of France, would have been impeded: general Cope, however, succeeded in obtaining the person of Ferdinand without according to the invidious demand of the French ruler. The liberated monarch arrived at Gerona on the twenty-fourth of March, and was every where enthusiastically received by the Spanish people. Their beloved sovereign was restored to their wishes, and their hearts cherished the reviving thought of peace, happiness, and security; but, alas! how soon was this intoxicating chalice fated to be dashed from their lips! One of the first impulses of the "beloved Ferdinand" was to overturn the constitution which had been framed by the cortes—to spurn his deliverers from his presence—to condemn the saviours of their country to exile, imprisonment, and death—to re-establish the inquisition—and to encompass himself within a pestiferous swarm of bigoted priests and crime-diseased noblesse, the wretched remnants of his father's infamous court. From the arbitrary measures pursued by Ferdinand, it was evident that he would be disposed to re-act by force, rather than reclaim by conciliation, the revolted colonies. A compulsory loan, imposed on the merchants of Cadix, enabled him to equip eight thousand troops, the command of which was intrusted to general Murillo; and the expedition sailed, towards the close of the year, for South America, where Montevideo held out for the northern country, though blockaded by land and sea, and reduced to great extremities. The naval force of Buenos Ayres was commanded by commodore Brown, an Englishman, against whom the governor of Montevideo sent out a flotilla, over which Brown obtained a complete victory, and Montevideo soon afterwards surrendered. In 1818 the authority of Ferdinand the seventh was acknowledged, on condition that trade be freely permitted with allied and neutral nations, especially with Great Britain. In Venezuela the royalists obtained a victory which enabled them to regain possession of the Caracas.

PARLIAMENT—HONOURS CONFERRED ON WELLINGTON, &c.

PARLIAMENT was not re-assembled till the twenty-first of March, 1814, when the allied armies were within a few days' march of their ultimate destination. The first business of importance was a mo-

tion made by the chancellor of the exchequer, for a grant of two million pounds, on account of the army extraordinaries, in addition to three million pounds before voted. On the twenty-second, Goulbourn introduced a bill for preventing the grant of any patent office in the colonies for any longer term than during such time as the grantees should discharge the duties of the office in person, and behave well therein. A bill, introduced by Sir Samuel Romilly for taking away corruption of blood in cases of felony and high treason, was passed, with an amendment proposed by Yorke, purporting that no attainder of felony not extending to high treason, petty treason, and murder, do lead to corruption of blood.

The price of corn being at this time high, a measure, the object of which was to prohibit importation, excited general alarm, especially in the manufacturing and commercial districts, and its promoters were accused of a design to sacrifice the trading to the landed interest, in order to enable the country gentlemen to keep up their greatly increased rents. On the fifth of May, Sir Henry Farnell moved, in the commons, a resolution for permitting, at all times, the exportation of grain from any part of the United Kingdom. This being carried, a second resolution was proposed for regulating the importation of grain by a schedule, according to which, when the home price of wheat was sixty-three shillings per quarter, or under, foreign wheat should be liable to a duty of twenty-four shillings; when the home price was eighty-six shillings, it should be duty free; and at all intermediate prices the same ratio should be preserved: and a third resolution for the warehousing of foreign corn, duty free, for re-exportation. A bill, founded on the first resolution, was passed; but, in consequence of the great number of petitions against any alteration in the corn laws, the further consideration of measures for regulating the importation was postponed to another session.

The prince regent conferred upon a field-marshal the marquis of Wellington the dignity of duke and marquis of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by the style and title of Marquis Douro and Dukes of Wellington in the county of Somerset. To support the dignity thus conferred upon him, the sum of four hundred thousand pounds was voted by parliament, in addition to one hundred thousand pounds granted on a former occasion. At the same time Sir John Hope was raised to the peerage, under the title of Lord Niddry; Sir Stapleton Cotton was created Lord Combermere; Sir Thomas Graham Lord Lynedoch; Sir Rowland Hill, Lord Hill; and Sir William Borsford, Lord Borsford; and the dignities of the three last were accompanied by a grant of two thousand pounds per annum each. On the twenty-eighth of June, the duke of Wellington took his seat for the first time in the house of peers, when he modestly expressed his thanks for the approbation bestowed upon his conduct.

PRINCESS OF WALES.

A SHORT time before the arrival of the royal visitors in this country, the princess of Wales received a letter from the queen, acquainting her that in a communication from her son, the prince regent, he stated that her majesty's intention of holding two drawing-rooms in the ensuing month having been notified to the public, he must declare that he considered his own presence at her court indispensable; and that he desired it might be distinctly understood, for reasons of which he alone could be the judge, to be his fixed and unalterable determination not to meet the princess of Wales upon any occasion, either in public or in private. The princess replied that, though she could not so far forget her duty to the king and to herself as to surrender her right, she should not, in this instance, present herself at the drawing-rooms of the next month.—The princess next addressed a letter to the prince, demanding to know what circumstances could justify the proceeding he had thus thought fit to adopt. After open persecution and mysterious inquiries, upon undefined charges, the malice of her enemies, she said, fell entirely upon themselves, and she was restored to the full enjoyment of her rank in his majesty's court. She had been declared innocent, and would not submit to be treated as guilty. Her royal highness proceeded to state that occasions might arise (once she trusted was far distant)

when she must appear in public, and his royal highness must be present also. The time selected for this proceeding, she said, made it peculiarly galling; many illustrious strangers were already in England, including the heir of the house of Orange, who had announced himself as her future son-in-law; others were expected, of equal rank, to rejoice with his royal highness in the peace of Europe; her daughter would, for the first time, appear in the splendour and publicity becoming the approaching nuptials of the presumptive heiress of the empire; and, of all his majesty's subjects, she alone was prevented from appearing in her place to partake of the general joy, and deprived of the indulgence in those feelings of pride and affection permitted to every mother but her. Her royal highness also addressed a letter to the speaker, enclosing, for the information of the house of commons, the correspondence which had passed on this occasion. After the letters had been read, Methuen moved, "that an humble address be presented to his royal highness the prince regent, to pray that he would be graciously pleased to acquit the house by whose advice he was induced to form the 'fixed and unalterable determination never to meet her royal highness the princess of Wales, upon any occasion, either in public or private.'" Ministers contended that it was not within the province of the house to interfere in this case; and the debate, which was carried on with closed doors, terminated in Methuen's consenting to withdraw his motion, from a hope that the rigorous proceeding announced against the princess would not be acted upon at the approaching drawing-rooms. In this expectation the honourable gentleman was disappointed; but when the subject was again resumed on the twenty-third of June, Methuen dwelt more upon the necessity of increasing the establishment of the princess of Wales than on the indignity and injustice offered to her; on which lord Castlereagh observed that it was the first time parliament had been told that an increased provision for her royal highness was the object which her friends had in view. His lordship proceeded to state that he had no objection to submit to the house, on a future day, a proposal on this subject; and, in conclusion, adverted to a fact not before generally known, namely, that there was in existence an instrument dated in the year 1800, signed by the prince and princess of Wales, and approved by his majesty, and to which his signature, as well as that of a large proportion of the ministers of the time, was applied, which provided for a distinct establishment for the princess, and admitted the fact of the separation. On the fourth of July lord Castlereagh proposed that such an increase should be made to the income of the princess as would enable her to maintain an establishment more suited to her situation in this country; and he thought the most desirable measure would be to raise it to that point to which it would be advanced in the event of the death of the prince-regent: his proposal therefore was, that the net annual sum of fifty thousand pounds should be granted to the princess of Wales, and that the five thousand pounds and seventeen thousand pounds per annum, which she at present enjoyed, should be withheld from the prince-regent's income. This sum was, at her own request, reduced to thirty-five thousand pounds; and the princess shortly afterwards asked, and readily obtained, permission to make a tour to the Continent.

LORD COCHRANE.

PUBLIC attention was strongly excited during the session by a prosecution against lord Cochrane and seven others, for a conspiracy to create a fraudulent advance in the price of the public funds, by circulating false intelligence of the defeat and death of Buonaparte. The trick was carried into effect, with temporary success, on the eleventh of February; and the whole of the defendants being found guilty, the sentence passed on lord Cochrane was, that he pay a fine of five hundred pounds, be imprisoned twelve months, and stand once in the pillory! this part of the sentence was, however, remitted. On the fifth of July the house of commons expelled his lordship by a majority of one hundred and forty to forty-four: he, however, asserted his entire ignorance of the whole plot, that he was placed under disadvantages by the nature of the prosecution and the conduct of the judge, and the

electors of Westminster felt so confident of his innocence, that they re-elected him not only without opposition, but in triumph. His name was also erased from among the knights of the Bath.

FINANCE.

Tax national income and expenditure were, on the thirteenth of June, brought under the consideration of the house of commons. The whole amount of the joint and separate charges for the service of the year were stated by the chancellor of the exchequer at sixty-seven million five hundred and seventeen thousand four hundred and seventy-eight pounds for England; and for Ireland at eight million one hundred and seven thousand and ninety-four pounds, making the total expense of the year seventy-five million six hundred and twenty-four thousand five hundred and seventy-two pounds. To meet the charges upon the public revenue, the taxes and the loans of the year for England would produce sixty-seven million seven hundred and eight thousand five hundred and forty-five pounds. The exports of the past year had very considerably exceeded those of the most flourishing year at any former period. The total amount of the loan for 1814 was twenty-four million pounds, being eighteen million five hundred thousand pounds for England, and five million five hundred thousand pounds for Ireland; and, from the terms upon which the loan had been negotiated, it might be calculated that the public would remain charged with the yearly interest upon it of four pounds twelve shillings and one penny per cent. At the close of this statement the usual resolutions were read and agreed to, after a remark from Ponsonby, that the public interest demanded that the property tax should not be collected after the fifth of April next. Approbations, however, were still entertained that the tax might be renewed; and the inconclusive replies given by government to the inquiries made on that subject excited a very deep and general alarm throughout the country. The first place which took measures to petition parliament against the renewal of the tax was the city of London; and the example of the metropolis was so generally followed, that the voice of the people, which, when distinctly and perseveringly raised, must always be heard, finally prevailed.

STATE OF IRELAND.

THE state of Ireland had, for some time, been such as to call for the adoption of additional measures for securing the public tranquillity; and on the eighth of July, Peel, chief secretary for Ireland, proposed the renewal of a measure which had received the sanction of parliament in 1807. The clause of the insurrection act, which it was now intended to revive, provided that, in case any part of the country should be disturbed, two justices of the peace should be empowered to summon an extraordinary session of the county, which should consist of seven magistrates; that the lord-lieutenant, in council, on receiving a report from the magistrates so assembled, stating that the ordinary law was inadequate to the preservation of the public peace, should be empowered to issue a proclamation, commanding all resident within the same district to keep within their houses from sun-set to sun-rise; and that any persons detected out of their houses at the prohibited times, without being able to show good cause, should be liable to be transported for seven years. It was also required that the lord-lieutenant should order a special session of the peace to be held, at which the persons offending against this law should be tried, and, if necessary, the trial by jury should, in these cases, be dispensed with. Other provisions sanctioned the employment of the military; enabled the magistrates to pay domiciliary visits; and to break open doors if denied admission. The bill was warmly discussed in its several stages, but it ultimately passed both branches of the legislature; and, at the close of the session, obtained the royal assent. Parliament was prorogued, on the thirtieth of July, by the prince-regent in person.

TREATY WITH HOLLAND—CONGRESS OF VIENNA.

It was agreed by treaty between Great Britain and Holland, that this country should retain the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, but restore Batavia, Surinam, Curacao,

and St. Eustatia. A negotiation was also entered into for uniting Great Britain and Holland more closely, by a marriage between the young prince of Orange and the princess Charlotte of Wales; but, from some cause with which the public has never been fully acquainted, though it does not appear that the prince was ever very acceptable to his intended consort, the treaty was not successful.

On the twenty-ninth of March the prince of the Netherlands opened the grand meeting of the notables of the country, to take into consideration the plan of the constitution, which was viewed and adopted with acclamation. Decrees were also passed for the establishment of the freedom of the press; the restoration of the Dutch language, which had fallen into disuse during the union of Holland with France; the relief of the inferior clergy; the solemn observance of the Sabbath, and other purposes. The Austrian Netherlands were conferred on the house of Orange, in the hope that so important an acquisition would render it capable of preserving its independence, and maintaining a rank among the sovereigns of Europe.

The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia made their solemn entry into Vienna; and on the first of November the formal installation of the congress took place. The royal personages congregated on this occasion consisted of the emperors of Russia and Austria, and the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Wirtemberg, and Bavaria; with ambassadors from England, Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Italy, and the minor states of Germany. One of the first acts of the congress was to recognise a new regal title annexed to the British crown, and to confirm to Hanover the rank of a kingdom, the title of elector being rendered unsuitable to present circumstances by the sixth article of the treaty of Paris, by which it was agreed "that the states of Ger-

many should remain independent, and joined in a federal union." On this ground several of the powers concurring in the treaty had invited the prince-regent to renounce the ancient title, and to assume that of king, with some extension of territory, by which the arrangements required for the future welfare of Germany would be facilitated; particularly as all the ancient electors, and the duke of Wirtemberg, had already erected their states into kingdoms. A general diet assembled on the fifteenth of December, which was opened by the duke of Cambridge, and a constitution was agreed upon on the plan of a representative government.

In Italy the territories formerly possessed by the sovereign house of Sardinia were restored to Victor Emanuel; and, by a protocol signed in the congress of Vienna on the fourteenth of December, the territory forming, before the French revolutionary wars, the venerable Republic of Genoa, was definitively united to the states of his Sardinian majesty, contrary to the condition on which Genoa was occupied by a British force. The annexation of all the other districts in the north of Italy to the Austrian dominion followed almost as a matter of course. Lord William Bentinck had given the Genoese an assurance that their city would be restored to its former independence; but lord Castlereagh expressed the regret of himself and his brother ministers, that they had not been able to preserve its separate existence, without the risk of weakening the system adopted for Italy; and to this state-necessity the ancient republic was obliged to submit, as was that of its old rival, Venice, to the political arrangement which finally annexed it to Austria. Of all the sovereigns by right of French conquest, Murat, king of Naples, alone held his acquisitions undisturbed.

territorial products of each class, so that the property in each division should be as nearly equal as possible; that, in case of failure, a penalty should be levied on each class, to be divided among them, in proportion to the property of individuals; and that every five male inhabitants liable to military duty, who should join to furnish one soldier during the war, should be exempt from service.

FAILURE AT NEW ORLEANS.

In the beginning of December, admiral Cochrane's squadron arrived at the mouth of the river Mississippi, with a considerable body of troops, commanded by major-general Keane. The first object was to reduce a flotilla of gun-boats on Lac Borgne, which was gallantly performed on the fourteenth, by captain Lockyer, with the boats of the squadron. On the twenty-third, the first division of troops, amounting to two thousand four hundred men, were landed within six miles of the city, and in the night they were attacked by the Americans; but, after sustaining some loss, they maintained their position. On the twenty-fifth, on which day the second division joined, major-general Sir E. Pakenham, an officer of distinguished merit, who had served in the peninsula, arrived, and took the command. He found the British army posted on a piece of flat ground, with the Mississippi on the left, and a thick wood on the right. The enemy were stationed behind an intrenchment, extending from the river on their right to the wood on their left, a distance of about a thousand yards. This line was strengthened with flank-works, and had a canal in front, about four feet deep: on the further bank of the Mississippi the Americans had a battery of twelve guns, which inflamed the whole front of their position. The disposition for the attack, which was to be made during the night, was formidable; but unexpected difficulties, increased by the falling of the river, occasioned considerable delay to the entrance of the armed boats, and the attack did not take place until the columns were discernible from the enemy's line at more than two hundred yards' distance. The troops engaged on each side may be estimated at ten thousand; and, since the breaking out of the war, no engagement had, perhaps, been fought with so much bravery—none, certainly, with so disastrous a result. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, amounted to two thousand and forty, including, in the former, the commander-in-chief, who fell while bravely encouraging his men on the edge of the battle, and, among the wounded, general Gibbs and Keane, the former of whom expired on the following day. The loss of the enemy, according to the official statement of their general, was incredibly small, not exceeding seventy-one. General Lambert, on whom the command now devolved, after holding a consultation with admiral Cochrane, determined to re-embark the troops, and to abandon the enterprise. The concluding operation of the war was the capture of Fort Bowyer, on Mobile Point, in the Gulf of Mexico, which, being wholly unable to resist the British force, capitulated on the eleventh of February, 1815.

PEACE WITH AMERICA—CAPTURE OF THE PRESIDENT FRIGATE.

BEFORE these events took place, the labours of the plenipotentiaries assembled at Ghent were brought to a close; a treaty of peace and amity having been signed on the twenty-fourth of December, which was afterwards ratified by both governments. The treaty, which was negotiated on the part of America by Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin, and of Great Britain by lord Gambier, Goulburn, and Adams, was silent on the grand cause of the war and primary object of dispute,—the right of search; but, as America abandoned her claim of compensation for the captures made under the British orders in council, and omitted all mention of her original pretensions, her resistance to the maritime claims of England must be considered as tacitly abandoned. All conquests, on either side, were to be restored—Britain retaining the islands in Passamaquoddy bay, which were hers by the treaty of 1783. Under this article the Americans had only the defenceless shore of the Detroit, on the frontier of the two provinces, to offer in exchange for their fortress of Niagara and the important post of Michilimackinac, both of which were still in possession of the British. The

Indians were to be restored to the rights and possessions which they held in 1812; it was reciprocally agreed that commissioners should be appointed for settling the disputes respecting boundaries; and both parties engaged to continue their efforts for the entire abolition of the slave trade.

The interval between the actual conclusion of the treaty, and the circulation of that important intelligence, enabled the English navy to obtain another triumph. The President, one of the largest frigates yet sent to sea by the United States, commanded by captain Decatur, accompanied by the *Macedonian*, armed brig, laden with provisions, sailed from New York during one of those gales in which the blockading squadron was driven out to sea. After a long chase the *Endymion*, captain Hope, came up with the former, when a severe action ensued in which the President, having crippled her adversary in the rigging, was enabled to get a-head. The British frigate *Pomona* now coming up, the President surrendered, after exchanging a few broadsides. The mutual advantages of a free interchange of commercial communication between two countries, whose interest it is at all times to cherish the relations of peace, were resumed shortly after this event; and in both was the termination of the war hailed with unfeigned satisfaction.

PARLIAMENT.

THE session of Parliament was opened on the eighth of November, 1814, by a speech from the prince regent, of which the leading topics were the pending negotiations at Ghent, and the intended congress at Vienna. Adverting to the supplies for the ensuing year, his royal highness regretted the necessity of so large an expenditure, and concluded by recommending that parliament should proceed with due caution in the adoption of such regulations as might be necessary for extending the trade of Great Britain, and securing her commercial advantages. The usual address was carried without a division.

RETURN OF BUONAPARTE FROM ELBA.

1815.—DETERMINED on one more desperate effort, Napoleon Buonaparte again stood forward to alarm, and it might almost be said, to appeal, the surrounding nations. On the twentieth of February, 1815, he laid an embargo upon the vessels in the ports of Elba, assembled his guards, and declared his purpose of contending for the imperial crown of France. On the twenty-sixth (Sir Neil Campbell, the English commissioner appointed to reside in Elba, being at this time in Italy) he embarked in four vessels with about a thousand men; on the first of March, he effected a landing near Cannes; and in four days the astounding news reached the capital. Monsieur, the king's brother, immediately set off from Paris with marshal Ney, who treacherously kissed the hand of Louis, and swore to bring his old comrade to the capital in an iron cage. His majesty at the same time convoked an extraordinary meeting of the legislative body, which instantly voted addresses, and declared their inviolable attachment to the throne. The king and his ministers adopted such measures as seemed best calculated to ensure the public safety; but, unfortunately, the army was rotten at the very core. The French soldiers had never heartily joined with the enemies of their chief; his name and the imperial eagle were still dear to them; and, as they claimed an important share in the establishment of his military glory, so they had continued to sympathize in his disgrace, and to look back with regret on those halcyon days when conquered and invaded nations administered to the gratification of their ruling passion. Aware of the disposition of the army, and confiding in their attachment, Buonaparte does not appear to have made any specific arrangement, or adopted any regular plan of march; but, as soon as a favourable opportunity of escape presented, to have trusted entirely to the power of his name and presence.

At Grenoble a large quantity of ammunition fell into the hands of Buonaparte, who pushed on, at the head of only six hundred horse, to Lyons, whence the disaffected troops had previously compelled Monsieur to retire. Here he halted to refresh his followers; reviewed the whole of his army, which now made a formidable appearance; assumed the imperial state; and began to issue proclamations and decrees. The same rebellious

spirit appeared in other places. Marshal Ney, having issued a proclamation, dated the fourteenth of March, describing the Bourbons as unfit to reign, and recommending his troops to join the august Napoleon, went over to the invader at Lons la Saulnier. Secure in the support of the army, Buonaparte proceeded on his march, and entered Paris on the evening of the twentieth. On the following morning he showed himself at a window in a garden of the Thuilleries; and, about noon, he reviewed the troops on the Palace Carrousel. Louis the eighteenth, accompanied by marshals Berthier and Macdonald, had previously left Paris for Lille, whether Monsieur and marshal Marmont were also retreating with a considerable force. One of the first measures of Buonaparte was to despatch Caulincourt to invite the archduchess Maria Louisa to reunite her fortunes with his; and, for some time, the Parisians were amused with the expectation that their empress would return. The imperial carriages were ordered from St. Cloud to meet her and her son on their route from Vienna; their arrival was even announced; but neither the empress of France nor the king of Rome appeared. An attempt to kidnap the baby monarch proved also unsuccessful.

MEASURES OF ALLIED POWERS—STATE OF PARIS.

As soon as the intelligence of Buonaparte's irruption had reached Vienna, the allied powers issued a solemn manifesto, in which they declared, that, by thus breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Buonaparte had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended; that, by appearing again in France with projects of confusion and disorder, he had deprived himself of the protection of the law, and had manifested to the universe that there could be neither peace nor truce with him; that he had placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations; and that, as an enemy and disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he had rendered himself liable to public vengeance. The allies, at the same time, expressed their firm determination to maintain entire the treaty of Paris, and to employ all their means, and unite all their efforts, to prevent the peace of Europe from being again troubled. This declaration was followed by a new treaty, signed at Vienna on the twenty-fifth of March, by which the contracting parties solemnly engaged not to lay down their arms but in agreement with each other; nor until Buonaparte should be wholly and completely deprived of the power of exciting disturbances, and of renewing his attempts to obtain the supreme power in France.

About a fortnight after his return to Paris Buonaparte severally addressed letters to the allied sovereigns, stating that he had been restored by the unanimous wish of the French people, and that he was desirous of maintaining peace on the terms which had been settled with the Bourbons. The congress, to which these letters were generally referred, agreed that no answer should be returned to them; and, both at home and abroad, he found himself surrounded by difficulties of no ordinary kind. In several parts of France the royalists were in arms; and, however willing his military associates might be to support him in the absolute dominion he had possessed as emperor, the republican party, on which he was chiefly obliged to depend, would only receive him as the head of a popular government. The liberty of the press, which he reluctantly conceded, facilitated the circulation of much that was obnoxious to him; and the interference of the police, on such occasions, was resented by the republicans as an infraction of the promised freedom. The declarations of the allied powers were also distributed throughout France, in the hope that, by making his danger more apparent, he would be compelled to surrender many sovereign prerogatives. His cabinet became the scene of vehement contention, and he was at length induced to conciliate the attachment of the council of state by a solemn promise to adhere to their advice in the formation of a new constitution. Having thus divided their strength and lulled their suspicion, he took advantage of their apathy, fled from the Thuilleries, seized the impregnable palace of Bourbon, and, surrounded by a body of his guard, he published the outline of

a new constitution of his own arrangement, under the singular title of "An additional Act;" the mode of promulgating which, without the sanction of any public body, was evidently dangerous to national freedom; and neither the republicans nor the constitutionalists relished this anticipation of the solemn national compact, for which he had appointed the *Champ de Mai*. The royal charter, subsisting as a fundamental law, could not be innovated upon; but the *additional act* in some measure confirmed the mass of contradictory laws already prescribed by Buonaparte, and was liable to be modified, limited, and controlled by the old imperial decrees embodied in the constitutions to which this act was proffered as a supplement.

The assembly of the *Champ de Mai* was held on the first of June, various arrangements having been previously made to influence the votes; and after a declaration of the arch-chancellor, that the new constitution was accepted by an almost unanimous concurrence of votes, but unaccompanied by the slightest evidence of their validity, the emperor signed the additional act, to which he swore upon the evangelists to adhere. He then distributed his eagles to the troops of the line and the national guard, as they passed before him, and swore to defend their colours. The next point was to assemble the chambers, which took place on the Sunday following, when the representatives elected for their president Lanjuinais, an individual peculiarly obnoxious to Buonaparte; but, notwithstanding the chagrin occasioned by this circumstance, he complacently expedited all his civil affairs, such as the installation of his chambers of commons and of peers; informed them that his first duty called him to meet the formidable coalition of emperors and kings that threatened their independence, and that the army and himself would acquit themselves well in recommending to them the destinies of France, his own personal safety, and above all, the liberty of the press. When the ceremonies were completed, Buonaparte quitted Paris for the frontiers, where, by one of those rapid movements which have so frequently distinguished his career, he put his forces in motion upon the Sambre on the fifteenth of June.

MOVEMENTS OF FRENCH AND ALLIED FORCES—BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

THE close of the last year had left the whole fortified frontier of the Belgic provinces on the side of France occupied by strong garrisons, chiefly of English troops, or in the pay of England; and, since Buonaparte's return, continued reinforcements had been sent from this country, the whole of which were placed under the command of the duke of Wellington. In the latter part of May the Prussian army, under prince Blücher, had arrived in the neighbourhood of Namur, and frequent conferences took place between the two generals relative to co-operation. Buonaparte determined to attack them while the Russians and Austrians were too distant to afford succour, and on the fifteenth of June, at day-break, the Prussian outposts on the Sambre were driven in; general Zieten was compelled to retire from Charleroi through Fleurus, to unite himself with the main Prussian army, which lay in the vicinity of St. Amand and Ligny; and, towards evening, an advanced corps of Belgians was driven to the position of Les Quatre Bras.

The duke of Wellington, although he had used his best endeavours to gain immediate intelligence when Buonaparte joined his army, does not appear to have been very early informed of that event, as, in consequence of the want of provisions, and especially of forage, he had found it necessary to disperse his army very much. The British head-quarters were at Brussels. As soon as the movements of the French were ascertained, the whole of the army was ordered to advance upon Les Quatre Bras, and, early in the morning, the prince of Orange reinforced the brigade which had been driven from thence, regained part of the ground, and commanded the communication with Blücher, who was posted on the heights between Brie and Sombref, awaiting the attack of the French, although the fourth corps under Bulow had not joined.

Except the corps of Ney, who was at Frasnes, opposed to the British at Les Quatre Bras, and of Grouchy, who was in the rear of Fleurus, Buona-

part attacked the Prussians with his whole force, bringing up not less than one hundred and ten thousand men against eighty thousand. About three in the afternoon he carried the village of St. Amand, after a vigorous resistance; and his next efforts were directed against Ligny, where the contest was maintained, with the utmost obstinacy, for five hours. About two hundred cannon from both sides were directed against this unfortunate village; and it took fire in many places at once. Sometimes the battle extended along the whole line. About five the Prussians, led by Blücher in person, recovered St. Amand, and regained the heights; and at this moment they might have profited greatly by their advantage if Bulow had arrived; but either the march of this corps had been miscalculated, or the nature and state of the roads had not been taken into the account. From the duke of Wellington he could receive no assistance; for as many of his troops as had come up were themselves perilously engaged with superior numbers. As evening advanced the situation of the Prussians became more hopeless; there were no tidings of Bulow; the British divisions could with difficulty maintain its own position at Les Quatre Bras; and Blücher was at length obliged to retire upon Pillry, leaving behind him sixteen pieces of cannon, and a great number of killed and wounded. The retreat, however, was effected with such order that the French did not think it prudent to pursue him, and he formed again within a quarter of a league from the field of battle. The gallant marshal, in one of the charges of cavalry, nearly closed his long and illustrious life, his horse having fallen, mortally wounded, and himself being rode over by the French cuirassiers, who were repulsed and pursued by the Prussian cavalry before he was discovered and remounted.

Early in the afternoon of the same day, the sixteenth, marshal Ney, after skirmishing for a considerable time, commenced his grand attack on the British, at Les Quatre Bras, with about forty thousand men; and the position was maintained with the most signal intrepidity, by the prince of Orange, the duke of Brunswick, and Sir Thomas Picton, who completely defeated every attempt to get possession of it. In this action the French were not only superior in numbers, but were comparatively fresh, the allies having been marching from the preceding midnight. In pursuing a French division, which was repulsed early in the engagement, some British troops exposed themselves unawares to a body of cuirassiers, who, taking advantage of an inequality of ground, on which ours was growing as high as the shoulders of the tallest men, were posted in ambush; and the gallant forty-second regiment of Highlanders, in particular, suffered most severely. About three o'clock the duke of Wellington came on the field with the British guards. At this period the French had dispossessed the Belgian sharpshooters from the Bois de Bossu, which enfiladed the British position. General Maitland, with the guards, was instantly ordered to recover this wood, and the service was speedily effected. In this obstinate conflict the British lost many excellent officers; and had particularly to deplore their gallant ally, the duke of Brunswick, who was killed by a musket ball.

Marshal Blücher, who found himself so much weakened by the battle of Ligny as to be under the necessity of continuing his retreat, concentrated his army near Wavre, about six leagues to the rear of his former position, and considerably farther disjoined from the line of the duke of Wellington's operations. His march was followed by Grouchy, whilst Buonaparte, with the rest of his army, made a movement to the left, to unite himself with Ney, and attack the English at Quatre Bras. Blücher's movement obliged the duke of Wellington to retire upon Genappe, and thence upon Waterloo. The retreat began towards noon on the seventeenth, and was well covered by the cavalry and horse artillery. A large body of French cavalry, headed by lancers, followed with some boldness, especially at Genappe, where the little river which runs through the town is crossed by a narrow bridge; but the pursuit was not vigorous, and between five and six in the afternoon the whole army reached the appointed ground.

The position which the duke of Wellington occupied was in front of the village and farm of Mont St. Jean, about a mile and a half in advance of the little town of Waterloo. The rain, which

was heavy throughout the night, began to abate about nine in the morning, when Buonaparte, whose head-quarters were then at Planchenois, a farm some little distance in the rear of the French line, and about fifteen miles from Brussels, put his army in motion. His position was on a ridge immediately opposite to that of the British, at a distance varying from a thousand to twelve or thirteen hundred yards; the right on the heights in front of Planchenois; the centre at a little country tavern and farm, famous from that day in history for its appropriate name of La Belle Alliance; the left leaning on the road to Brussels from Nivelles. The cuirassiers were in reserve behind, and the imperial guards upon the heights. Grouchy and Vandamme had been detached towards Wavre against the Prussians; and the sixth corps, under count Lobau, with a body of cavalry, was in the rear of the right, ready to oppose a Prussian corps, "which," says an official French account, "appeared to have escaped marshal Grouchy, and to threaten to fall upon our right flank." Thinking to bring down the British army by dint of numbers, he brought against their force, comprising altogether about seventy-five thousand, of which the British did not exceed thirty-three thousand, three corps of infantry, and almost all his cavalry, amounting, with artillery, to one hundred and ten thousand men, forty thousand more being in reserve, or awaiting the Prussians on the right.

The two points of the greatest importance in the British position were the farm of Hougomont, with its wood and garden in front of the right, and that of La Haye Sainte, in front of the left; and, about ten o'clock, Soult and Ney attacked the former with their usual impetuosity. This point the duke of Wellington had strengthened as much as possible during the night; and so severe was the contest, that, within half an hour, fifteen hundred men were slain in an orchard not exceeding four acres in extent. Great efforts were made by the assailants, who surrounded the house on three sides, and burnt a great part of it to the ground; but it was defended with the utmost gallantry to the last. The assault upon Hougomont was accompanied by a heavy fire from more than two hundred pieces of artillery upon the whole British line; and, under cover of this fire, repeated attacks had been made, one of which was so serious, and made with such numbers, that it required all the skill of the British commander to post his troops, and all the courage and discipline of his soldiers to withstand the assailants. In this attack Sir Thomas Picton was mortally wounded, by a musket ball in the head, and Sir William Ponsonby was slain by the Polish lancers.

On the left of the centre the enemy obtained a temporary success. Some light troops of the German legion had been stationed in the farm of La Haye Sainte; the French succeeded in occupying the communication between them and the army; and, when all the ammunition of the besieged was expended, they carried the farm house, and layneted the Hanoverians stationed to defend it. From this position they were never driven, till the grand advance of the British in the evening. The battle continued with the most desperate intrepidity on both sides, Buonaparte continually bringing forward his troops in considerable masses, which the British and their allies repulsed. The duke of Wellington was every where, and never were his exertions more needful; sometimes he was rallying broken infantry, and sometimes placing himself within the squares. No man, indeed, ever had more confidence in his troops, and no troops ever more amply returned the confidence which they so well deserved. On this day both men and leaders were put to the proof: none of their former fields of glory, many as they had seen together, had been so stubbornly contested, or so dearly won. The carnage, owing partly to the confined extent of the ground, and the consequent intermixture of the contending forces, was such as the British army had never before experienced; but it would have been still greater, had not the ground been soaked with rain, in consequence of which the balls seldom rose after they touched it, and the shells frequently buried themselves in the mud.

Buonaparte, about seven in the evening, made a last and desperate effort to force the left of the British centre near La Haye Sainte. The attack was led by marshal Ney with eagerness and preci-

placancy; general Friest fell by his side, and his own horse was killed. He was opposed by the duke of Wellington in person, with such resolution that the assailing columns turned and fled in disorder. At this time, when the thickening cannonade on the French right, and the appearance of troops emerging from the woods announced that the Prussians were coming up in full force, the British army was ordered to advance, the centre being formed in line, and the battalions on the flanks in squares, for their security. The duke himself led them on, and in every point the success was most decisive. The enemy, exhausted by their own repeated and unsuccessful attacks, scarcely waited the charge; their first line was thrown back upon, and mingled with the second; all order was abandoned; the panic spread rapidly; and the whole army, pressed by the British in front, and by the Prussians on the right and in the rear, fled in irretrievable confusion.

Blücher, on proceeding to join the duke of Wellington, left one division of his army at Wavre, under general Thielman, to oppose marshal Grouchy, before whom he gradually fell back; and, whilst Buonaparte was vainly encouraging his army with the hope of being succoured by the arrival of the marshal, that officer, who appears not to have been aware of the movements on his left, and that the fate of his master would be decided at Waterloo, was advancing on the road to Brussels, exulting in his unprofitable success. It was about half-past seven, at which time it was evident that Buonaparte's attack upon the British had failed, that the duke of Wellington took that great and decisive step which crowned his glory and saved Europe. The Prussians made their attack shortly after, under the most favourable circumstances; and, even if the British army had not repulsed the enemy, Blücher's movement would have been decisive. If the French had succeeded in their efforts against the duke of Wellington, it would have prevented them from profiting by the success; but, being made at the critical moment of their defeat, it rendered the victory complete. A total rout cannot be more fully acknowledged than in Buonaparte's own account. "A complete panic," he says, "spread through the whole field of battle; the men threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoniers, officers, all pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along. In an instant the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers of small arms were mixed pell-mell, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this astonishing confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder; and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops and point out to them their error."

Buonaparte's station during the battle had been upon the Charleroi road, at the hamlet of La Belle Alliance; near which post, by a singular coincidence, when night had closed in, and the rout of the enemy was complete, Blücher and Wellington met in the pursuit, and exchanged congratulations. As the British and Prussians were now on the same road, and the former, having been twelve hours in action, were greatly fatigued, the duke readily relinquished the charge of pursuit to his gallant colleague, who declared that he would continue it throughout the night, and gave orders to send the last man and the last horse after the enemy. In this pursuit the Prussians took about one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, Buonaparte's travelling equipage, and the whole *matériel* and baggage of the army. An equal number of artillery had been also taken by the British. Such a battle could not be fought without great loss on both sides; and this victory was indeed achieved by a severe sacrifice. On the side of the victors the total of killed and wounded, exclusive of the Prussians, exceeded thirteen thousand men; among whom were six hundred officers, including eleven generals. The loss of the French must have been tremendous: it is supposed that they left at least twenty thousand men dead on the field; and, being pursued after the battle by a fresh and inveterate enemy, their numbers were so greatly thinned by slaughter and desertion, that of the hundred and fifty thousand men with whom Buonaparte commenced this campaign of four days, not a third part remained in

arms, though the prisoners did not exceed seven thousand.

The feeling produced in England by this battle, which led to more important consequences than have resulted from any in modern times, will never be forgotten. Though accustomed to victory, upon the land as well as upon the sea, the glory of all seemed eclipsed by that of Waterloo. The first consideration was, how to express a due sense of this great exploit—how to manifest a nation's gratitude to the army and its leaders. There remained no fresh distinctions to confer on the duke of Wellington; but two hundred thousand pounds were added to the former grant, that a magnificent palace might commemorate the event.—Every regiment which had been present was permitted from thenceforth to bear the word *Waterloo* upon its colours; all the privates were to be distinguished in the muster-rolls and pay-lists of their respective corps as Waterloo men, and every subaltern officer and private allowed to reckon that day's work as two years' service in the account of his time for increase of pay, or for a pension when discharged. A benefit not less important was extended, on this occasion, to the whole army, by a regulation enacting, that henceforward the pensions granted for wounds should rise with the rank to which the officer attained—so that he who was promoted when an ensign should, when he became a general, receive a general's pension for the injury which he had endured.

BUONAPARTE'S RETURN TO PARIS—HIS ABDICATION.

THE allied armies moved upon Paris, where the proceedings of the government evinced how little ability there was to resist their progress. Buonaparte, who had twice returned to the capital alone after leading armies to destruction, again hastened thither, and informed his chamber of peers that he had come to Paris to consult on the means of restoring the *matériel* of the army, and on the legislative measures which circumstances required.—The two chambers hastily assembled, and, after some discussion, declared their sittings permanent, and that any attempt to dissolve them was high treason. The ensuing debates were full of tumult: one speaker ventured to call for the abdication of the emperor; several voices seconded the motion; and in this critical juncture his adherents suggested various projects, even proposing that he should dissolve the mutinous assembly with an armed force, and assume the dictatorship. On the morning of the twenty-second the chamber of representatives assembled to receive his act of abdication, a measure considered indispensably necessary for the salvation of the country. A long interval of feverish impatience elapsed. At length the minister of police appeared with a declaration, in which Buonaparte announced that his political life was terminated, and proclaimed his son emperor of the French, by the title of Napoleon the second. An address of thanks for the sacrifice he had made was presented by the president, Lanjuinais, at the head of a deputation; and the two chambers, eluding any express recognition of the young Napoleon, proceeded to nominate a provisional government, of which the members were Carnot, Fouché, Caulincourt, Grenier, and Quinette.

ADVANCE OF ALLIES—CAPITULATION OF PARIS.

THE duke of Wellington remained at Waterloo on the nineteenth of June; and on the twentieth he marched to Malmélay, and crossed the French boundary, having issued a general order, apprising the soldiers that, in marching through the dominions of an ally, they were to observe the strictest discipline. This order was so well obeyed, that the inhabitants acknowledged that the British paid more respect to public and private property than had even marked the conduct of their own troops. Cambray surrendered on the twenty-fourth; the strong fortress of Peronne was reduced on the twenty-sixth; on the twenty-eighth the duke was at St. Just; and on the twenty-ninth and thirtieth he passed the Oise. Blücher, after carrying Avesnes by escalade, marched upon Laon, under the walls of which Soult, with about four thousand stragglers, was joined by twenty thousand men, under Grouchy and Vandamme, who had fled

difficulty and less effected their retreat from Wavre. At Villars Coteret a contest between these forces took place, which terminated favourably to the Prussians, who immediately advanced to the neighbourhood of Paris; and, having passed the Seine, by a combined movement, the two generals completely invested the city on its defenceless side. In the mean time commissioners appointed by the provisional government had repaired to the camp of prince Blücher, and requested a suspension of arms while they proceeded to the head-quarters of the allies with overtures for peace; but he would only listen to unconditional submission, and the possession of Paris; he, however, granted them passports to proceed to Haguenau, where the allied sovereigns, who were advancing with a large army, held their head-quarters. After a long, but unsatisfactory conference, they returned to Paris, and found the duke of Wellington and prince Blücher ready to enter the capital, in pursuance of a convention concluded in their absence. The provisional government had invited the marshals and generals to a council of war, at which it was decided that all resistance must be fruitless; and Fouché and Caulincourt proposed that the city should be surrendered to Louis the eighteenth, arguing that it would conciliate a family under whose power it was evident they must return. It was, however, finally determined to offer a capitulation as a mere military transaction, without reference to any political question. The convention was concluded on the third of July, and its principal terms were, that the French army should, on the following day, commence its march to take up a position behind the Loire, and completely evacuate Paris in three days; that all the fortified posts and the barriers should be given up; that public property, with the exception of that relating to war, should be respected; that private persons and property should be equally respected; and that all individuals in the capital should continue to enjoy their rights and liberties, without being disturbed or called to account, either as to situations held by them, or as to their conduct or political opinions.

BUONAPARTE SURRENDERS TO THE ENGLISH—IS SENT TO ST. HELENA.

BUONAPARTE's abdication was accompanied by a kind of farewell proclamation to the army, after which he occupied himself in preparing for a voyage to America; and on the third of July he arrived at Rochefort, escorted by general Beker, whose orders were to see him speedily embarked on board a small squadron which the provisional government had assigned for his conveyance. On the eighth he went on board a small French frigate; but the port was so closely blockaded by English vessels that escape was impossible, and he sent a flag of truce to the commodore of the British squadron, requesting permission to pass, which was refused. At length, on the fifteenth, after endeavouring to make terms with captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, who could only reply that he had no authority to enter into any kind of treaty, he surrendered at discretion, and was conveyed to England in that vessel, which arrived in Torbay on the twenty-fourth, when he transmitted a letter to the prince-regent, signed "Napoleon," in these terms:—"Exposed to the factions which divide my country, and to the enmity of the great powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career; and I come, like Themistocles, to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British nation. I place myself under the safeguard of their laws, and claim the protection of your royal highness, the most powerful, the most constant, the most generous, of my enemies."

Buoyed up by the expectation of obtaining an asylum in England, he was cheerful and affable, and soon ingratiated himself with every person on board; but in England Buonaparte could not be permitted to reside with comfort to himself, or security to Europe; nor could he have been suffered to emigrate to any neutral country, however distant, where intercourse with his adherents would be practicable. It was therefore determined that the island of St. Helena should be the place of his residence. Distant twelve hundred miles from the nearest continent, containing but one harbour within its circumference, strong by nature, impregnable by art, commanding from its declivities a view of the ocean on every side for more than fifty

miles, this island, from its solitude and security, seemed created for the reception of some illustrious exile. When informed that he would be conveyed to St. Helena, with four of his friends, to be chained by himself, and twelve domestics, he received the intimation without surprise, but protested against the measure with the utmost energy, alleging, that he had been forced to quit the isle of Elba by the breach of the treaty made with him by the sovereigns of Europe; that he had endeavoured to avoid hostilities, but had been forced to commence them by the allies themselves; and that it was not consistent with the principles of the British constitution to doom him to perpetual banishment without accusation and without trial. He was removed on board the *Northumberland*, and the officers who surrounded him were instructed to address him by no higher title than that of General. Count Bertrand, the countess, and their children, count and countess Montholon, count Las Cases, and general Gourgaud, with nine men and three women servants, remained with Buonaparte, and the rest were sent on board the *Eurotas* frigate. Buonaparte's surgeon alone, of all his attendants, refused to accompany him, and his place was supplied by the surgeon of the *Bellerophon*. The *Northumberland* sailed on the seventh of August, and arrived at St. Helena in the middle of October. Thus terminated the career of this spoiled child of fortune, who, had he known any bounds to his inordinate ambition, might have been seated in security on the throne of France, with far greater power than any of her monarchs had ever enjoyed.

MURAT ATTEMPTS NAPLES—KILLED.

CONNECTED, in some measure, with the movements of Buonaparte, appears to have been the advance of Murat against Austria. Murat, however, was still more unfortunate than his master. He was defeated in his object of revolutionizing Italy; he failed in his attempt to cut his way through the Austrians, at Tolentino, on the third of May; and he arrived at his capital just in time to escape from it in disguise. His army capitulated on the twenty-first of May, when the Austrians entered the city, and Ferdinand the fourth of Sicily was restored to the throne. Murat effected his escape to Toulon, where he remained some time in disguise; thence he proceeded to Corsica, and assembled about four hundred followers, at the head of which, mimicking, as it were, his master, he embarked for the Neapolitan coast; but his vessels were dispersed in a storm, and, landing with only thirty followers on the eighth of October, he failed in exciting an insurrection in his favour, and was arrested, tried, and condemned to be shot. The sentence was put in execution on the fifteenth; and his behaviour, on this occasion, was worthy of a man who had been elevated to an exalted station, for which, however, he possessed few qualities except personal bravery.

PARLIAMENT RE-ASSEMBLED—CORN LAWS.

THE British parliament re-assembled on the ninth of February, when the state of the corn-laws again occupied the attention of the house of commons. On the seventeenth nine resolutions were moved in a committee, which, after allowing the free warehousing of grain for re-exportation, or to be taken for home consumption when the price should permit, fixed the average at eighty shillings per quarter for wheat, and proportionally for corn; that is to say, when British corn should not be below that price, foreign might be admitted duty free. A bill framed on the resolutions was introduced on the first of March, and, after encountering a strong opposition in both houses from the manufacturing and commercial interest, was passed on the twentieth by the lords. The apprehension of dearth, as the immediate consequence of this law, occasioned riots, which were not quelled without military aid. Experience, however, has shown that the alarm was groundless, the price having fallen so far below the standard as to leave the agricultural part of the community an inadequate remuneration, after paying that increase of rents and taxes which had taken place during the war.

An important act was passed for extending the trial by jury in civil causes to Scotland. Its provisions differed in several particulars from those of

the English law, and the granting such a trial was in each case optional with the judges: but it was hoped that at no distant period a further extension of the principle would be concurred in, the present measure being favourably received in Scotland.

A bill was passed for continuing the restriction of cash payments by the bank of England till the fifth of July, 1816, a motion for inquiry having been previously negatived.

On the twenty-second of May a message was delivered to both houses from the prince regent, occasioned by the landing of Buonaparte in France, which was followed by documents relative to the engagements concluded with the allies. When the subsidies came under the consideration of the house of commons, lord Castlereagh stated that Austria, Russia, and Prussia, were each prepared to contribute to the common cause a larger force than they had engaged for, and that several of the inferior powers were also to furnish very considerable contingents. The sense of both houses was very strongly expressed, not only by the usual supporters of ministers, but by several opposition members, in favour of resistance to Buonaparte; and a grant of five millions, to make good the engagements with Austria, Russia, and Prussia, was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty votes to seventeen.

The property, or income tax, the inquisitorial nature of which had rendered it highly unpopular, was doomed to expire in April; but, as suspicions were entertained that it was in the contemplation of ministers to continue it another year, meetings against it were convened all over the country, and a schedule of new and additional taxes, as a partial supply for the deficiency to be occasioned by its extinction, was actually made out, when suddenly, the eruption of the Etna rendered its revival, which alone produced the enormous sum of fourteen million pounds per annum, a measure of imperative necessity. The supplies for the year, exclusive of the Irish proportion of nine million seven hundred and sixty thousand eight hundred and fourteen pounds, were stated at seventy-nine million nine hundred and sixty-eight thousand one hundred and twelve pounds; and, in aid of this enormous demand, a vote of credit for six million pounds and two loans for forty-five million pounds were resorted to.

A message from the prince regent on the twenty-seventh of June, announced the marriage of the duke of Cumberland with the widow of the prince of Salms, and a motion was made in the house of commons for an addition to the duke's income; but, as it appeared that the queen had expressed strong objections to the union, the grant was negatived by one hundred and twenty-six against one hundred and twenty-five. The escape of lord Cochrane from the king's bench prison, his recapture and subsequent liberation, would scarcely be worth noticing, were it not for the remarkable circumstance that, on this occasion, his single voice determined the question, and relieved the speaker from the unpleasantness of being called upon to give a casting vote upon a question of considerable delicacy.

Parliament was prorogued, on the eleventh of July, by a speech from the throne.

TERMS IMPOSED ON FRANCE.

On the twentieth of November a treaty or con-

vention between the allies and France received the final signatures of the contracting powers. In this treaty it was stipulated that seven fortresses were to be occupied by one hundred and fifty thousand of the allied troops, at the expense of France, for a period not exceeding five years; the pecuniary indemnity was settled at seven hundred million francs; and the Ionian islands were declared independent, under the protection of England. During the occupation of Paris, the various states which had suffered from the depredations of Buonaparte lost no time in recovering the works of art of which he had deprived them; and a great number of valuable paintings and national monuments were restored to their original owners.

On the re-establishment of the kingly government in France, measures were taken for the punishment of those who had been most actively engaged in the late rebellion; and, although only a few atoned for their offences with their lives, the celebrated marshal Ney was among the number.

An act of confederation was signed at Vienna on the eighth of June, by which the management of the general affairs of the German states was confided to a diet, composed of representatives of all the princes and free cities of the empire; and as they severally pledged themselves not to make war upon each other, but to submit all differences to the decision of the diet, the future tranquillity of Germany is secured so long as the confederacy shall act up to its declared principles. In the final settlement of Europe by congress, Prussia received some important territorial accessions, chiefly from Saxony, whose king was compelled to submit to the loss of Thuringia, Upper and Lower Lusatia, and Henneberg. This acquisition, in addition to Swedish Pomerania, and the recovery of her Polish provinces, restored Prussia to a high rank among the powers of the continent.

HOSTILITIES IN INDIA.

In the East Indies some disputes between the British government and the state of Nepal, respecting boundaries, broke out into hostility. Several gallant but unsuccessful attempts were made on the strong fort of Kalunga, in one of which general Gillespie was slain; the fort was at length, however, evacuated by its garrison; and, after a campaign of unusual difficulty, the country from Kernaon to the river Sutledge was ceded to the English company.

About this period the whole island of Ceylon came under the British dominion, the king of Candy, who possessed the interior, having driven the inhabitants, by a series of atrocities, to throw off his yoke. Early in the year general Brownrigg, the governor of the British possessions on the coast, issued a proclamation declaring that he made war on the tyrant alone, and promising protection to his oppressed subjects. An adequate force then penetrated to the capital, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants; the king was delivered up, without the loss of a single man; and a treaty was concluded, by which the British authority was established in the whole island; the rights and immunities of the chiefs were secured, the religion of Booth was established, torture and mutilation were abolished, and no sentence of death was to be executed without a warrant from the British governor.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Parliament called—Holy Alliance—Marriage of Princess Charlotte to Prince Leopold—Distressed State of the Country—Riots and Tumults—Expedition against Algiers—East India Affairs—Meeting of Parliament—The Prince Regent attacked by the Populace—Mourning as to Illegal Meetings—Relinquishment of Income by Prince Regent and Ministers—Meeting in Spa-Fields and Palace-yard—Commitments to the Tower—Loss of Exchequer Bills for Public Works—Catholic Claims rejected—Lord Sidmouth's Circular—Messages from the Prince Regent—Disturbances at Manchester—State Trials—Death of Princess Charlotte—Foreign Affairs—Meeting and Proceedings of Parliament—Royal Marriages—Education of the Poor and Charitable Institutions—Army of Occupation withdrawn from France—Disturbances at Manchester, &c.—Death of Queen Charlotte.

PARLIAMENT CALLED—HOLY ALLIANCE.

1816. **P**ARLIAMENT assembled on the first of February, 1816. Brougham moved for a copy of a treaty concluded at Paris, on the twenty-sixth of September, between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and which had received the name of the Holy Alliance. By this singular document, which was couched in the most devout and solemn language, and consisted of three articles, the three potentates, members of different Christian churches, declared their resolution, both in their domestic administration and foreign relations, to take for their guide the precepts of the holy religion taught by our Saviour. They bound themselves in a fraternity of mutual assistance, regarding themselves as delegated by Providence to govern three branches of one and the same Christian nation, of which the Divine Being was the sole real Sovereign; and they declared that all such powers as should solemnly avow the sacred principles which had actuated them would be received with ardour into this "holy alliance." Brougham observed, that there was something so singular in the language of the treaty, as to warrant no little jealousy. He could not think that it referred to objects merely spiritual; the partition of Poland had been professed by language very similar to that now used; and the proclamation of the empress Catherine, which wound up that fatal tragedy, was couched in almost the same words. Lord Castlereagh vindicated the motives of the emperor of Russia, and stated that the prince regent, whose accession to this alliance had been solicited, had expressed his satisfaction in its tendency. He opposed the production of the document itself, on the ground that it was contrary to the practice of parliament to call for copies of treaties to which this country was no party.

FINANCE.

FROM an abstract of the net produce of the revenue in the years ending the fifth of January 1815, and the fifth of January 1816, it appeared that, in the former it amounted to sixty-five million four hundred and twenty-nine thousand nine hundred and eighty-one pounds; and, in the latter, to sixty-six million four hundred and forty-three thousand eight hundred and two pounds. Notwithstanding this enormous produce, the chancellor of the exchequer acknowledged, on the very first day of the session, that it was his intention to propose a reduced income tax of five pounds per cent. This intention was, however, frustrated by the persevering opposition of the people. On the fifth of March Vanaitart, with the view of gaining over the poorer classes, announced, amongst his proposed modifications, that incomes of less than one hundred and fifty pounds, and farms of less rent than one hundred and fifty pounds, were to be exempt from the operation of the tax; and that, upon farms of higher rent, the assessment was to be upon one-third instead of three-fourths of the rent. On that reduced scale, he estimated the tax to produce six

million pounds annually; it had been proved, however, that, according to the original plan, more than half of the tax had been paid by incomes of one hundred and fifty pounds a year and under. Estimating the net produce of the tax at ten per cent. to be twelve million pounds at five per cent. it would indeed be six million pounds; but, by taking away, at one stroke, half of the sources of production—incomes of one hundred and fifty pounds a year and under—the produce of the remaining half could not exceed three million pounds. On the final discussion of the subject, on the eighteenth of March, the motion for a continuance of the income tax was negatived by two hundred and thirty-eight against two hundred and one. This important defeat having exempted the opulent from a heavy assessment, a boon was granted to the mass of the people, by the repeal of the war tax on malt, which had been estimated to produce two million pounds per annum. In bringing forward the budget, on the twenty-seventh of May, the chancellor of the exchequer announced the highly gratifying fact, that the surplus of the preceding year's grants in hand amounted to five million six hundred and sixty-three thousand seven hundred and fifty-five pounds. In their favourite object of maintaining a large standing army ministers were successful—the situation of the continent rendering it in some measure necessary.

Among the additional ways and means the sum of three million pounds was advanced by the bank, at three per cent. interest, on condition of being permitted to increase their capital by one-fourth. The restriction on cash payments was subsequently extended until July, 1816; the English and Irish exchequers were consolidated; and a bill was passed for a new silver coinage, in which the denomination of the coin was raised by a small seigniorage, sixty-six instead of sixty-two shillings being allowed to the pound Troy.

MARRIAGE OF PRINCESS CHARLOTTE—
PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

A MESSAGE from the prince regent to both houses of parliament, on the fourteenth of March, announced the marriage contract of his daughter, the princess Charlotte Augusta, with his serene highness the prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; and, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, an annual sum of sixty thousand pounds was voted to the illustrious pair during their joint lives; of which ten thousand pounds was to form a sort of stipend for her royal highness. If the prince should die first, the whole sum was to be continued to her royal highness; if he should be the survivor, the sum of fifty thousand pounds was to be continued to him: the sum of sixty thousand pounds was also granted by way of outfit. The marriage ceremony was performed on the second of May, at the queen's palace, and the event called forth the sincere congratulations of the nation. In July another royal marriage took place between the

princess Mary, fourth daughter of his majesty, and her cousin, the duke of Gloucester. Their establishments were framed on a scale which rendered an application to the public purse unnecessary.

The state of Ireland was brought under discussion in April, by Sir John Newport, who moved for documents to explain the extent and nature of those evils which rendered it necessary to maintain there, during peace, an army of twenty-five thousand men. This motion was superseded by an amendment, proposed by Peel, who asserted that the disturbances in that country seemed to be the effect of a systematic opposition to all laws. The debates on the Catholic question were attended with the same results as on former occasions; but an expectation was entertained that they would be renewed in the ensuing session with greater success. A bill relative to the registry and regulation of slaves, which had been introduced by Wilberforce towards the close of the last session, became the subject of warm debates, in consequence of a calamitous insurrection which had taken place at Barbadoes. A petition from the merchants of Bristol deprecated the measure, as disclosing a spirit of interference with the local legislation of the colonies; and, on the suggestion of lord Castlereagh, Wilberforce postponed his intended motion, and moved for papers on the subject. Palmer, who argued that the insurrection arose from expectations, among the slaves, of entire emancipation, fostered by the proposed registry bill, moved an amendment, which was carried, recommending the colonial authorities to promote the moral and religious improvement, as well as the comfort and happiness, of the negroes.

Parliament was prorogued on the second of July, when the prince-regent expressed his deep regret at the distresses sustained by many classes of his Majesty's subjects, which he hoped would be found to have arisen from causes of a temporary nature.

STATE OF THE COUNTRY—RIOTS.

THE period had now arrived at which the consequences of so long and expensive a war were to be most severely felt. The system of borrowing could no longer be continued, and the supplies must now be raised within the year. The pressure of agricultural and commercial distress was very severely felt; and, in the counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and various other parts of the kingdom, tumults of a very serious nature took place. In the Isle of Ely a kind of organized insurrection burst forth, which was not suppressed without considerable difficulty, and between seventy and eighty rioters were tried by a special commission, when twenty-four were found guilty, of whom five suffered the final execution of the law.

Later in the year, the inferior produce of the harvest, the consequent advance in the price of provisions, and the continued depression of trade and commerce, operated most severely upon the poorer classes throughout the kingdom. Numerous meetings were held to consider the means of alleviating the general distress, and large subscriptions were raised; but at several of the assemblies ostensibly convened for the most benevolent purposes, persons of seditious principles came forward to inflame the minds of the people, by asserting that the abolition of places and pensions, and a reform in parliament, would prove a remedy for every evil. Of the meetings of this nature, those which were held in Spa Fields, near London, are the most remarkable. On the fifteenth of November many thousand artisans and others, assembled for the alleged purpose of petitioning for relief under their distress, were addressed by a person named Hunt in a long and violent harangue, and it was determined that a petition to the prince-regent should be presented by him, accompanied by Sir Francis Burdett; but the latter did not choose to appear in the business, and Hunt was informed that it could only be presented at a levee, or through the medium of the home secretary. On the second of December another meeting was convened to receive the answer to the petition, when an alarming breach of the peace took place. A young man, named Weston, after uttering an inflammatory harangue, seized a flag from one of the by-standers, and, heading a party of the populace, led them into the city, and attempted to plunder the shop of a gunsmith on Snow-hill. He fired a pistol at a gentleman named Platt, who was remonstrating with

him, and, for this offence was apprehended, but in the confusion that ensued he escaped; and the riot, which might have produced incalculable mischief, was checked by the spirited conduct of the magistrates, and entirely quelled by the appearance of a military force. During this disturbance the principal part of the assemblies remained in Spa Fields, where another petition was determined upon, and another meeting appointed.

EXPEDITION AGAINST ALGIERS.

FOR a series of years the pirates on the coast of Barbary had committed great depredations on almost every civilized state; and at length ventured to attack the English flag. Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor of Malta, proceeded, in consequence, to Tripoli, the government of which acceded to all that he proposed; and at Tunis every thing was amicably settled by negotiation. These arrangements, however, proving ineffectual, admiral lord Exmouth, with a portion of the Mediterranean fleet, proceeded, in the early part of the present year, first to Tunis, and then to Tripoli. At both these places the deys appeared disposed to accede to any terms; and his lordship proposed a treaty, for ever prohibiting the making of Christian slaves, and that such prisoners as might be taken in war should be treated according to the practice of civilized Europe. These stipulations were readily agreed to, treaties were signed, and the fleet returned to Algiers, where lord Exmouth proposed to the dey a similar treaty, against which, however, he made a firm and resolute stand. Lord Exmouth therefore departed from the interview with a determination to commence hostilities; on which the dey ordered the British consul, McDonald, to be confined, and all the English vessels at Oran to be seized. Negotiations, however, were resumed, which ended in an agreement that three months should be allowed for obtaining the sanction of the Grand Signior to the proposed treaty, and the Tague Seignor was appointed to take the dey's ambassador to Constantinople. Scarcely, however, had lord Exmouth reached England, when intelligence arrived of a new and horrible outrage, between three and four hundred Corsicans, Neapolitans, and Sicilian fishing-boats, employed in the coral fishery, near Tunis, having been attacked by an Algerine frigate, the fortress of Bona also firing upon them. At the same time a corps of cavalry from Bona charged them furiously, and the slaughter amongst these poor defenceless creatures was most dreadful.

Finding it impracticable to bind the barbarians by treaties, it was at length resolved to take severe vengeance for their cruelty and perfidy; and lord Exmouth accordingly sailed from Plymouth, on the twenty-eighth of July, in the Queen Charlotte of a hundred and ten guns, with four other ships of the line, five frigates, and several sloop-boats, &c. Having rendezvoused at Gibraltar, where he was joined by a Dutch squadron, his lordship proceeded on his voyage on the fourteenth of August. The Algerines, it appears, had, ever since the end of May, been preparing for the expected attack of our fleet, by removing every article of value from the town, which was well defended by about one thousand pieces of ordnance. Algiers, rising abruptly from the water's edge, to a great height, was surrounded by a high wall, the southern side of which was adorned with men's heads. The batteries were one above another, strongly constructed and fortified; and along a tongue of land, which defends the entrance into the inner part of the harbour, and also the approach to it, was a range of strong batteries, which our ships were obliged to pass, to take their station near the town, for the purpose of bombarding it. Lord Exmouth arrived on the twenty-seventh of August; and, at six o'clock in the afternoon the batteries, and at three o'clock in the afternoon the firing commenced. The Queen Charlotte took her station off the extreme point of the tongue, by which she commanded the whole line of batteries along it; and so near was she, that every part of the mole, and what was called the *Morine*, was visible from her quarter-deck. Both were crowded with spectators, and lord Exmouth waved his hat to them to retire, and signified that he was about to begin hostilities; but they did not attend to, or perhaps did not comprehend the meaning of, his humbly intended warning, and the conse-

quence was, that our first broadside swept off from five hundred to one thousand of them. The most advanced of the Algerine navy was a brig, to which the Queen Charlotte's laid herself; closer in with the shore, in the bosom of the harbour, were two frigates, and the rest of the Algerine vessels behind them. The fury and tremendous nature of the bombardment will never be forgotten. It continued till nearly eleven; the Algerines fighting all the time with the utmost fury, but yet with great skill and effect. About ten the land breeze came on, and it was deemed advisable to take a larger offing during the night. It was extremely dark; but the darkness was illuminated by a violent storm of lightning, with thunder, and by the incessant fire of the batteries. Next morning the city and harbour exhibited a terrible scene of desolation, four large Algerine frigates, five corvettes, a great number of smaller vessels of all descriptions, the magazines, arsenals, and a large quantity of marine stores, being destroyed; whilst their loss in men was between six and seven thousand: the assailants had also to lament a loss in killed and wounded of more than eight hundred. Lord Exmouth now repeated with effect the proposals which had before been rejected, and the result of this splendid achievement was, that the dey agreed totally to abolish Christian slavery; to deliver up all the slaves in his dominions, to whatever nation they might belong; to return all the money that he had received for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of the year; and to make reparation and a public apology to the British consul, for the wrongs and indignities to which he had been subjected.

After the treaties had been negotiated, and the dey had refunded three hundred and eighty-two thousand five hundred dollars to the governments of Naples and Sardinia, and had released ten hundred and eighty-three Christian slaves, it came to the knowledge of lord Exmouth that two Spaniards, the one a merchant, and the other the vice-consul of that nation, were still held in custody, on pretence that they were prisoners for debt. His lordship immediately insisted on their unconditional release, and prepared for the recommencement of hostilities; in consequence of which they were set at liberty, and not one Christian prisoner remained in Algiers. Our gallant squadron quitted on the third of September; and lord Exmouth, who was twice slightly wounded during the action, was raised from the dignity of baron to that of viscount, for his services on this occasion. A considerable promotion also took place amongst the officers who had so nobly participated in the chastisement of an unprincipled tyrant.

EAST INDIA AFFAIRS.

In the East Indies the irritable state of the popular mind, on all subjects connected with their customs, occasioned some disturbances, which were not quelled without bloodshed; and disputes with several of the native powers in the course of the year also occupied the British forces. The Pindarees made an inroad into Guntur, laid waste that rich district, and committed many acts of wanton barbarity, whilst their movements were so skilfully conducted that they escaped with most of their booty. The refusal of the rajah of Nepal to ratify the treaty which had been concluded occasioned a severe contest between the British and this formidable enemy, which was terminated on the fourth of March, by his acceding to the former terms, after being defeated in a decisive action, and losing an important fortress. For these successes the thanks of parliament were voted to the governor-general and the army, and the earl of Moira was created marquis of Hastings.

That most desirable but laborious work, the arrangement of the statute law under distinct and proper heads, had been long studied by lord Stanhope, whose life had been devoted to scientific pursuits; during the last session he had moved for a committee to consider the best means of accomplishing the object; but death unfortunately deprived the country of his services before the development of his plans: and it is much to be feared that a considerable time will elapse before any person equally qualified for the task will be induced to undertake it.

We must not quit the year 1816 without recording the death of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the last

of that great constellation of talent which adorned the latter part of the eighteenth century. As an orator he yielded not even to Pitt in flow of diction; whilst in force and acuteness he may be compared with Fox, and in splendour of imagination with Burke. At the early age of twenty-four he wrote a comedy, which is admitted to be one of the best in the English language—*The School for Scandal*; and, had he employed his matchless endowments with ordinary judgment, nothing could have obstructed his progress to the highest point of fame: but, attached to convivial pleasures, crusted over with indolence, and depressed by fortune, mischievous habits obscured those transcendent powers which might have placed him in the foremost rank of statesmen. He was the consistent advocate of public liberty; and, could he have been roused to more frequent exertion, would doubtless have enjoyed a still larger share of popularity.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—PRINCE REGENT ATTACKED.

1817.—On the twenty-eighth of January, 1817, parliament was opened by the prince-regent in person, when the chief topics of the speech were, the continued assurances of amity received from foreign powers; the splendid success of the bombardment of Algiers, with the consequent redemption of the practice of Christian slavery; and the successful termination of the campaign in India. The annual estimates had been formed under an anxious desire to make every reduction in the public establishments which the safety of the empire and true policy would allow; but his royal highness regretted to state that there had been a deficiency in the produce of the last year's revenue: he trusted, however, that it was to be ascribed to temporary causes; and he had the consolation to believe that it would be found practicable to provide for the service without making any additions to the burdens of the people.

The riotous spirit which had lately displayed itself again broke out on this occasion; and the prince-regent, on his way to the house, was assailed by tumultuous expressions of disapprobation from an unusually large concourse of people, whose conduct, on the return of the procession, became more violent, the royal carriage being attacked with stones and other missiles in an alarming manner. This outrage was communicated to the house of peers by lord Sidmouth, when the consideration of the usual address in answer to the speech was postponed till the following day, and a conference was held with the house of commons, at which a joint address, congratulating his royal highness on his escape, was agreed upon. A proclamation was issued, offering a reward of one thousand pounds for the apprehension of the offenders, but they were never discovered.

On the ensuing evening earl Grey moved an amendment on the address in answer to the speech, chiefly for the purpose of expressing an opinion that the prince-regent was under a delusion respecting the degree and probable duration of the pressure on the resources of the country, which was declared to be much more extensive in its operations, more severe in its effects, more deep and general in its causes, and more difficult to be moved, than that which had prevailed at the termination of any former war. To this declaration was added a profession of regret that his royal highness should not sooner have been advised to adopt measures of the most rigid economy and retrenchment, particularly with respect to our military establishments; and a resolution that the house should go immediately into a committee on the state of the nation. The amendment was negatived without a division; and a similar one, moved in the commons on the preceding day, was rejected by two hundred and sixty-four against one hundred and twelve. Yet facts are long proved the necessity of making large and general retrenchments and of reducing taxation.

ILLEGAL MEETINGS.

On the third of February a message was communicated to both houses, announcing that the prince-regent had ordered to be laid before parliament papers containing an account of certain meetings and combinations held in different parts of the country, tending to the disturbance of the public

tranquillity, the alienation of the affections of the people from his majesty's person and government, and the overthrow of the whole frame and system of the law and constitution; his royal highness recommended the papers to immediate consideration, and they were referred by each house to a secret committee.

RELINQUISHMENT OF INCOME BY PRINCE REGENT AND MINISTERS.

ANOTHER communication, of a different nature, was made to the house of commons by lord Castle-rough, on the seventh of the same month, previously to his moving for the appointment of a committee of inquiry respecting the income and expenditure of the state. His lordship said that he had it in command from the prince regent to announce, that, sympathising with the sufferings of a generous people, he had determined upon a cession of fifty thousand pounds per annum of that part of his income which related to his personal expenses, during the continuance of the present difficulties. At the same time, his lordship communicated the intention of ministers voluntarily to dispense with one-tenth of their official incomes, while the necessities of the state should require such a concession. Lord Camden, one of the tellers of the exchequer, also relinquished, *pro tempore*, the whole of the enormous profits of that sinecure office, with the exception of two thousand five hundred pounds, the regulated income of the other tellers. This, it was expected, would effect a saving of sixteen or eighteen thousand pounds a year. On the reduced scale, the expenditure for the year was estimated at six million five hundred thousand pounds less than that of the preceding year, and a further saving of upwards of one million pounds was calculated upon for 1818.

The first report of the committee of inquiry into the income and expenditure, relating to the abolition of sinecures, was made on the fifth of May, when Davies Gilbert stated, that, in recommending the suppression of certain offices, it was, at the same time, necessary that his majesty should be enabled to reward meritorious services, by granting pensions according to the duration of service and exertions of public officers. A bill, entitled the Civil Services' Compensation Bill, was accordingly introduced, together with another for abolishing the offices of wardens and justices in Eyre; and they passed through both houses with little opposition.

Notwithstanding the expectation of coercive measures to be adopted by government, a meeting of the populace, headed by Hunt and his friends, under the ostensible motive of petitioning for parliamentary reform, was held in Spa-fields on the tenth of February, and a similar meeting in Palace-yard, Westminster, on the thirteenth, at neither of which any thing remarkable occurred.

COMMITMENTS TO THE TOWER.

THE report of the secret committee of the house of lords was presented on the eighteenth of February, and commenced by stating that the committee found that there was no doubt that treasonable conspiracies had been formed in the metropolis and elsewhere, which had for their object the total overthrow of the laws and government, and the indiscriminate plunder and division of property. That in August last, different meetings had been held in the metropolis, arms were purchased, and other measures of the like kind resorted to. At subsequent consultations it was resolved to call a public meeting in Spa-fields, which was fixed for the fifteenth of November. The conspirators had prepared addresses, and circulated them in the gaols, informing the prisoners they would shortly be liberated, when they would be armed by the provisional government. They were also desired to prepare themselves with tri-coloured cockades, emblematic of the approaching revolution. Plans were also formed for an attack upon the Tower, pikes were manufactured to arm the people, leaders were appointed to conduct the assaults in different districts, and fire-arms were distributed amongst those who were considered most worthy of confidence. While these arrangements were forming, the leaders of the conspiracy were found, night after night, in public houses, working up the minds of the people whom they might meet there, so as to render them ready instruments to execute

any project, however desperate. Exertions were also made to win over the soldiers to their cause. Tri-coloured flags were prepared, together with a banner, on which was inscribed, "The brave soldiers are our friends—treat them kindly;" and it appeared that, down to the second of December, they had the fullest confidence of success. Communications regularly took place between the conspirators in the metropolis, and persons actuated by similar feelings in other parts of the country; and matters were so regulated as that their efforts should be devoted to the same purpose in different quarters at one time; for which end it was agreed that they should all hold meetings on the same day, and thereby effect a general rising at once; and this was to be done under the pretence that they were to petition the prince-regent, the real object being to promote a spirit of insubordination; a contempt of all laws, whether religious or otherwise; an equal division of all property, and a restoration to what was termed natural rights. The next point upon which the report touched was the existence of societies in various parts of the kingdom, under the titles of Hampden clubs, Spencean philanthropists, &c., the intent of which was, under the disguise of constitutional proceedings, to extend the plans of devastation and destruction already described. A reference was then had to the administration of secret oaths, and to the extraordinary measures which were taken by the conspirators to prevent a discovery of their plots—plots which were found to have existence in all the great manufacturing towns throughout the country, Glasgow, Manchester, Birmingham, &c. The last topic alluded to was the publication of inflammatory and seditious work at a cheap rate, the object of which was to root out all feelings of religion and morality, and to excite hatred and contempt for the existing state of things. The committee, in fine, attributed the late attack upon the prince-regent to the effect produced by these publications; and expressed it as their decided opinion, that the civil power, as at present constituted, under all the circumstances stated, was insufficient for the preservation of the public peace. On the following evening a report similar in object and effect, was presented from the committee of the house of commons.

In consequence of the circumstances developed by the secret committees of parliament, four persons, of the names of Watson, Preston, Hooper, and Keene, were apprehended, and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. A reward of five hundred pounds was also offered for the apprehension of a man of the name of Thistlewood; and a further reward of five hundred pounds for the junior Watson. The metropolis, indeed, as well as several other parts of the kingdom, was for some time in a state of great alarm.

The first parliamentary consequence of the reports of the secret committees was a motion by lord Sidmouth, in the upper house, for the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act until the first of July, then next ensuing. A bill to this effect was passed, and ordered to the commons, where it went through its different stages with rapidity; and on the fourth of March received the royal assent. In the lords a protest against the measure was signed by eighteen peers, on the ground that the existing laws were adequate to the danger. Lord Castlereagh gave notice of farther measures for the protection of the country against the machinations of the disaffected. These were, first, the extending of the act of 1795, for the security of his majesty's person, to that of the prince-regent; secondly, the embodying into one act the provisions of the act of 1795, relative to tumultuous meetings and debating societies, and the provisions of the act of the thirty-ninth of the king, which declared the illegality of all societies bound together by secret oaths, and of such as extended themselves by fraternised branches over the kingdom; and, lastly, the making of enactments to punish with the utmost rigour any attempt to gain over soldiers or sailors to act with any association or set of men, or to withdraw them from their allegiance. Numerous petitions against these proposed restrictions on public liberty, particularly against the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, were presented to parliament; and in the respective houses they were opposed, in every stage of

their rapid progress, by such members as usually stood forward to advocate the privileges of the people: they, however, finally received the sanction of the legislature.

EXCHEQUER BILLS—CATHOLIC CLAIMS.

ON the twenty-eighth of April the chancellor of the exchequer, in a committee of the house, proposed that exchequer bills to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand pounds should be issued to commissioners, to be by them applied to the completion of public works in progress, or about to be commenced; to encourage the fisheries, and to employ the poor in the different parishes of Great Britain, on due security being given for repayment of the sums so advanced. He also moved that the lord-lieutenant of Ireland might be empowered to advance, out of the consolidated fund of that kingdom, a sum not exceeding two hundred and fifty thousand pounds for the same purposes, under condition of repayment in a time to be limited. These resolutions were agreed to, and a bill framed upon them was passed.

In the course of this session several unsuccessful attempts were made, by the members of the opposition, to procure the abolition of unnecessary offices, and the reduction of enormous salaries. Grattan's annual motion in favour of the Irish catholics was defeated by a majority of twenty-four; and lord Donoughmore's corresponding motion in the upper house was negatived by one hundred and forty-two votes against ninety.

At the latter end of May the office of speaker of the house of commons was resigned, on the ground of illness, by Abbot, on whom the prince regent immediately conferred the title of Baron Colchester, and the right hon. Charles Manners Sutton was elected to succeed him as speaker.

SIDMOUTH'S CIRCULAR—MESSAGES FROM PRINCE REGENT.

ON the assembling of the peers after the Easter recess, it was ordered, on the motion of earl Grey, that a copy of the circular letter which had then recently been addressed by the secretary of state for the home department to the lords-lieutenant of counties, relative to seditious or blasphemous publications, be laid before the house. In this document lord Sidmouth had stated, that, as it was of the greatest importance to prevent the circulation of blasphemous and seditious pamphlets and writings, he had consulted the law officers of the crown, whether a person found selling or publishing such writings might be brought immediately before a justice of the peace, by warrant, to answer for his conduct; and their opinion was that a justice of the peace might issue his warrant for the apprehension of a person charged before him, on oath, with the publication of such libels, and compel him to give bail to answer the charge. Under these circumstances, his lordship desired to call the attention of the lords-lieutenant particularly to the subject, and requested that they would notify such opinion to the chairman at the quarter-sessions, in order that magistrates might act upon it. Subsequently to the production of this circular, earl Grey introduced the subject to the peers, in a speech replete with legal information, in which he contended against the principle that a justice of the peace might be called upon by any common informer to decide what was or was not a libel, and to commit or hold to bail, upon his sole judgment, the party accused. His lordship further held that such a specific intimation to magistrates, as to the mode in which they were to construe the law, even supposing the law itself to be clear and undisputed, would have been a high offence against the constitution. Earl Grey's motion, which was for the case which had been submitted to the law officers of the crown, on whose opinion lord Sidmouth's circular to the magistrates had been issued, was supported by lords Erskine and Holland, and opposed by lords Ellenborough and Eldon; and, on a division, it was negatived by seventy-five against nineteen. The subject was introduced into the house of commons by Sir Samuel Romilly, and decided in a similar manner.

The country continuing to be in an alarming state, messages from the prince regent were sent down to both houses on the third of June, stating that his royal highness had ordered to be laid be-

fore parliament papers containing information of practices, meetings, and combinations, carried on in different parts of the kingdom, tending to disturb the public peace and tranquillity, and to endanger the constitution of these realms; and recommending to parliament to take the same into its immediate consideration. The papers produced were accordingly referred, as in a former case, to committees of secrecy. The report of the lords' committee, presented on the twelfth of June, stated, in substance, that having taken into their consideration the subject of the papers communicated to them, and fully considered the statements on which the communications were founded, they were of opinion that the spirit of tumult and insurrection which gave rise to the bill now in operation, for suspending the habeas corpus, had by no means subsided; and it was only by the vigilance of the magistrates, aided by the operation of the present bill, and their communications with the government, that the spirit of tumult and rebellion was kept down—that active preparations were still going on with a view to subvert the constitution of this country—and that the revival of the said bill for six months longer was absolutely necessary, to secure the public peace. The report from the committee of the house of commons, presented eight days afterwards, traced the history of several plots, from certain proceedings at Manchester, in the month of March, to others in Derbyshire on the sixth of June, concluding in the following words:—"Confidently as they (the committee) rely on the loyalty and good disposition of his majesty's subjects (even in those parts of the country in which the spirit of disaffection has shown itself in the most formidable shape), they cannot but express their conviction that it is not yet safe to rely entirely for the preservation of the public tranquillity upon the ordinary powers of the law." It was added, in the report, that the evidence laid before the committee had, in a great measure, been derived from the depositions and communications of persons who were more or less implicated in the criminal transactions under consideration, or who had apparently engaged in them with a view of giving information to government; but ministers defended, and most strenuously insisted upon, such an employment of spies as had been alluded to; and a further suspension of the habeas corpus act, till the first of March in the ensuing year, was agreed to.

On the ninth of July, Wilberforce moved for an address to the prince regent, submitting, in the most dutiful but urgent terms, the expression of our continued and unceasing solicitude for the universal and final abolition of the African slave-trade amongst the European powers, which was agreed to without a dissentient voice.

During a discussion on matters of finance, the chancellor of the exchequer contended that, if the income tax had been acted upon, it would have produced a considerable discharge of the national incumbrances; and he could not, therefore, help regretting its repeal. If the encouraging prospect now opening should unhappily fail, he was decidedly of opinion that vigorous measures ought to be resorted to for the improvement of our financial situation. That, amidst our difficulties, the improvement in the funds was considerable; and that the present session of parliament had dispelled for ever the suggestions of a system of innovation and bad faith, which, for a time, united with other circumstances of the country to lower public credit. He trusted that public credit would still further rise, though at that moment the country was not actually paying more than three per cent. interest on the exchequer bills. Doubts had been expressed as to the resumption of cash payments by the bank; but nothing less than an extraordinary political or commercial shock would prevent its taking place in July next. The national prospect was improved by the hope of an abundant harvest; and he thought we might reasonably look to a more extensive and productive commercial intercourse.

The prerogative of parliament, by a speech from the throne, took place on the twelfth of July.

DISTURBANCES AT MANCHESTER—STATE TRIALS.

Tax disturbances at Manchester, alluded to in the last-mentioned report of the secret committee

of the house of commons, appear to have been of a very extraordinary description. At a public meeting held near St. Peter's church, on the third of March, by persons denominating themselves friends of parliamentary reform, notices were issued that the exponents of their doctrines should assemble at the same place on the tenth, and proceed thence to the metropolis, to present a petition to the prince-regent, that they might be enabled to undeceive him! Accordingly, on the appointed day, crowds of people flocked into Manchester, from all directions, as early as eight o'clock in the morning; and the investigators, from their temporary stage in a cart, harangued the multitude, till their vastly increasing numbers suggested the expediency of putting in force the civil and military powers. A party of dragoons, accompanied by the magistrates of the district, then appeared amongst them, surrounded the erection, and immediately conveyed the entire group upon it to the New Bailey prison. The concourse of auditors were forthwith dispersed without the infliction of any severity. Johnson and Ogden, two of the leaders upon former occasions, had been arrested on the previous morning, and were secured in the New Bailey. Others were seized by the soldiers on their way to deliver their charge in Salford. A considerable number of people set out on their mission to London, taking the rout of Stockport; but above forty of them were reconducted to Manchester, and others were secured in Stockport. Most of them were provided with knapsacks, &c. containing blankets and other articles. At one period there was an assemblage of at least thirty thousand people at the meeting; not more, however, than five hundred penetrated so far as Macclesfield, where a troop of the yeomanry had remained to provide against such a contingency; and no more than twenty persons proceeded into Staffordshire. Nothing could be more wretched and pitiable than the appearance of the few who reached Macclesfield; some actually fainting through weariness, and all of them without baggage, or any apparent resource with which to proceed twenty miles further towards London. Thus ended what has since been known under the quaint appellation of the Blanketing Expedition.

In the month of June the senior Watson was, with Thistlewood and some others, put upon his trial, on a charge of high treason, in the court of King's Bench; but, chiefly from the discredit thrown on the testimony of the principal witness, named Castles, an accomplice or spy, and a man of bad character, the jury returned a verdict of not guilty. In the course of the summer the turbulent disposition of the manufacturing classes exhibited itself in several of the northern and midland counties, particularly in those of Derby, Nottingham, York, and Lancaster, by many atrocious acts of tumult and outrage; and it was found expedient to appoint a special commission to sit at Derby, for the trial of the offenders. The first four prisoners who were tried were found guilty; nineteen of the others were then allowed to plead guilty, on an understanding that mercy would be extended to them; and twelve were acquitted, the attorney-general having declined to call evidence against them. Sentences of death were formally pronounced upon twenty-three of these deluded men; of whom three—Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner—suffered the full penalty of the law. To the machinations of a government spy, named Oliver, many of them ascribed the criminal acts into which they had been led; and the employment of such men was very generally condemned, their interest leading them to foment the plots they undertake to reveal.

DEATH OF PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.

The latter part of the year 1817 was marked by an event that filled the nation with mourning. The princess Charlotte of Wales, whose nuptials had, in the preceding year, afforded so much satisfaction to the country, was in a situation likely to afford an eventual heir to the British throne. Seldom, perhaps, had the hopes and wishes of a whole people been so deeply interested on a similar occasion. At nine o'clock, however, on the night of the fifth of November, her royal highness was delivered of a still-born male child; and at half past two on the morning of the sixth she expired, to the inexpressible grief of the royal family; and throughout

the country the indications of sorrow were unusually general and sincere.

Her royal highness was about the middle size, inclining rather to the *em-bon-point*, but not so much as to impair the symmetry of her form. Although possessing a lofty spirit, she had nothing of high or fashionable life about her, and preferred the retirement of Claremont to the splendour of a court. She was of religious habits; an affectionate child; and, as a wife, a model for her sex.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

FRANCE was this year relieved from one-fifth of the army of occupation, the amount of the diminution being thirty thousand men, although she was by no means in a tranquil state. Notwithstanding the restraint imposed upon her by a foreign force, it had been found necessary to suspend the law for securing personal liberty, and to revive, for a time, the jurisdiction of prevotal courts, for the sake of summary procedure against persons guilty of seditious practices. In Germany and the other states of Europe, as well as in France, little progress was made in the establishment of free institutions, and in the emancipation of the press from that thralldom in which it had so long been held. In Prussia a strict censorship was exercised over all political publications; and the Rhenish Mercury, a Journal which had obtained extensive circulation, was even suppressed. The king of Wirtemberg, after declaring that he considered a representative constitution as necessary to the happiness of his people and of himself, dissolved the assembly of his states on their refusing to confirm one proposed by himself, and took the administration of the finances into his own hands. In Austria the pecuniary embarrassments of the government were very great, and in Spain the finances were also in a distressed condition, which the want of cordiality between the governors and the governed was little calculated to relieve. In Valencia the people raised the cry of "The Constitution!" and were with difficulty reduced to submission, whilst at Barcelona a formidable conspiracy was detected. The fanatical Ferdinand, in the mean time, signalled his most catholic zeal by prohibiting all books which impugned the authority of the pope, and the holy tribunal of the inquisition. In South America the contest was protracted with various success; but the thread by which the authority of Spain was held became evidently more slender. In Brazil the court evinced little disposition to return to Europe; and, Portugal being thus degraded into the rank of a tributary state, a plan for the establishment of an independent government was secretly agitated, but was discovered in time to defeat its object, and the principal promoters of the measure, general de Andrada and baron Eben, with many of their adherents, were arrested. In the United States Monroe succeeded Madison as president, and the country rapidly recovered from the temporary pressure which the recent war with Great Britain had occasioned.

PARLIAMENT.

1818.—PARLIAMENT was opened by commission on the twenty-seventh of January, 1818, and the royal speech was calculated to allay the apprehensions of tumult and conspiracy which had been long entertained, and to inspire confidence in the resources of the country. Its principal topics were—the continued indisposition of his majesty; the lamented death of the princess Charlotte; an intimation that the prince-regent had not been unmindful of the effect which that sad event must have had on the interests and future prospects of the kingdom (alluding to negotiations then pending for the marriage of some of his younger brothers); an assurance of the continued friendly disposition of foreign powers; the improved state of industry and public credit; the restored tranquillity of the country; the treaties with Spain and Portugal on the abolition of the slave-trade; a recommendation for increasing the number of places of public worship, &c. An address, with very little discussion, was agreed to in each house: in the commons, however, Sir Samuel Romilly, in opposing it, severely reprobated the conduct of ministers under the suspension of the habeas corpus act, remarking that, in the case of Brandreth, the chief of the Derby insurgents, they had not availed themselves of the powers given them by that measure to prevent the mischief which had been threatened, by apprehend-

ing and putting him in confinement, but had allowed him to go on to the perpetration of the capital crime, for which his life was ultimately exacted as the forfeit. Lord Castlereagh, in defending the conduct of ministers, observed, that the doctrine which had been held respecting the trials at Derby, and the assertion that Oliver, the spy, was intimately connected with those transactions, were pregnant with evil, and did not rest on any foundation.

In the upper house a motion for the immediate repeal of the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, called forth some strong remarks from lord Holland, respecting the partial and suspicious nature of the evidence on which that important right had been suspended, and the pernicious precedent thus established in a time of profound peace, when nothing had appeared in the state of the country to justify such a proceeding.

On the fourth of February lord Castlereagh, by command of the prince regent, brought down to the house of commons a bag of papers respecting the internal state of the country, for the examination of which his lordship proposed that a select committee should be appointed. As this was understood to be a step preliminary to a general bill of indemnity for all acts performed under the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, by which the persons then imprisoned and since liberated without trial, would be deprived of all legal remedy for such imprisonment, however unmerited, the appointment of a secret or select committee was strenuously resisted by the members of opposition, who contended that a very different sort of inquiry was called for by the conduct of ministers. The green bag and its contents formed the subject of much keen sarcasm: the appointment of a select committee was, however, agreed to, and a similar committee was also appointed in the upper house. At this period, and for some time afterwards, numerous petitions were presented to parliament by persons who had been imprisoned under the late suspension of the *habeas corpus* law, praying for redress, and that no act of indemnity might be passed in favour of ministers. On the twenty-third of February, however, the report of the secret committee of the house of lords was presented: it related chiefly to the recent disturbances in the counties of Nottingham and Derby, and in the west riding of Yorkshire. The progress of insurrection had been considerably checked, by the arrests and trials which had taken place; while an increase of employment had rendered the laboring classes less disposed to embrace the desperate measures of the disaffected. Some of the conspirators were still active, especially in London, and appeared determined to persevere, though with decreasing numbers and resources: the committee therefore represented that vigilance would be necessary: the report proceeded to state that forty-four persons appeared to have been arrested, under warrants of the secretary of state, who had not been brought to trial; but that these arrests were fully justified by circumstances, and that no warrant of detention appeared to have been issued, except in consequence of information on oath. The persons detained and not prosecuted had been at different times discharged; and the committee added their conviction that the government had exercised the powers vested in them with due discretion and moderation.

On the twenty-fifth a bill of indemnity, founded on this report, was brought in by the duke of Montrose; and, on the motion for its second reading, the marquis of Lansdowne proposed as an amendment, that it should be postponed for a fortnight, to give time for all the petitions from persons recently imprisoned under the suspension act to be brought up. This amendment was lost, and the bill was carried. When introduced to the house of commons, by the attorney-general, Sir Samuel Romilly justly observed, that it was improperly called a bill of indemnity: the object of indemnity was only to protect individuals against public prosecution, without interfering with the rights of private men; but the object of this was to annihilate such rights—to take away all legal remedies from those who had suffered an illegal and arbitrary exercise of authority; and to punish those who presumed to have recourse to such remedies, by subjecting them to the payment of double costs. The bill passed and received the royal assent.

At an early period of the session Grenfell inquired of the chancellor of the exchequer whether any

occurrence was likely to prevent the resumption of cash payments by the bank on the fifth of July. He also observed that the public stood in the situation of debtor to the bank for the sum of three millions, advanced without interest, and for six millions, at an interest of four per cent.; and, as the bank had secured the undisturbed possession of a balance of the public money deposited in their hands, which for the last twelve years had amounted, on an average, to eleven millions, until the repayment of these sums, he desired to know whether any arrangement was in progress for discharging them, or for placing them on a better footing. The chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the bank had made ample preparation for resuming its payments in cash at the time fixed by parliament; but that pecuniary arrangements with foreign powers were going on, which might probably require a continuance of the restriction. As to the loan of six millions, he should, ere long, submit a proposition for its payment; but, with respect to the three millions without interest, he thought the house would not be reconciled to any proposition for depriving the public of so important an accommodation. On a subsequent occasion, the chancellor of the exchequer, in submitting certain propositions to a committee of the house, observed, that, in January 1817, the bank had given notice that they were ready to pay in specie outstanding notes of a particular description, by which cash might then have been demanded to the amount of about one million sterling; but a very inconsiderable sum was called for. At that time gold bullion was reduced to three pounds eighteen shillings and sixpence, and silver to four shillings and tenpence the ounce. In October following the bank gave notice that they would be ready to pay in cash all notes dated prior to the first of January, 1817; but the result was greatly different from that of the former experiment, upwards of two millions and a half having been issued under this last notice, of which hardly any part remained in circulation. The difference in these results arose from the large remittances to foreign countries, in consequence of the importations of corn rendered necessary by the scarcity, the migration of Englishmen to the continent, and the negotiation of a large French loan in this country. It was now, therefore, advisable for the bank to resume cash payments; and the restriction was accordingly continued until the fifth of July, 1818.

The treaty with Spain respecting the African slave-trade, by which, in consideration of a subsidy of four hundred thousand pounds, she consented to the abolition of that inhuman traffic on all the coasts to the north of the line, (retaining for herself, however, a right of continuing it indefinitely to the south of that limit,) received the sanction of parliament. According to its regulations, no detention under the stipulated right of search was to take place, except in the case of slaves being found actually on board. It was necessary that each nation should have an equal right of discovering the illicit practices which had been carried on by the other; and, unhappily, the guilt in the present instance was chargeable on certain British subjects, as well as on those of Spain.

On the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer the sum of one million pounds was granted, to be raised by exchequer bills, for the purpose of supplying the deficiency of places of worship belonging to the establishment, by building new churches and chapels of ease where the increase of inhabitants rendered such accommodation necessary. A considerable sum was also raised by subscription in furtherance of this laudable object.

ROYAL MARRIAGES.

On the thirteenth of April a message from the prince regent to both houses announced the approaching marriages of the duke of Clarence to the princess of Saxe-Meiningen, and of the duke of Cambridge to the princess of Hesse, and expressed his confidence that a proper provision would be made by parliament on the occasion. From the discussion which ensued in the commons, it appeared that a plan had been submitted by ministers to their parliamentary friends, at a meeting held for that purpose, but that the proposition had met a very cold reception; and several gentlemen who had been at the meeting now declared that they could not accede to its terms. Brougham proposed an amendment to the address, which amendment

was sustained by what was termed the alarming minority of ninety-three against one hundred and forty-four. The address, of course, was carried, and the message was ordered to be taken into consideration on the following evening. On the following evening, however, contrary to all precedent on such occasions, the proceedings were postponed till Wednesday! In a very warm conversation which took place on the subject, Tierney stated it to be the intention of ministers to propose an annual addition of nineteen thousand pounds or twenty thousand pounds to the income of the duke of Clarence, and of twelve thousand pounds respectively to the dukes of Kent, Cumberland, and Cambridge, with an outfit to each to the amount of the additional income. On Wednesday, the fifteenth, lord Castlereagh, admitting Tierney's statement to have been substantially correct, informed the house that the intended proposition had been modified; but that nothing less, in addition to the duke of Clarence's income than ten thousand pounds could possibly enable him to support the dignity of his rank in the married state. His lordship moved a resolution accordingly. An amendment, however, making the additional sum six thousand pounds instead of ten thousand pounds was carried against the ministers! On the Tuesday evening following, having announced that the duke of Clarence could not accept of the six thousand pounds, lord Castlereagh moved a resolution for a similar grant to the duke of Cambridge. This motion was strongly opposed by Brougham, but ultimately carried.

A few days previously to these discussions the princess Elizabeth had been united to the prince of Hesse Homburg; but, as she was in the enjoyment of nine thousand pounds a year settled on her by the state, no proposal was made for a marriage dowry. For a time the duke of Clarence, in consequence of the pecuniary disappointment to which he had been subjected, relinquished, or professed to have relinquished, his intended marriage. At a subsequent period, however, the union took place. In the ensuing month an announcement of the intended marriage of the duke of Kent with the dowager princess of Leiningen, sister of prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, produced a grant to the royal pair to the same amount as in the cases of the dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge.

The supplies of this year were estimated at the sum of twenty million nine hundred and fifty-two thousand four hundred pounds; to meet which, in addition to the produce of ways and means, a three and a half per cent. stock was created to the amount of fourteen million pounds. By this expedient no new taxes were levied, nor were any additions made to the old ones.

The alien act was continued for two years, on the ground that it was necessary to keep out, as well as to send out, of Great Britain, those persons who should avail themselves of the vicinity of France, to foster a spirit menacing to the security of this and the other governments of Europe. On the motion of the lord-chancellor, a clause was introduced, by which all persons who might have been naturalized since the twenty-eighth of April by the purchase of shares in the bank of Scotland, or who might claim to be naturalized by becoming partners in that bank, after the passing of this act, should be deemed and taken to be aliens, notwithstanding any existing act of the parliament of Scotland, so long as the provisions of this law respecting aliens should remain in force.

EDUCATION OF THE POOR.

A COMMITTEE was formed in the house of commons early in the year, to consider of a bill, proposed by Brougham, respecting the education of the poor; and an inquiry was instituted into the state and management of charitable funds. For this inquiry fourteen commissioners were to be appointed by the crown, six of whom were to have no salaries. The bill, in its passage through the house of lords, underwent various changes. The commissioners were limited to those charities connected with education; they were precluded, by circumstances over which they could not have control, from investigating the state of the education of the poor generally; they were directed to traverse the country, and to call witnesses before them, but were to possess no authority for enforcing attendance, or for demanding the production of any one document. Brougham observed that the bill, as it

now stood, left every thing to the good will of those who had an interest at variance with the inquiry, yet much good might still result from the exercise of the powers possessed by the house. The means to be used were, that the commissioners should proceed and call witnesses; that they should report occasionally to the house, and make returns of the names of all persons refusing to give information, or to produce documents, without alleging any just cause of refusal; and the committee, which would be re-appointed next session, might be empowered to call those persons before them. Brougham then proposed an address to the prince regent, praying for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the state of education of the poor throughout England and Wales, and to report thereupon. On this address the previous question was moved and carried; and the same date attended another proposal, that the commissioners should inquire into the abuses of charities not connected with education.

Parliament was dissolved by the prince regent in person, on the tenth of June. Having stated his intention to give directions for calling a new parliament, his royal highness thus proceeded:—"I cannot refrain from adverting to the important change which has occurred in the situation of this country and of all Europe, since I first met you in this place. At that period, the dominion of the common enemy had been so widely extended over the continent, that resistance to his power was, by many, deemed to be hopeless; and in the extremities of Europe alone was such resistance effectually maintained. By the unexampled exertions which you enabled me to make, in aid of countries nobly contending for independence, and by the spirit which was kindled in so many nations, the continent was at length delivered from the most galling and oppressive tyranny under which it had ever laboured; and I had the happiness, by the blessing of Divine Providence, to terminate, in conjunction with his majesty's allies, the most eventful and sanguinary contest in which Europe had for centuries been engaged, with unparalleled success and glory. The prosecution of such a contest for so many years, and more particularly the efforts which marked the close of it, have been followed within our own country, as well as throughout the rest of Europe, by considerable internal difficulties and distress. But, deeply as I felt for the immediate pressure upon his majesty's people, nevertheless I looked forward without dismay, having always the fullest confidence in the solidity of the resources of the British empire, and in the relief which might be expected from a continuance of peace, and from the patience, public spirit, and energy of the nation. These expectations have not been disappointed. The improvement in the internal circumstances of the country is happily manifest, and promises to be steadily progressive; and I feel a perfect assurance that the continued loyalty and exertions of all classes of his majesty's subjects will confirm these growing indications of national prosperity, by promoting obedience to the laws, and attachment to the constitution, from which all our blessings have been derived."

ALLIED ARMY WITHDRAWN FROM FRANCE —DISTURBANCES AT MANCHESTER, &c.

ON the fourth of November a notification was addressed to the duke of Richelieu, the prime minister of France, by the plenipotentiaries of the courts of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle, stating that their august masters, being called upon by the twentieth article of the treaty of Paris to examine, in concert with the king of France, whether the military occupation of a part of the French territory, stipulated by that treaty, ought to cease at the termination of the third year, or be prolonged to that of the fifth, had recognised, with satisfaction, that the order of things established by the restoration of the legitimate and constitutional monarchy of that country gave assurance of the consolidation of that state of tranquillity in France necessary for the repose of Europe; and that, in consequence, they had commanded the immediate discontinuance of such military occupation:—a measure which they regarded as the completion of the general peace. This information was received with delight by the French people; and, although some slight ebullitions of seditions feeling have since occasionally presented

themselves, the event has happily proved that the presence of foreign troops was no longer necessary.

Throughout the summer the cotton-spinners, and other labouring classes of manufacturers at Manchester, and in the neighbouring parts of the country, remained in a state of organized opposition to their masters on the subject of wages. From this cause several partial disturbances arose; one in particular at Burnley, and another at Stockport. Fortunately, through the prompt exertions of the Manchester yeomanry, these irruptions were put down, without bloodshed or actual violence. It is too probable, however, that much hostility and bitterness of feeling were thus mutually excited between the lower classes and the yeomanry, the effects of which burst forth with calamitous fury at a subsequent period.

DEATH OF QUEEN CHARLOTTE.

In consequence of the queen's declining health, two amendments had been made in the regency bill during the last session of parliament; the first empowering her majesty to add six new members, resident at Windsor, to her council, in the event of her absence from that residence; and the second repealing the clause which rendered necessary the immediate assembling of a new parliament in the event of the queen's death. These amendments were very opportunely made; as, after a lingering illness of six months, which was sustained with great fortitude and resignation, her majesty expired at Kew palace, on the seventeenth of November, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. She had been blest by nature with a sound and vigorous frame, having, until within two years of her decease, enjoyed an almost uninterrupted state of health. Her remains were interred at Windsor on the second of December.

Queen Charlotte possessed a strong and sound judgment, and used her influence with great discretion. Though she could boast no claim to beauty, she was not deficient in those accomplishments which add grace and dignity to an exalted station. As a wife and a mother she was a pattern to her sex, performing all the tender and maternal offices of a nurse to her royal offspring, fifteen in number—an example but too seldom followed. During the long period in which her majesty may be said to have presided over the English court, it was remarkable for the steady countenance uniformly extended to virtue, and as uniformly withdrawn from its opposite. Married at an early period of

life, it required a more than ordinary effort of intellect to resist the false glare which surrounded her; yet at a time when there was hardly a court in Europe that was not marked by its licentiousness, she protected hers from the contaminating influence of splendid vice. The vices of the French court led to the revolution which deluged that country with blood; and the same cause occasioned, in a gross measure, the horrors with which Spain and Naples were subsequently visited. During that time England presented on the throne the example of those virtues that form the great and binding links of the social chain; and this example was the more salutary, as our sudden and rapid prosperity was calculated to produce the greatest moral relaxation. In public her majesty never tolerated any person in her presence, however high their rank, who had been guilty of any gross breach of those laws which refinement has introduced among men, for the preservation of society.

In her attendance on divine worship her majesty was very regular and exemplary. She was popular when lord Bute's administration had rendered the king very much the reverse, and was considered with general regard as a domestic woman: so much so, that colonel Barré, then a violent opposition speaker, delivered a splendid eulogium on her "mild, tender, and unassuming virtues." When the king first betrayed symptoms of insanity, the ministry, in appointing a regency, proposed restrictions on the regent, which raised a strong spirit of opposition. At this critical and delicate juncture, her majesty's affections were divided between her consort and her son; but, with this exception, we do not know of any intermixture on her part with the politics of the day. Even Junius, who attacked the court with so much rancour, and who was not likely to have spared any branch of the royal family, is wholly silent as to her majesty, except where he severely rebukes the duke of Grafton, the prime minister at that time, for having led his mistress through the Opera-house, in the presence of the queen. This rebuke is an additional proof of the high sense which that popular writer entertained of the purity of her majesty's character, and of the decorum which ought to have been observed in her presence. It has been said that she was penurious, if not avaricious: to her pecuniary affairs she was certainly very attentive, and it is not a little creditable to her that she was scrupulously so to the payment of her own tradesmen; but there are also many proofs of her disposition to assist distress, and to patronize merit.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Parliament convoked—Royal Speech—Criminal Code—Measures for return to Cash Payments—National Income and Expenditure—State of the Nation—Catholic Question—Foreign Enlistment Bill, and other Proceedings—Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope—Radical Reformers—Popular Meetings—Arrests for Sedition—Violent Dispersion of a Meeting at Manchester—Hunt and his Associates found Guilty—Earl Fitzwilliam dismissed from Lord-lieutenancy of the West Riding—Address of Corporation of London—Meeting of Parliament—Documents on State of the Country—Bill to Prevent Travelling of Informations or Indictments—Other restraining Bills—Cession of Parga—Restoration of Java—Change in the King's Health—Death of the Duke of Kent—Death of George the Third—Concluding Remarks.

PARLIAMENT CONVOKED—ROYAL SPEECH.

1819. **T**HE new parliament met on the 14th of January, 1819, when, in the upper house, chief baron Richards took his seat on the woolsack, *pro tempore*, in consequence of the lord-chancellor's indisposition. In the house of commons Mr. Manners Sutton was unanimously re-elected speaker. Of the royal speech the main topics were, the king's health—the demise of the queen—the evacuation of France by the allied troops—the probability of a durable peace—the favourable state of the revenue—the approved aspect of trade, manufactures, and commerce—the favourable result of the war in India—and the conclusion of a treaty with the United States of America, for extending, to a further term of years, the existing commercial convention. In both houses the usual addresses were agreed to without a division.

The death of the queen having rendered necessary the appointment of a new guardian of the king's person, the earl of Liverpool, on the twenty-fifth of January, introduced a motion for the purpose of nominating the duke of York to that office; and, after some discussion as to the patronage to be enjoyed by his royal highness, the bill was passed. Several debates subsequently took place respecting the royal establishment at Windsor; and on a motion for granting ten thousand pounds a year to the duke of York, as *custos* of the royal person, from the public instead of from the privy purse, which was carried by a small majority. The subject also excited much freedom of remark, both in and out of parliament.

CRIMINAL CODE.

THE state of the criminal code, a topic deeply interesting to the best friends of humanity, occupied the attention of parliament at an early part of the session. The astonishing variety and appalling multitude of offences, more than two hundred in number, against which capital punishment was denounced by the statute-book, had long been reprobated by philanthropists, both foreign and native, as a national disgrace, and stigmatised, by philosophical lawyers, as a fruitful source of mischief. It was the certainty, they remarked, rather than the severity of punishment, which tended to deter offenders; and those penalties which the general feeling of society condemned as incommensurate with offences were the most uncertain of being carried into effect. Principles such as these had repeatedly been brought before the house of commons by Sir Samuel Romilly, who had proposed several bills founded upon them, one of which had passed into a law; but the death of that distinguished and estimable individual, had thrown the cause into other hands. A petition from the corporation of London, complaining of the increase of crime, and pointing out the commutation of capital punishment, was referred to a committee for the examination of the discipline and police of the different prisons throughout the country, the appoint-

ment of which was moved by lord Castlereagh on the first of March. It was the opinion, however, of those who were well informed, and who felt deeply interested in the business, that, for the due consideration of so extensive and important a subject as the penal code, a distinct committee should be appointed; and to that effect Sir James Mackintosh made a motion on the following day. After adding a variety of observations and facts, illustrating the system of subterfuge which the dreadful severity of the law in many cases had produced amongst prosecutors, witnesses, and jurors, and the consequent impunity and increase of crime, he observed that it was by no means his wish or intention to form a new criminal code: to abolish a system, admirable in its principles, interwoven with the habits of the people, and under which they had long and happily lived, was indeed very remote from his ideas of legislation. He did not even propose to abolish capital punishment: on the contrary, he held it to be a part of that right of self-defence with which societies were endowed: he considered it, like all other punishments, as an evil, when unnecessary; but capable, like them, of producing, when sparingly and judiciously indicted, a preponderance of good. He aimed not at the establishment of any universal principle: his sole object was, that the execution of the law should constitute the majority, and the remission the minority, of cases. Sir James subsequently divided capital felonies into three classes: those on which the punishment of death was *always*, those on which it was *frequently*, and those on which it was *never*, put in force. He proposed to leave, for the present, the first and second divisions untouched: the third, consisting of no fewer than one hundred and fifty different crimes, ought, he conceived, to be entirely expunged from the list, as so many relics of barbarous times, disgraceful to the character of a free, a thinking, and an enlightened nation. Lord Castlereagh complimented the candid and moderate spirit in which Sir James Mackintosh had brought forward his motion; notwithstanding which, he persisted in opposing, as unnecessary, the appointment of a separate committee. Other members, however, warmly supported the proposal, which was ultimately carried by one hundred and forty-seven voices against one hundred and twenty-eight; and, before the close of the session, Sir James had the satisfaction of reporting progress as chairman.

CASH PAYMENTS.

A MOTION by Tierney, on the second of February, for a committee to inquire into the effects of the restriction on cash payments by the bank, was met by an amendment proposed by the chancellor of the exchequer, directing an investigation into the state of the bank of England with reference to the expediency of the resumption of cash payments at the fixed period; such information to be reported by the committee as might be disclosed without injury to the public interests.

The first report was brought up by Peel on the fifth of April: it represented that the bank, having been induced to pay in specie all notes issued prior to 1817, had been drained of cash to the amount of upwards of five million pounds, most of which had found its way to the continent, and been there recoined into foreign money; and that, to prevent a continuance of this drain, and to enable the bank to accumulate a greater quantity of bullion, with a view to the final resumption of cash payments, it was expedient to restrain the further payment of the notes alluded to in specie. A bill was accordingly brought in, and, the standing orders of the house having been suspended, was passed through all its stages the same evening. In the course of the discussion Manning, a bank director, attributed the drain upon the bank, and the passage of our specie to the continent, to the French loan, and a deficient harvest, corn having been imported into this country to the amount of ten million pounds. In this upper house, lord Harrowby moved the suspension of the standing orders, that the bill might be passed through all its stages at one sitting, which earl Grey and others opposed at considerable length, contending that, if necessary, it would have been better for ministers to issue an order of council for suspending the bank payments on their own responsibility: on the following day, however, the bill was read three times, and passed. A similar measure was also carried for the protection of the bank of Ireland. The second report was presented on the fifth of May, when two bills were passed, founded on a plan, recommended by the committee, for the gradual return to cash payments, and of which the principal provisions were, that a definite period should be fixed for the termination of the restriction, and that preparatory measures should be taken, with a view to facilitate and insure, on the arrival of that period, the payment of the promissory notes of the bank of England in the legal coin of the realm; that provision ought to be made for the gradual repayment of the sum of ten million pounds, being part of the sum due to the bank on account of advances for the public service; that, from the first of February, 1820, the bank shall be liable to deliver on demand, gold of standard fineness, having been assayed and stamped at the mint, a quantity of not less than sixty ounces being required, in exchange for notes at the rate of four pounds one shilling per ounce; that, from the first of October 1820, the bank shall be liable to deliver gold at the rate of three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence per ounce, and from the first of May 1821, three pounds seventeen shillings and tenpence halfpenny; that the bank may, at any period between the first of February and the first of October, 1820, undertake to deliver gold, as before mentioned, at any rate between the sums of four pounds one shilling, and three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence per ounce; and, at any period between the first of October 1820, and the first of May 1821, at any rate between the sums of three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence, and three pounds seventeen shillings and tenpence halfpenny per ounce; but that, such intermediate rate having been once fixed, that rate shall not be subsequently increased; that, from the first of May 1821, the bank shall pay its notes, on demand, in the legal coin of the realm; and that it is expedient to repeal the laws prohibiting the melting and the exportation of the coin.

NATIONAL INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

ANOTHER select committee was appointed, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, to inquire into the income and expenditure of the country, from which he anticipated a most favourable result. The receipts for the year ending the fifth of January 1818, were fifty-one million six hundred and sixty-five thousand four hundred and sixty-eight pounds; while those for the following year were fifty-four million sixty-two thousand pounds, showing an increase upon the latter of two million three hundred and ninety-seven thousand pounds: but there were certain arrears of war duties on malt and property, which reduced the income of 1818 to forty-nine million three hundred and thirty-four thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds, while the arrears to January, 1819, amounted only to five hundred and sixty-six thousand six hundred and thirty-nine pounds. The expenditure was also less

by about six hundred and fifty thousand pounds than was expected; and the result was, his lordship said, a total surplus of three million five hundred and fifty eight thousand pounds, applicable to the reduction of the national debt. Allowing one million for the interest on the loan, there remained two millions and a half of surplus revenue. Thierney observed that an old debt upon the sinking fund of eight million three hundred thousand pounds, which must be liquidated before one farthing of the surplus in question could be made available for the expenses of the current year, had been altogether thrown out of view. The various taxes, taken together, exceeded seven millions; but this was the extreme of the amount applicable to the army, the navy, the ordnance, and miscellaneous services: how, then, could it be possible, he asked, that with an income of only seven millions, and an expenditure of twenty millions, both ends should be made to meet, and a surplus be left? and would it not be a gross delusion to speak of the sinking fund applicable to the public service, while governments were obliged to borrow thirteen millions a year to support it? The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that this statement included certain particulars which could not be admitted in making a fair comparison. By taking the whole charge of the consolidated fund and the sinking fund, it had been shown that our expenditure considerably exceeded our receipts. This must necessarily be the case, since so great a part of the war taxes had been abolished. Parliament had thought fit to relieve the country from fifteen millions of taxes, and thus they unavoidably prevented the effect which would have been produced in the redemption of the debt by these fifteen millions annually. With respect to any plans of finance for the present year, he should reserve to himself the power of adopting that which the situation of public affairs rendered most expedient.

On the third of June the chancellor of the exchequer submitted a series of financial resolutions, which stated that, by the removal of certain taxes, the revenue of Great Britain was reduced by eighteen million pounds; that the interest and charge of the funded and unfunded debt of Ireland exceeded the whole revenue of that country by one million eight hundred thousand pounds; that it was necessary to provide, by a loan or other means, for the service of the present year, the sum of thirteen million pounds, which, deducted from the sinking fund of fifteen million pounds, reduced it to only two million pounds; and that, for the purpose of raising this sinking fund to five million pounds, it was absolutely necessary to impose new taxes to the amount of three million pounds annually. This sum parliament ultimately agreed to raise by a considerable duty on foreign wool, and by smaller duties on various other articles, such as tobacco, tea, coffee, and cocoa-nuts. Two loans of twelve million pounds each were also made; one of them supplied by the money market, the other derived from the sinking fund. Out of these sums there was to be a surplus, of which five million pounds were to go towards the repayment to the bank recommended by parliament previously to the resumption of cash payments, and five million five hundred and ninety-seven thousand pounds to the reduction of the unfunded debt. "In adopting this course," observed the speaker, in his address to the prince regent, at the close of the session, "his majesty's faithful commons did not conceal from themselves that they were calling upon the nation for a great exertion; but, well knowing that honour, and character, and independence, have at all times been the first and dearest objects of the hearts of Englishmen, we felt assured that there was no difficulty that the country would not encounter, and no pressure to which she would not cheerfully submit, to enable her to maintain, pure and unimpaired, that which has never yet been shaken or sullied,—her public credit and her national good faith.

CATHOLIC QUESTION.

Numerous petitions having been presented to parliament, both for and against the catholic claims, this great question of internal policy was again brought before the house of commons by Graham on the third of May. The causes of dissension, he observed, were of three kinds: 1. the combination of the catholics, 2. the danger of a Pro-

teacher, 2. the power of the pope. He insisted that not only all these causes had ceased, but that the consequences annexed to them were no more; and concluded by moving for a committee of the whole house, to consider the state of the laws by which oaths or declarations are required to be taken or made as qualifications for the enjoyment of offices and the exercise of civil functions, so far as the same affect Roman catholics; and whether it would be expedient to alter or modify the same. The motion was lost, on a division, by a majority of only two, the numbers being two hundred and forty-three against two hundred and forty-one. On the seventeenth a corresponding motion was submitted to the peers by the earl of Donoughmore, who contended that the position of the catholic question had been greatly changed. All anti-christian principles and uncharitable surmises were disallowed by its opponents; and the great objection was limited to an arguable supremacy, which was supposed inherent in a foreign state. If he were allowed to go into the committee, he would, after getting rid of the declaration, next dispose of the oath of supremacy, when there would remain no vestige of such tests, except the oath of abjuration, now of no practical use, as it aimed at a non-existent family. The bishop of Worcester opposed the motion, on the ground of danger to the church and state. That danger, it was argued by the bishop of Norwich, did not exist; and we ought to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us. The bishop of Peterborough said that, if the present question were one merely of religion, it should have his support; but it was evident the grand object of the catholics was political power. The earl of Liverpool argued that the concession would not operate to allay animosities in Ireland, and that the interests of the great mass of the people would not be affected by it in the smallest degree. The lord-chancellor also strenuously opposed the motion, chiefly for the old refuted reason that the catholics could give no security, *by oath*, which could reconcile the king's supremacy, in things temporal, with the pope's supremacy, in things ecclesiastical. On a division, the motion was negatived by one hundred and forty-seven against one hundred and six. Another effort in behalf of the catholics was made in the upper house by earl Grey, who introduced a bill "for abrogating so much of the acts of the twenty-fifth and thirtieth of Charles the Second as prescribes to all officers, civil and military, and to members of both houses of parliament, a declaration against the doctrines of transubstantiation and the invocation of saints." The bill was allowed to proceed to the motion for its second reading, when it was thrown out by one hundred and forty-one against eighty-two.

FOREIGN ENLISTMENT BILL.

A BILL was brought in by the attorney-general on the thirteenth of May, for prohibiting the enlistment of British subjects into foreign service, and the equipment of vessels of war without license. The first of these objects, he observed, had been in some measure provided for by the statutes of George the Second, by which it was an offence amounting to felony to enter the service of any foreign state: if neutrality were to be observed, however, it was important that the penalty should be extended to the act of serving unacknowledged powers as well as acknowledged ones; and part of his intention, therefore, was to amend those statutes, by introducing, after the words "king, prince, state, potentate," the words, "colony or district, who do assume the powers of a government." Sir James Macintosh warned the house, that, in whatever manner the motion might be worded, and its real object concealed, the bill ought to be entitled—"A bill for preventing British subjects from lending their assistance to the South American cause, or enlisting in the South American service." He stated that the statutes of George the Second, adduced as authority on this occasion, were intended merely for the temporary purpose of preventing the formation of Jacobite armies organised in France and Spain, against the peace and tranquillity of England; and he concluded by reproaching a measure which was virtually an enactment to repress the liberty of the South Americans, and to enable Spain to reimpose that yoke of tyranny which they were unable to bear, which they had nobly shaken off, and from which he trusted in God

they would finally, and for ever, be enabled to extricate themselves. Lord Castlereagh contended that the proposed bill was necessary in order to prevent our giving offence to Spain, whom that house was too just and too generous to oppress, because she was weak, and her fortunes had declined. Was not, he inquired, the proclamation which had been issued about eighteen months before approved both in England and America, as perfectly just in the principles of neutrality which it declared? Was it not, he also asked, a breach of that proclamation, when not only individuals, whom, perhaps, it might have been impossible to restrain, not only officers in small numbers went out to join the insurrectionary corps, but when there was a regular organisation of troops—when regiments regularly formed left England—when ships of war were fitted out in the English ports, and transports were chartered to carry out arms and ammunition? In the subsequent stages of the bill, ministers candidly avowed that the measure had been suggested by the stipulations of a treaty with Spain, in the year 1814, and by the representations which the ministers of Ferdinand the Seventh had considered themselves as entitled, by such stipulations, to address to the British government. This admission excited some severe comments on the character of Ferdinand. At length, however, the bill was carried.

An act of grace, on the part of the prince-regent, for reversing the attainder of lord Edward Fitzgerald, by which the blood of his two children had become corrupted, was passed without opposition. The preamble of the bill stated that his lordship had never been brought to trial; that the act of attainder did not pass the Irish parliament till some months after his decease; and that these were sufficient reasons for mitigating the severity of a measure decreed in unhappy and unfortunate times.

Wilberforce complained that two great powers had hitherto shown a reluctance to enter into the arrangements necessary for carrying into effect the total abolition of the slave trade. It grieved him to cast this reproach on a great and high-minded people like the French; and he was still more hurt to find that America was not free from blame. He trusted that all nations would cordially combine in assuring to the inhabitants of Africa a progress in civilisation equal to that of the other quarters of the world; and concluded by moving an address, intreating the prince regent to renew his endeavours for the attainment of an object so generally interesting. The address was agreed to unanimously; and a similar one was voted in the house of lords, on the motion of the marquis of Lansdown.

The sum of fifty thousand pounds was granted, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, for the purpose of enabling government to divert the current of emigration from the United States to the Cape of Good Hope, the colony to which it was considered that it might be most advantageously directed. It was proposed to pay the expense of the passage, and to afford to the emigrant the means of exercising his industry on arriving at the destined spot. A small advance of money would be required from each settler before embarking, to be repaid him in necessities at the Cape, by which means, and the assistance afforded by government, he would be furnished with a comfortable subsistence until he gathered his crops, which, in that climate, were of rapid growth.

The session, which had been of a nature more than usually busy, was closed by the prince regent in person, on the thirteenth of July. The royal speech expressed a confident expectation that the measures which had been adopted for the resumption of cash payments would be productive of the most beneficial consequences; regretted the necessity of additional taxation; anticipated important permanent advantages from the efforts which had been made to meet our financial difficulties; and, in adverting to the seditious spirit which was abroad in the manufacturing districts, avowed a firm determination to employ the powers provided by law for its suppression.

RADICAL REFORMERS—POPULAR MEETINGS—ARRESTS.

ABOUT this time a party which had received the appellation of Radical Reformers obtained much notice by their active exertions among the lower orders, chiefly of the manufacturing classes. One

of their first steps was an application to the magistrates of Manchester to convoke a meeting, for the alleged purpose of petitioning against the corn bill, which was refused; and, in consequence, the meeting was summoned by an anonymous advertisement. Hunt, who had been selected as the hero of the day, was conducted to the place of meeting by an immense multitude, in a sort of triumphal procession, and a strong remonstrance to the prince regent was adopted: the assemblage, however, dispersed without tumult. This meeting was followed by many others of a similar nature at Glasgow, Leeds, Stockport, and other manufacturing neighbourhoods: the strong measures of precaution, however, that were taken by the respective local authorities, had, in most instances, the effect of preserving order and tranquillity, though there was a marked contrast between the peaceable demeanour of the auditors and the inflammatory character of the language in which they were addressed. On these occasions, the want of a true representation of the people was pronounced to be the grand source of all our evils; for which annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and election by ballot, were pointed out as the only cure. At one meeting there was a discussion whether the people had a right to destroy the bank of England; and some suggestions were thrown out as to the expediency of a division of landed property, and a recurrence to physical force. By some, however, it was contended that these suggestions, which happily produced no practical results, were made by spies; and it is not improbable that the agents of government, whose duty could not legitimately extend beyond the office of observing and faithfully reporting the proceedings which took place, might occasionally exceed their instructions. One novel and censurable feature of the system was the formation, in Lancashire, of female reform societies. These bodies entered into violent resolutions, and called upon the wives and daughters of manufacturers in different branches to form sister societies, for the purpose of co-operating with the men, and of instilling into their children a *deep-rooted hatred of our tyrannical rulers*.

At Birmingham, where the extensive and almost general distress of the working classes had given greater currency to the new doctrines, the radical reformers hazarded a bolder experiment than any they had before displayed. This was the election of a member, or, as it was denominated at the time, a legislative attorney, to represent that great and populous town in the house of commons. At a meeting, holden for this purpose on the twelfth of July, the managers stated that, the issue of a writ being compulsory, they had not thought it necessary to wait for a mandate on this occasion; but that, in the exercise of their constitutional rights, and of the duty of good subjects, they should proceed to advise the sovereign by their representative. Sir Charles Wolesey, who had previously declared his resolution to claim his seat, should he be elected, was put in nomination, and instantly chosen by an assemblage of fifteen thousand persons.

A few days after this performance had been acted, it was resolved, at a meeting in the great unrepresented town of Leeds, that a similar election should take place as soon as an eligible member should be found; but the government at length interfered; Sir Charles Wolesey was taken into custody, on account of seditious expressions used at a meeting at Stockport, in Cheshire; and an itinerant preacher, of the name of Harrison, for a similar offence at the same place, was soon afterwards arrested, while he was attending a reform meeting in London. On these charges they were next year convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment.

The Smithfield meeting, at which Harrison was arrested, took place on the twenty-first of July.—Some degree of alarm was naturally felt by the inhabitants of the metropolis on this occasion; and, for the purpose of preventing riot or disorder, very extensive and judicious precautions were taken, both by the government and the police. Hunt was elected to the chair, and a number of resolutions were passed, to the effect that, as the persons at present composing the house of commons had not been fairly chosen, the meeting could not consider themselves bound in equity by any of their enactments, after the ensuing January. When the

officers took Harrison, a few voices proposed resistance, on which Hunt requested them to let him go quietly. "If they apprehend me," said he, "I am ready with ball, and will try the question with them. Let me subpoena all of you here; and then, though they may get three villains to swear away my life, I shall not be afraid when I have fifty thousand witnesses to contradict them. If only thirty of you should come day by day, the trial will last for three years!" The remonstrance to the prince regent, which had been agreed to at a meeting in Palace-yard, Westminster, on the eighth of September, 1818, was again adopted, and numerous speeches followed; in the course of which Hunt stated that the penny subscriptions to promote the cause of reform, which had been calculated to create, in a year, a fund of two hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds, amounted, at the expiration of ten months, to only four pounds fourteen shillings and sixpence. This enormous assemblage finally separated without tumult.

On the third night following an atrocious attempt was made at Stockport to assassinate Birch the deputy constable for that township, by whose exertions both Sir Charles Wolesey and Harrison had been apprehended. Vigorous measures were immediately adopted by government for the discovery of the offenders; and, on the thirtieth of July, a proclamation against seditious meetings was issued.

DISPERSION OF MANCHESTER MEETING.

THE Manchester reformers, who had posted up notices of a meeting to be holden on the ninth of August, for the purpose of proceeding to the election of a representative, as at Birmingham, were informed by the magistrates that, as the object of the proposed assemblage was unquestionably illegal, it would not be suffered to take place. In consequence of this determination, they relinquished the design, and issued notices of a meeting, for the avowedly legal object of petitioning for a reform in parliament, on the sixteenth of August. An open space in the town, called St. Peter's Field, was selected as the place of assembly; and never, upon any former occasion of a similar nature, was so great a number of persons known to be present. Some hours before the proceedings were to commence, large bodies began to march in from the neighbouring towns and villages, formed five deep, many of them armed with stout staves, and preserving a military regularity of step. Each body had its own banner, bearing a motto; and, under a white silk flag, two clubs of female reformers appeared. The numbers collected were estimated at sixty thousand. A band of special constables, stationed on the ground, disposed themselves so as to form a line of communication from a house where the magistrates were sitting to the stage or waggon fixed for the orators. Soon after the business of the meeting had been opened, a body of yeomanry cavalry entered the ground, and advanced with drawn swords to the stage: their commanding officer called to Hunt, who was speaking, and told him that he was his prisoner. Hunt, after enjoining the people to be tranquil, and offering to surrender to any civil officer who should exhibit his warrant, was taken into custody by a constable, and several other persons were also apprehended. Some of the yeomanry now cried out, "Have at their flags!" and they began to strike down the banners which were raised in various parts of the field—when a scene of dreadful confusion arose; numbers were trampled under the feet of men and horses; many persons, even females, were cut down by sabres; some were killed, and the maimed and wounded amounted to between three and four hundred. In a very short time the ground was cleared of its former occupants, and military patrols were stationed in the principal streets of the town to preserve tranquillity.

Much difference of opinion has ever since prevailed on this subject; and, perhaps, the Manchester meeting is one of those events, upon which, in all its variety of details, historians will never be found to agree. Whether the riot act were actually read is still a moot point: the reformers and their friends insist that it was not; the magistrates and their adherents contend that it was. And certainly if it was read the affirmative of the proposition would have been more easily established than its negative. The whole appears to have taken place,

within ten minutes, by which time the field was entirely cleared of its recent occupiers, and filled with different corps of infantry and cavalry. Hunt and his colleagues were, after a short examination, conducted to solitary cells, on a charge of high treason. On the following day notices were issued by the magistrates, by which the practice of military training, alleged to have been carried on in secret, by large bodies of men, for treasonable purposes, was declared to be illegal. Public thanks were, by the same authority, returned to the officers and men of the respective corps engaged in the attack; and, on the arrival in London of a despatch from the local authorities, a cabinet council was held, the result of which was the return of official letters of thanks to the magistrates, for their prompt, decisive, and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and to all the military engaged, for the support and assistance afforded by them to the civil power.

For some days the town of Manchester and its neighbourhood were in a state of constrained quietness, although some further disturbances, in which one or two lives were lost, had taken place. At a meeting held at the crown and anchor, in London, a string of resolutions, strongly censuring the conduct of the magistrates and military, and returning thanks to Hunt and his colleagues, were unanimously adopted; as was also a resolution to raise a subscription for defraying the expenses of counsel, &c. in defence of the prisoners. In the same spirit a meeting was likewise held in Smithfield; and a violent letter was also addressed to the electors of Westminster by Sir Francis Burdett, for the writing of which, as a libel, he was afterwards tried and convicted.

In pursuance of this letter, an immense multitude assembled in Palace-yard, Westminster, on the second of September, for the purpose of declaring an opinion on the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry of Manchester. After speeches which occupied three hours in their delivery, by Sir Francis Burdett, and Hobhouse, his colleague in the representation of Westminster, several violent resolutions were adopted, declaring the assemblage at Manchester a lawful meeting; that the outrage on that occasion was an attempt to destroy by the sword the few remaining liberties of Englishmen, and that it was another lamentable consequence of the want of a real representation; and an address to the prince-regent, founded thereon, was unanimously agreed to.

The circumstances of the Manchester case turned out to be such, that government found it expedient to abandon the threatened prosecution of Hunt and his colleagues for high treason, and those persons were accordingly informed that they would be proceeded against for a conspiracy only, which might be bailed; but Hunt refused to give bail, even, as he said, to the amount of a single farthing: some of his friends, however, liberated him. His return from Lancaster to Manchester was one long triumphal procession, waited upon by thousands, on horse, on foot, and in carriages, who hailed him with continued shouts of applause.

HUNT FOUND GUILTY—EARL FITZWILLIAM.

THE grand jury of Lancaster found two bills against Hunt, Johnson, and Moorhouse, and the others who were committed with them on the charge of conspiracy. The prisoners availed themselves of the privilege of traversing till the spring assizes of 1820; and, instead of Lancaster, the trial took place at York. After ten days' duration it closed on the tenth of April, when the jury declared Hunt, Johnson, Knight, Healy, and Bamford, guilty of assembling, with unlawful banners, an assembly, for the purpose of moving and inciting the liege subjects of our sovereign lord the king into contempt and hatred of the government and constitution of the realm, as by law established, and attending at the same. In the ensuing term Hunt and his associates received sentence; Hunt to be imprisoned in the goal of Hlochester two years and six months, and then to find securities for his good behaviour for five years; and Johnson, Bamford, and Healy, to be imprisoned each one year in Lincoln castle, and also to find sureties.

The reformers, notwithstanding the tragical results of the Manchester meeting, still ventured to assemble, as before, at Leeds, Glasgow, and other towns. The conduct of the Manchester magistrates

and yeomanry was there the prominent theme: ensigns of mourning were exhibited; horrible details were given of the barbarous acts alleged to have been committed; and the sufferers of the sixteenth of August were eulogized as martyrs, and their memory classed with that of Russell, Hampden, Sidney, and other illustrious names of ancient times. Rarely, however, where the local authorities refrained from interposing, did any breach of the peace ensue; but at Paisley, where the flags of the radicals were seized by the magistrates, on their return from the meeting, some riots occurred, which, fortunately, were quelled without bloodshed.

The regular opposition, or whig party, throughout the kingdom, seized with avidity, upon the solemn approval which had been given by government, so hastily, as they said, to an illegal act of power; and the various meetings which were held on this occasion were numerous, and some very respectably attended. A large assemblage of the county of York was sanctioned by the presence of earl Fitzwilliam, lord-lieutenant of the west riding, and many other noblemen and gentlemen of high consideration, who delivered their sentiments in very strong language; and a petition to the prince-regent was adopted, calling loudly for inquiry. In consequence of this proceeding, earl Fitzwilliam was dismissed from his lord-lieutenancy; an incident which excited much surprise, and was strongly animadverted upon. An address of the corporation of London, also calling for inquiry, received from the prince-regent an obsequious reply. "With the circumstances which preceded the late meeting at Manchester," said his royal highness, "you must be unacquainted; and with those which attended it you appear to have been incorrectly informed. If, however, the laws were really violated on that occasion, by those to whom it immediately belonged to assist in the execution of them, the tribunals of this country are open to afford redress; but to institute an extrajudicial inquiry, under such circumstances as the present, would be manifestly inconsistent with the clearest principles of justice."

To counteract these meetings, loyal addresses, and offers for the raising of yeomanry corps, were zealously promoted by the friends of government. A veteran battalion of between ten and eleven thousand men was also formed from the Chelsea pensioners.

At Lancaster the grand jury threw out all the bills which had been preferred against individuals by the sufferers of the sixteenth of August. At Oldham, eight miles from Manchester, the coroner's inquest sat for many days on the body of John Lees, one of the unfortunate men alleged to have lost his life in consequence of injuries received on that memorably fatal day. Great tumult was excited on this occasion: the inquest was, in consequence, adjourned to Manchester, where it occupied some weeks; but the whole proceedings were set aside, on the ground of informality, by the court of king's bench.

MEETING OF PARLIAMENT—DOCUMENTS ON STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

AMIDST the general ferment which had been produced by these circumstances, the meeting of parliament was impatiently waited by all parties, and it assembled on the twenty-third of November. "I regret to have been under the necessity," observed the prince-regent, in the opening speech, "of calling you together at this period of the year; but the seditious practices so long prevalent in some of the manufacturing districts of the country have been continued, with increased activity, since you were last assembled in parliament. They have led to proceedings incompatible with the public tranquillity, and with the peaceful habits of the industrious classes of the community; and a spirit is now fully manifested, utterly hostile to the constitution of this kingdom, and aiming not only at the change of those political institutions which have hitherto constituted the pride and security of this country, but at the subversion of the rights of property and of all order in society. I have given directions that the necessary information on this subject shall be laid before you; and I feel it to be my indispensable duty to press on your immediate attention the consideration of such measures as may be requisite for the counteraction and suppression

of a system, which, if not effectually checked, must bring confusion and ruin on the nation."

On the succeeding day the promised documents respecting the state of popular feeling were produced: they consisted, in part, of the correspondence of official persons with the home secretary; and, in part, of communications to such persons, made by individuals whose names were withheld. Such of the letters of the Manchester magistrates as had been written previously to the sixteenth of August expressed apprehensions that a formidable insurrection was in contemplation: at the same time they bore testimony to the deep distresses of the manufacturing classes, and assigned hunger as the natural cause of the willingness of the poor to listen to any project for the melioration of their sufferings. It was stated, in numerous depositions, that the practice of secret military training prevailed to a very great extent among the reformers; but only with the view of enabling themselves to march in the semblance of military array to their meetings, sticks being the only weapons which had been employed. A communication from Lord Fitzwilliam, on the state of the west riding of the county of York, represented that the last reform meeting on Hunstet Moor had been less numerously attended than the former ones, and intimated that the rage for holding such meetings might safely be left to die away of itself. Sir John Byng, the military commander of the district, stated that simultaneous meetings were to have been held at many neighbouring towns, but that the plan had been frustrated by dissension amongst the leaders. The distress and discontent in this part, where pistols, pikes, and other weapons, were reported to be manufacturing in considerable quantities, formed the subject of some of these communications; and similar representations from the south west of Scotland, where employment and wages had fallen off in a still more deplorable degree, were afforded by others. The grand jury of Cheshire also expressed the alarm which was felt for their lives and properties by the loyal part of the king's subjects.

BILL TO PREVENT TRAVERSING OF INDICTMENTS—OTHER RESTRAINING BILLS.

THE lord-chancellor introduced a bill, on the twenty-ninth, which he said he had long contemplated. It had been the practice of the courts to allow defendants, in cases of information or indictments, to impede or traverse. As great inconvenience had arisen from this practice, as trials were sometimes delayed till a very remote period, and as the ends of justice might thus be defeated, the bill would take away from a defendant the right of traversing; allowing the court, however, to postpone his trial upon his showing ground for the delay.—Earl Grey at once entered his protest against the whole of the measures, which, as it appeared, were in preparation, as calculated to bring the greatest misery, if not ruin upon the country. On the second reading earl Grosvenor contended that, whilst the attorney-general was allowed to hold informations over the heads of defendants for an indefinite length of time, to abolish the right of traverse was greatly enhancing the grievance. Lord Erskine also objected to the measure, as depriving the people of an ancient and important privilege. On the other hand, the earl of Liverpool contended that, if their lordships did not pass this bill, they had better at once declare that every description of sedition and blasphemy should be invested with full toleration. Lord Holland urged that, in fairness, the measure ought to be so ordered as to legislate on both sides; by preventing the delays which occurred by prosecutions on *ex officio* informations, as well as by those of indictment; and, agreeably to this suggestion, the lord-chancellor, on the third reading, proposed an additional clause, compelling the attorney-general to bring a defendant to trial within a year, or to enter a *non prosequi*. The bill, thus amended, was agreed to without opposition.

The other bills rendered necessary by the state of the country were to the following effect:—An act to render the publication of a blasphemous or seditious libel punishable, on a second conviction, at the discretion of the court, by fine, imprisonment, banishment, or transportation; and to give power, in cases of a second conviction, to seize the copies of the libel in possession of the publisher;

a stamp-duty equal to that paid by newspapers, on all publications of less than a given number of sheets, with an obligation on all publishers of such pieces to enter into recognisances for the payment of such penalties as might in future be indicted on them. The press being thus restrained, seditious meetings were to be controlled by the following provisions:—That a requisition for the holding of any meeting, other than those regularly called by a sheriff, boroughreeve, or other magistrate, should be signed by seven householders; and that it should be illegal for any persons, not inhabitants of the place in which such meeting was held, to attend it; also, that magistrates should be empowered, within certain limitations, to appoint the time and place of meeting. To repel danger from the mastering of an illegal force, it was proposed to prohibit military training, except under the authority of a magistrate or lieutenant of a county; and, in the disturbed districts, to give to magistrates the power of seizing arms believed to be collected for unlawful purposes, and also to apprehend and detain persons so carrying arms. The only one of these bills which passed without opposition was that for the prevention of secret military training. The bill for the seizure of arms, which, under certain circumstances, and in particular districts, authorized search to be made in private houses, by day or night, was strenuously resisted in both houses; and, upon an amendment for omitting the words "or night," the house of commons divided—Ayes forty-six, Noes one hundred and fifty-eight. A clause of the blasphemous and seditious libel bill, by which offenders were, upon a second conviction, subjected to the punishment of transportation, passed the house of lords, but ministers found it expedient to withdraw it in the commons. The penalty of banishment, however, which had been previously unknown to the English law, was allowed to be enacted. In its progress the seditious meeting bill was subjected to a modification, by which all meetings held in any room or building were exempted from its operation. Several limitations of the bill for subjecting small publications to the newspaper stamp-duty were also introduced.

On the following evening the marquis of Lansdown moved for a select committee to inquire into the state of the nation, and more especially of those which were called disturbed districts. The principle called radicalism, his lordship said, existed in exactly the same proportion as distress, the agricultural part of the country being yet unattained, whilst in the cotton manufacturing districts of both England and Scotland the spirit of radicalism had reached its height. The distress arose from the long war, which gave us the whole carrying trade of the world—which created a fixed capital that still existed—and filled the markets without the possibility of finding a vent for them. It was also increased by the poor laws, the paper currency, and the spirit of excessive speculation. Adverting to the expedients which had been proposed for the alleviation of distress by the advancement of temporary loans to encourage labour, he said there were two other points of a more extended nature: one was to take off duties on articles which had considerably decreased in various districts—such as tea, which had been greatly reduced in consumption, and was subject to much smuggling from America and other parts; the other point was the establishment of favourable commercial treaties, which government had not yet succeeded in accomplishing. He alluded, in particular, to the timber trade with Norway, which, he said, had been neglected to encourage the growth of an inferior article in Canada, which prevented Norway taking in return many of our articles of commerce. The marquis Wileshy deprecated the seditious designs and views of the reformers, and thought the discussion of the restriction bills ought to be preceded with in preference to any inquiry. Lord Erskine contended that the country was by no means in so alarming a state as at the time of the state trials in 1794. The existing laws were sufficient to remove the evils complained of, and to punish the guilty. He ridiculed the evidence which appeared in the papers lately laid before parliament, with a view to prove a treasonable or seditious meeting at Manchester; and contended that there was nothing illegal in marching to a place of public meeting.—Lord Greyville could not consider the designs at

originating in the distress, which he hoped was only temporary. Such distress gave facilities to factious men, which they otherwise would not possess; but the root of the evil lay much deeper. The promoters of the new system here, taking the French revolution as their model, had deluged the country with blasphemous publications. On the Manchester occasion, he considered the conduct of the magistrates to have been not only free from blame, but highly meritorious. The motion was negatived.

Unfavourable as the time appeared for a discussion on parliamentary reform, lord John Russell was not deterred from calling the attention of the house of commons to the unrepresented towns, many of which had risen into great commercial wealth and importance, while certain boroughs had sunk into decay, and had become unfit to enjoy the privilege of sending representatives. He adduced examples, from the history of parliament, to show that the principle of change had been often acknowledged, and the suffrage withdrawn and conferred on various occasions. After explaining his views he proposed several resolutions, tending to establish the principle of change which he had laid down, and some rules respecting the voters of disfranchised places, on whom corruption should not have been proved. The last resolution was for the disfranchisement of the borough of Grampound, the corruption of which had already been proved to the house. On the suggestion of lord Castlereagh, who manifested a willingness to concur in the objects of the motion to a certain degree, lord John Russell withdrew it, and a few days afterwards brought in a bill for the disfranchisement of Grampound, and the transfer of its representation to some populous town.

CESSION OF PARGA—RESTORATION OF JAVA.

MUCH animadversion was excited in the political circles by the fallacy of a convention, concluded in 1816, between Great Britain and Turkey, by which the fortress and territory of Parga, on the western coast of Greece, then protected by the British flag, were to be ceded to the Porte, under a stipulation that those inhabitants who chose to emigrate should receive an indemnification for the fixed property which they would be compelled to abandon. This spirited people were the last of the free Christian Greeks of Epirus who had resisted the intrigues and aggressions of Ali Pacha: in 1807, after the treaty of Tilsit had given the Ionian Isles to Buonaparte, they had solicited and obtained a French garrison on Corfu; and in 1814 they had placed themselves under British protection. Finding the fate of their country irrevocable, they all chose to emigrate, rather than expose themselves to the vindictive malignity of the Turk; and an estimate was made of their buildings, lands, and plantations, amounting to nearly five hundred thousand pounds; but the compensation ultimately obtained for them was less than a third of that sum.

In a more distant quarter discussions arose which likewise exposed the foreign policy of England to severe criticism. Availing themselves of certain defects in the treaty for the restoration of Java, the Dutch commissioners committed various aggressions in the Malayan Archipelago, and particularly against the sultan of Palembang, which drew forth a strong protest from the British functionary, Sir Thomas Raffles, directed against the whole political system acted upon by those commissioners, as being exclusively suited to the views of their own government, and hostile to existing engagements with the native princes.

In Hanover various salutary reforms were effected; in Wirtemberg the plan of a constitution was accepted by the representative assembly.

CHANGE IN THE KING'S HEALTH—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF KENT.

THE protracted existence of the venerable monarch who had so long swayed the British sceptre was now drawing to a close. In the month of November the hitherto firm health of his majesty underwent a sudden alteration; and, although the dangerous symptoms were for a time removed, a general feebleness and decay ensued, which portended no very distant dissolution. In the midst of the anxiety caused by this change, the public re-

gret was excited by the loss of the duke of Kent, who was seized with an inflammation on the lungs, and expired, after a short illness, on the twenty-first of January, 1820, in the fifty-third year of his age. In person his royal highness was manly and noble, in stature tall, in manners dignified, yet affable. He was easy of access, temperate in habits, and in the army acquired the reputation of personal courage. In politics he took no very active part, but attached himself to the whig or popular party; and, whenever any charitable object was to be promoted, his name and presence needed little solicitation. He left an infant daughter, named Alexandrina Victoria.

DEATH OF GEORGE THE THIRD—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

ON the twenty-ninth of January, eight days after the death of the duke of Kent, his venerable father expired without a struggle, in the sixtieth year of his reign and the eighty-second of his age. Over the last nine years of his life an awful veil had been drawn. In the periods of the deepest national solicitude his mind had felt no interest; in the hour of the most acute domestic feeling his eye had been tearless: almost the last time that this venerable sovereign appeared in public was on the day when his people, with one accord, devoted themselves to rejoicing in honour of his completion of the fiftieth year of his reign, a period far beyond the common term of dominion. He was blind; but, as he rode through the assembled thousands of his subjects, he was indeed the object of veneration and love. In a few weeks a most afflicting domestic calamity, the death of the princess Amelia, bowed him to the dust. The anguish of the father was too great for a wounded spirit to bear: his reason forsook him, and it never returned.

It is remarkable of the departed sovereign, that, although he felt, and frequently expressed, an anxious desire to obtain and preserve to his subjects the blessings of peace with other nations, and was untainted by ambition, yet that he was involved for nearly one half of his long reign in wars more extensive, sanguinary, and costly, than any upon record. With the exception of the war which commenced in 1746, before his accession to the throne, the rest may be traced, in a great degree, to the disposition of his majesty to assert and maintain his first positions upon political topics; hence the prevailing sentiments of the general mass of his subjects did not always concur with his, in respect of the expediency of his wars, and recourse was frequently had by his ministers to artifices and delusions, for the purpose of exciting popular interests and feelings in support of wars, the real motives of which were not always avowed.

In the treaties of peace which were negotiated during his reign, his ministers were remarkably injudicious and unfortunate.

By the peace of 1763, Great Britain, though triumphant, surrendered the Havannah and several other important colonial acquisitions, to obtain the *status quo ante bellum* for German allies, whom she had previously subsidised, and assisted with a large army to fight their own battles, but who have never since made or manifested any grateful return for her sacrifices.

So unfortunate and mismanaged was the first war with the United States of America, that the peace of 1783, (of which Sheridan justly observed, that "every person was glad and no one proud,") was indicated by one of the then ministers, because, "if peace had not been concluded, the naval superiority of France, Spain, and Holland, would have enabled them to take Jamaica, or to invade Great Britain within a year,—because defensive war must terminate in certain ruin,—because to hazard an engagement at sea, would have been equivalent to a surrender of the kingdom,—and because the protraction of the war would have endangered public credit, and public bankruptcy might have dissolved the government."

The peace of 1801, besides having been impracticable in its provisions, effected any thing rather than the ostensible object of the war, "indemnity for the past and security for the future;" and the peace of 1814, and the subsequent conventions, exhibited to the world the before incredible example of a nation at the zenith of power and glory, and the benefactor or conqueror of all those with whom she had to negotiate, voluntarily and unconditionally

surrendering the most valuable possessions in both the Indies without compensation, or even stipulating for any local commercial advantage, though she well knew the avaricious jealousy of some, and the restless intrigues of others of the powers to whom she made those wanton sacrifices. Still more unjustifiable was the cession of Genoa and its territory to the house of Savoy, contrary to an express stipulation upon which Genoa had received a British garrison.

No sovereign, however, enjoyed the affectionate loyalty of the English nation more entirely; and hence the influence of his personal character had a considerable and evident effect in countervailing Jacobin principles. The personal character of a king can never be a matter of indifference: in private life the example of George the third and his illustrious consort, contributed much to the improvement of public morals. In too many instances the fascination of the throne has been sufficient to throw a veil of factitious splendour over the vices of those who occupied it: princes, indeed, appeared formerly to be in some degree exempted from the obligation of these duties of decency and morality by which the million were bound; but, during the reigns we have been recording, station and rank were viewed with jealous scrutiny, and afforded little protection to the frailties of their possessors. If the example of George the third could not make all men uniformly moral, it did all that could be done by the practice of the humblest domestic virtues, the most unaffected piety, and the most exemplary regularity. His conduct as a husband, a father, and a master, secured the respect of all who beheld him nearly, and was approved by the moral feelings of the whole nation.

His intellectual faculties, not originally of the very highest order, were clouded by the constitutional malady, which exhibited itself at rather an early period of his life; but, though the powers of his mind were by no means brilliant, he possessed a practical understanding, which, as far as ordinary affairs were concerned, commonly led him to a right judgment of men and things; as he showed remarkable address in finding occasions for displacing obnoxious ministers, and in ruling through the medium of subservient parliaments. In his application to business he was regular and steady, and always appeared perfectly competent to the subjects submitted to his consideration. His education had been rather neglected, but he had cultivated a habit of continual inquiry in his intercourse with others—an intercourse which, from the frankness of his disposition, was less limited than might be supposed; and, aided by a retentive memory, he had thus acquired a variety of useful knowledge, of a description the most likely to turn to good account in the exercise of the duties of his station; for he was systematic in all his habits of life, though his civil list was so often in arrear of debt from some unexplained cause.

On coming to the crown he laid his commands upon the duke of York to discontinue card-playing on a Sunday, and openly to acknowledge his obedience to the royal will in this respect. The injunction was understood and obeyed in the politest circles. He also did his utmost to suppress those pernicious assemblies, masquerades—a species of amusement which, it is to be hoped, will never be nationalised in England. The king, however, was neither an ascetic nor a recluse. He was fond of the theatre; and to his taste and judgment the amateurs of the histrionic art are indebted for most of those improvements which constitute the boast of modern days. The costume of the stage underwent a thorough reform—the licentiousness of dramatic writers was effectually curbed—and many of the scenes which Dryden and Congreve did not blush to avow would not for a moment be tolerated by an audience of the present time. In literary taste George the third was supposed to be somewhat deficient; but he collected a noble library, and, during his reign, literature certainly was not neglected. In addition to the great names of Johnson and Goldsmith, those of Cowper and Burns, Paley and Blair, Robertson and Gibbon, with innumerable others, will testify to future ages that intellectual pursuits were duly appreciated.

The graphic arts may be said to have received a character and establishment in this reign. In January, 1766, a charter of incorporation was given to a society of artists, whose exhibitions had been

commenced five years before; and the royal bounty presented them with an annual donation of a hundred pounds. The Royal Academy was instituted some years afterwards. Previously to that period there was no such thing as an English school of art: now the connoisseur may distinguish, in our public exhibitions, portraits which compete with the best works of Vandyrke, and historical pieces that are not unworthy of the noblest times of Italy.

Every branch of domestic and commercial arts rapidly attained to excellence during his reign. The furniture and fitting up of our houses partake of the same refinement. Formerly the originals of our cabinet works, even to the tables and chairs, were French; our mantle-pieces, our mirrors, and our pictures, were Italian. The tide has turned: our manufactures of all sorts, no less for their taste in imagination than for their skill in execution, are now admired all over the continent.

Maritime discovery made astonishing progress in the reign of George the third. When Jeffries was geographer to the king, that artist, however high in reputation for talent and knowledge, was obliged, by the necessity of the case, to inscribe "*partis unknown*" over a great portion of the earth's superficies: the discoveries of the immortal Cook, Carterot, King, Vancouver, and others, have reduced the *terra incognita* within narrow limits, which become every day more and more contracted. By those geographical discoveries our knowledge of natural history, of the vegetable as well as of the animal world, has been greatly augmented. Nor was the royal bounty confined to discoveries on the face of the globe: the penetrating telescope of Dr. Herschell owes its powers and its completion to the munificence of the king; and whatever we know of the Georgium Sidus and other newly-discovered planets, of the lesser satellites of Saturn, of the celestial nebulae, and of other astronomical phenomena, must be attributed to the zeal for the advancement of science that honoured while it gratified the monarch by whom it was encouraged.

In every branch of science and the mechanical arts this reign is distinguished by the most important discoveries. The application of the steam-engine to every branch of manufactures, and even to the propelling vessels at sea; the improvements in cotton and other machinery; the application of gas to the purposes of light; the safety-lamp, and other chemical discoveries of Sir Humphrey Davy and others: all these, and far more than these, had their origin in this reign.

Agriculture, the basis of national prosperity, experienced much royal attention, and many consequent benefits. Numerous statutes were passed for converting barren wastes into arable land, for draining marshes, for forming roads, constructing bridges, canals, ports, with other improvements, all contributing to facilitate the intercourse of the kingdom, and consequently favouring the transit of agricultural productions. The king made a point of obtaining more than a theoretical acquaintance with a subject of such vital importance. He established an experimental farm; he procured from Spain the most valuable specimens of the superior races of Merino sheep; and he allowed the breed to be disposed of to noblemen and gentlemen who were inclined to engage in the speculation. Several letters in Young's "*Annals of Agriculture*," under the signature of *John Robinson*, are understood to have been furnished by George the third.

The progress of great public works in the midst of apparently interminable wars was truly surprising. In London a new mint, a new custom-house, and many other splendid structures, were erected at the national cost; whilst three bridges over the river Thames, docks and canals in every part of the kingdom, and a numberless variety of stupendous undertakings, were carried into effect by individual subscription.

The system of education invented by Joseph Lancaster, a member of the Society of Friends, was first introduced under the immediate patronage of the king, who on this occasion benevolently expressed his wish "that every poor child in his dominions might be able to read his bible, and have a bible to read." The merit of the system, however, though first introduced into England by Lancaster, was said to be due to Dr. Bell, who had previously practised it, or a somewhat similar method, at Madras; and a national society, on his plan, was

formed by the bishops and other dignitaries and members of the church, with the duke of York at their head, the children of which were bound to conform to the ceremonies of the established religion; and thus was a laudable and zealous rivalry excited in the work of well-doing.

In an age when education was thus eagerly promoted, the growth of knowledge could not be slow; and indeed in every branch, political, commercial and literary, the progress of improvement was unparalleled. In political knowledge, the publication of the debates in both houses of parliament, which was first permitted in this reign, but which, though only tacitly permitted, can never now be withheld, achieved more than any single event that we can anticipate. The universal diffusion of public papers, and the spirit of political inquiry, of which they may be said to be both cause and effect, have also gone far to remove the mystery in which politics were wont to be involved. That influence behind the throne, which, early in the reign, was eloquently, but with some exaggeration, stated to be greater than the throne itself, had so diminished before its close, that the secret history of the court has now little effect on the politics of the day; and while the administration is controlled by a popular assembly, the proceedings of which are diurnally laid before the public, that public will be nearly as competent to judge of the motives and merits of the various measures pursued as those with whom they originate.

It has been popularly objected against the late king that he governed too much upon *toy maxims*, and was too little mindful of the principles which placed his family on the throne. It is certainly true that the whig party was excluded throughout nearly the whole of his reign; they came in twice by the mere force of circumstances, but were each time driven out, after a few months' continuance in office, on the first pretext which enabled the court to obtain the co-operation of the people for their exclusion. The first and second Georges were compelled, by the circumstances of their situation, and the peculiar tenure by which they held the crown, sedulously to discountenance the old *toy* doctrines of passive obedience and divine right; but with the terror of the Pretender, it might always have been foreseen, would die the whiggism of the Brunswicks. Assuming, indeed, that the term implies the support of the popular rather than the monarchical part of our constitution, it is difficult to understand in what sense a king is expected to be a whig. The possession of power so naturally creates a disposition to preserve, and even to extend, that power, that, in attributing to princes a participation of this our common nature, we are certainly urging no objection peculiar to monarchy. The countervailing powers vested in the other parts of our political machinery prove that the operation of this principle was fully foreseen, and adequately provided for. It cannot, however, be altogether maintained that the *toy* ministers of George the Third have been, practically, less whigs than their immediate predecessors; government, on the contrary, has considerably abated of that high tone which it habitually held in the former reigns; and this was, indeed, to be expected when the great aristocratic families which formed the strength of the whig party ceased to be the regular organs of the will of the crown, their opponents being, both by connection and property, of less intrinsic weight. Yet the political influence of a certain portion of the aristocracy has been increased in this reign, by the elevation of several proprietors of borough towns to the house of peers.

The increasing influence of the crown was also a subject of popular outcry throughout the reign; and that its patronage enormously grew with the growth of our establishments and the augmentation of the revenue and expenditure is certain; but the consequent influence of government must be viewed in connection with the great increase of wealth among those upon whom that influence had to work; for it is obvious that the same amount of patronage that would bribe a poor country would be inadequate to affect a rich one; and, although the general state of society yet presents much for the philanthropist to deplore, that Great Britain is a rich one would not be doubted if it were possible to describe her and her inhabitants as they were, in all respects, at the commencement and at the close of the reign; a period during which no coun-

try and no people that ever existed could, we are convinced, exhibit greater alterations, and, in general, greater improvements. The state of the country, as it is displayed in its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce—the state of the roads and the means of internal communication—the connection formed with foreign countries for commercial purposes, and the means by which that was carried on, as well as the effects it produced on domestic life, manners, and pursuits—the great advances in all branches of science and arts;—these, and a thousand other points, would form the topics of comparison between Great Britain in 1760 and Great Britain in 1820.

The population of the island, which, in the former reign, was little more than eight millions, was, at the latter period, little less than doubled; and if to this we add that of Ireland, the aborigines in our various colonies and dependencies, and the natives of those distant possessions, upwards of sixty millions of persons now hold allegiance to the British crown.

During the first and the last wars of this reign, Great Britain was able not only to make the most unprecedented military exertions, but her navy proved itself, at the same time, more than a match for the whole maritime force of Europe. It destroyed or blockaded the fleets of France, Holland, Denmark, and Spain; and when Russia for a while assumed the character of an enemy, it met the fleet of Russia also with alacrity and success. At one time the ships of war at sea exceeded six hundred, which, added to those in ordinary, building, repairing, &c. made a grand total of more than eleven hundred. To man this navy required a force of nearly one hundred and sixty thousand seamen and marines; whereas, in the war which raged when his majesty came to the throne, seventy thousand or seventy-five thousand were thought to be the utmost that the nation could furnish. That the mercantile navy of Britain has increased in a wonderful ratio needs no other proof than the necessity felt by our merchants for enlarging the principal ports of the kingdom by means of extensive docks and other accommodations—as at Hull, Liverpool, London, and elsewhere. These were found to be absolutely indispensable, not only for the accommodation of the East and West India trades, but for the reception of vessels from all parts of the globe. In 1670 the amount of British shipping was stated at four hundred and seventy-one thousand two hundred and forty-one tons; and in 1812 it was stated by Mr. Colquhoun at two millions on a hundred and sixty-three thousand ninety-four tons; exclusive of the shipping of Ireland.

In the year 1760 the net customs' duties paid into the exchequer amounted to only one million nine hundred and sixty-nine thousand nine hundred and thirty-four pounds. In 1815 the consolidated customs, with the annual duties and war taxes, amounted to ten million four hundred and eighty-seven thousand five hundred and twenty-two pounds; the consolidated excise, with the annual duties and war taxes, amounted to twenty-six million five hundred and sixty-two thousand four hundred and thirty-two pounds; and the stamps, post-office, assessed taxes, property-tax, land-tax, &c. produced twenty-nine million three hundred and ninety-three thousand eight hundred and forty-eight pounds; making a total net revenue of sixty-six million four hundred and forty-three thousand eight hundred and two pounds! Pitt estimated the total income of the country at one hundred million pounds; but, according to subsequent calculations, more accurately made, it is considered to be almost, if not quite, one hundred and fifty million pounds.

That a great debt, whether public or private, is a great evil, cannot be denied; and the national debt, which originated in the days of king William, has certainly been most enormously increased during this reign. At the accession of Queen Anne it amounted to upwards of sixteen million pounds. During the administration of Sir Robert Walpole it was thought, by well-informed persons, that it might be increased to one hundred million pounds; but a hundred millions was the *se plus ultra*: there it must stop; and that was the point of national bankruptcy. By the war of the American revolution, however, to the great joy of the foreign enemies and rivals of England—to the great alarm of foreigners who had property and

dealings with her—and to the terror of the whole kingdom—it was augmented to the sum of two hundred and fifty-seven million pounds! and, notwithstanding the operation of the sinking fund, the amount of nominal capital of the public debt is now about eight hundred and fifty million pounds, including the unfunded debt.

That the consciousness of the nation being in a state of retrogression since the peace of 1815 should have spread a gloom over the concluding years of the reign cannot be matter of surprise; but, if every thing could recede in its due proportion, relief would be certain, and not very distant: whilst the prices of agricultural produce and of manufactures were gradually receding towards the point from which they started at the French revolution, the large sum annually payable for interest on the

national debt not only afforded slender scope for reduction, but became the more difficult to be raised as the value of produce declined. From the difficulties, however, which have been overcome, from the triumphs which have been enjoyed, the genuine patriot must feel warranted, amidst a season of temporary gloom, in looking forward to bright and golden times, bearing in mind that the progress of knowledge, which cannot now be impeded, must favour the pursuits of peace, and infuse a hatred of war; and that, after the career of glory has been so honourably run by Great Britain, her rulers are more than ever bound, now that her swords are turned into ploughshares, and her spears into pruning-hooks, to cultivate peace on earth, and good will towards men.

CHAPTER I.

GEORGE IV.

Accession of King George IV.—The King's declaration to his Council—Proclamation of his Majesty—King's illness and recovery—Detailed Ceremonial of the late King's lying in State and Royal Funeral—Parliament Dissolved by Commission—Discovery of Cato-Street Conspiracy—Detection, Trial and Execution of Thistlewood and others—Tumultuous proceedings in the North—Attack on the Soldiers at Bonnymuir—Defeat of those concerned therein—Trial of disaffected persons—Conduct of Ministry—General Election—New Parliament—King's First Speech—Proceedings in Parliament—Lord John Russell's motion on Elective Franchise—Allusion to Queen's Arrival—Revision and Amendment of Criminal Code—Education of the Poor—State of Agriculture—Afflicting position of Public Affairs—Petition of London Merchants—Ways and Means for 1830—Delicate situation of their Majesties—Commission of Enquiry—Mr. Brougham's proposition to Government—Proposed Compromise with the Queen—Offer of fifty thousand pounds a year to the Queen—Queen's Narrative—Her Majesty's progress—Mission of Lord Hutchinson—Sudden departure of her Majesty from St. Omers—Landing of Queen Caroline in England—The King's Message to Parliament—The Queen's Communication to House of Commons—Proceedings in the Commons—Statement of Ministers—Proceedings in the House of Lords—Bill of Pains and Penalties—Account of Trial—Speeches therein—Bill Abandoned by Ministers—Parliament Prorogued—State of Continental Affairs.

ACCESSION OF KING GEORGE IV.—1830.

CALLED to the throne of his ancestors, by the death of his venerated father, George the Fourth took upon himself the actual sovereignty of these realms, which he had already presided over many years as regent, during the distressing malady of his august predecessor. The peculiarly felicitous features attending his personal assumption of regality, were such as to promise to the nation something proudly pre-eminent in the history of reigns. Differing essentially in each particular from the situation of his parent, at a similar epoch, who came to the throne in the midst of a protracted war, at an early period of life, with a character little known to the nation, less to the world, and wholly unused to govern, or any of the arts of polity—the present monarch, from age, habits of general intercourse, universal knowledge, much experience as a ruler, and at the blissful period of profound peace, had to contend with no jarring opinions on the probable exercise of that sway, the results of which the people had often witnessed; and being generally successful through a varied series of political difficulties and critical emergencies, and graced as it had been by a long career of surpassingly splendid and brilliant victories, flattering to the national pride, they had as long admired.

In pursuance of established usage, the cabinet ministers assembled on the morning subsequent to the demise of the late king. When his majesty held his first court at Carlton house, which was numerous and brilliantly attended by all ranks and parties, who eagerly offered their homage to the reigning monarch, the re-appointment of the lord chancellor, and several ministers, was the first exercise of sovereign power, the oaths of allegiance being administered to those present. A council was, in compliance with the royal ordinance, immediately held; and all his late majesty's privy counsellors then in attendance were sworn as members of his present majesty's council, and took their seats at the board accordingly. Thus regularly convened, the new sovereign made the following declaration.

KING'S DECLARATION TO COUNCIL.

"I HAVE directed that you should be assembled here, in order that I may discharge the painful duty of announcing to you the death of the king, my beloved father.

"It is impossible for me adequately to express the state of my feelings upon this melancholy occasion; but I have the consolation of knowing, that the severe calamity with which his majesty has been afflicted for so many years, has never effaced from the minds of his subjects the impressions

created by his many virtues, and his example will, I am persuaded, live for ever in the grateful remembrance of his country.

"Called upon, in consequence of his majesty's disposition, to exercise the prerogatives of the crown on his behalf, it was the first wish of my heart to be allowed to restore into his hands the powers with which I was intrusted. It has pleased Almighty God to determine otherwise, and I have not been inseasonable to the advantages which I have derived from administering in my dear father's name the government of this realm.

"The support which I have received from parliament and the country, in times the most eventful, and under the most arduous circumstances, could alone inspire me with that confidence which my present station demands.

"The experience of the past will, I trust, satisfy all classes of my people, that it will ever be my most anxious endeavour to promote their prosperity and happiness, and to maintain unimpaired the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom."

As a subsequent act, the king, with the usual solemnities, and in conformity to the law, took the customary oaths, including that in the Scotch ritual, for the security of the national church of Scotland. These gracious declarations, with the form for the proclamation of the new monarch, were then agreed upon, and signed by the distinguished personages present.

PROCLAMATION OF HIS MAJESTY.

THE proclamation of his majesty took place publicly in the metropolis on Monday, January thirty first. To account for this apparent delay, it is only necessary to call to attention, that the late king expired on the Saturday evening, the following morning being Sunday, January thirtieth, the anniversary of the martyrdom of Charles I., a solemn fast is appointed by our church, and consequently this pageant would have been inadmissible. On the same day, Monday, the members of parliament were sworn in, and immediately adjourned till the seventeenth February.

KING'S ILLNESS AND RECOVERY.

"DURING this recess, and treading as it were upon the heels of the ceremony of proclamation, the public attention was most powerfully excited, and the sympathies of the nation aroused by distressing reports of the state of his majesty's health. An illness supposed to have originated from agitation of spirits, arising from the domestic affliction he had sustained, in the rapidly succeeding loss of two such near relatives as a brother and a father: added to this, his majesty, who was scarcely recovered from an attack of gout, had incautiously exposed

himself to the inclemency of the season, by standing a length of time under the portico of his palace, that his admiring people might behold their monarch, while, amidst their enthusiastic plaudits, and loudly lengthened demonstrations of grateful and joyful humors, they hailed, and the heralds, for the first time, proclaimed him by his royal style and titles as George the Fourth. The apprehensions respecting his majesty were not lessened, when the official bulletin announced the king's illness to proceed from inflammation of the lungs—that being the identical disease which had so unexpectedly proved fatal to the duke of Kent only a week previous. The melancholy ideas which this seeming fatality originated were fortunately not confirmed. The king was declared out of danger after nine days; but a long time passed ere he gained his pristine health. To add to this sombre view of affairs, the nation was occupied in preparing for the mournful rites due to departed worth and majesty, and never was grief more strongly indicated, or sorrow more generally manifested, not more by the universal sable habits of the people, than by the saddened deportment of all ranks concerned in, or viewing the obsequies of the late king, which took place on Wednesday evening, February 16th.

CEREMONIAL OF LATE KING'S LYING IN STATE AND ROYAL FUNERAL.

As the minutiae of these funeral transactions may hereafter be deemed interesting, without further apology it is observed, that soon after ten o'clock on Tuesday morning, the preparations were completed for the mournful ceremonial of his Majesty's remains lying in state; and the gates of Windsor castle were then thrown open for the admission of the public, many hundreds of whom had been anxiously waiting for some hours. The public were, in the first place, admitted by the grand entrance to the upper ward, or square of the Black Horse. The entrance was parted by a strong railing, diverging within the ward to the right and left, so that the stream of company, which incessantly poured in, was by that means directed at once to the north-eastern tower of the quadrangle, commonly called Egerton's tower. At the door four marshal's men were stationed, with their silver-tipped staves, and wearing, in addition to their state uniforms, ample scarfs of black silk, with crape hatbands, and sword knots. Ascending the winding stairs of the tower, the visitor, after passing through an ante-chamber, filled with marshal's men and yeomen of the guard, entered at once into St. George's hall, where the departed sovereign had been accustomed to hold the chapter of the knights of the garter. The throne and its canopy were covered with black cloth, and at the foot of the steps was a slight railing, also covered with black. Over the hall, diagonally to the door of the guard-chamber, matting was laid down, with a black cord on each side, to confine the company to the space it occupied; and on the other sides were stationed privates of the life guards, with their arms reversed. This apartment had a very impressive effect. It led at once to the king's guard-chamber and state apartments, where the knights of the garter, in the absence of the sovereign, dine at an installation. The lofty walls of this apartment were entirely covered with the armor of past ages: bills and pertuisans, coats of mail, helmets, cuirasses, and gloves; bucklers and shields; matchlocks, broad swords, pistols, daggers, muskets, and the armour of Edward the Black Prince. The visitors were, in this chamber also, separated from the great body of the apartment by a cord covered with black; and in the open space, yeomen of the guard were assembled in groups, who, not being immediately upon duty, waited here to relieve their comrades. Their costume was the same, in form, as their ordinary one, save that it was entirely of black cloth, with crape round the cap, and the arms of England embroidered in gold, silver, and colours. Their partisans had also a covering of black cloth. From this apartment the spectator passed through an ante-chamber; the floor, ceiling, and walls, entirely covered with sable drapery, and lighted at intervals by silver sconces, each bearing two small wax lights; just sufficient to show a long line of yeomen of the guard, leaning on their crape-clothed partisans as motionless as statues. He then entered the presence chamber, in which reposed the remains of the beloved monarch. The

whole of this noble apartment was entirely covered with fine purple cloth, and illuminated by a profusion of silver sconces. On a raised platform, at the opposite extremity, appeared the coffin supported upon tressels, and covered with a pall of rich purple velvet, lined with white satin, and ornamented at each side by three escutcheons, and on the top were deposited the kingly crown of England, and the electoral one of Hanover, on two purple velvet cushions, superbly fringed and tasseled with gold. On each side of the coffin were three stupendous wax lights, in massive silver candelsticks, and over it a radiated canopy of purple cloth; the cornice was also adorned with escutcheons. At the head of the coffin was seated the earl of Delawarr and lord Graves, the lords in waiting; and colonel Whalley, colonel King, Sir George Campbell, and Sir Cavendish Bradshaw, the grooms in waiting. At the feet stood the pursuivants, in official costume, but uncovered, and about the apartment were a number of the band of gentlemen pensioners, in their state dresses, with crape scarfs. Thence the company passed through the king's drawing-room and its ante-chambers, and descended by the staircase in the western tower, where king John resided during the time of his contest with his barons; and thence out through the quadrangle, by the grand southern entrance. At four o'clock, the hour announced for closing the public ceremony of the day, the gates were shut.

At break of day on Wednesday, the solemn toll of the great bell in the belfry of the castle was heard, and the royal standard was seen hanging half-staff down, on the round tower of the keep. At sun-rise the thunder of cannon was heard in the park. From that period till sun-set, the artillery, without intermission, continued firing five-minute guns throughout the day; and from sun-set they fired minute guns till the conclusion of the funeral ceremony. A little before ten o'clock, the wax lights in the silver sconces having been replenished, and the lords and grooms in waiting, the pages of the bed chamber, the heralds, the pursuivants, the gentlemen pensioners, and the other state attendants, having taken their station around the royal coffin, the grand entrance to the upper court of the castle was thrown open to the impatient public, who rushed forward in all directions; and, in despite of the utmost exertions of the police and military, the pressure continued more or less throughout the morning. At four o'clock the ceremony of the royal remains lying in state were at an end, and the gates were closed against thousands of persons, who, up to that moment, had been pressing forward for admission. Throughout the whole of the preceding night, preparations had been making in St. George's chapel. Three additional chandeliers were suspended from the roof along the centre of the choir, and a double sconce affixed to each of the stalls. Superb communion services of plate, from the different chapels royal, were arranged upon the communion table, the steps of which were covered with fine purple cloth. A raised platform covered with black cloth was erected down the south aisle, and up the nave of the choir, with a railing on each side to prevent interruption to the procession from the spectators. In the north aisle seats were erected, tier above tier, for the accommodation of those persons who might be able to obtain tickets from the lord high steward; and the organ loft, which was not capable of affording accommodation to more than ninety persons, was fitted up for the nobility. Before the communion table, and over the opening of the subterraneous passages leading to the mausoleum of the royal family, a superb canopy of royal blue velvet was placed, supported by four slight pillars, wreathed with velvet and gold. The canopy was in the shape of a parallelogram, with the roof of the sweeping Chinese contour, and surrounded with a Gothic fretwork cornice in dead gold. From this cornice descended a festooned drapery of royal blue velvet, richly fringed and tasseled, of the same colour, and each festoon was further adorned with a royal escutcheon. To the right and left of the altar, diagonally, seats were placed in tiers for the foreign ambassadors, and the whole floor of the choir was covered with black cloth. As the evening advanced, the Eton scholars, assembled under their respective masters, to the number of more than five hundred, clothed in deep mourning, walked two and two to the gate of the hundred steps, where they were admitted through the choir

whole choir. The royal corpse was lowered into the grave exactly at ten minutes after ten; and as the consecrated earth was sprinkled upon its cover, the guards, who during the ceremony had stood with their arms reversed, instantly recovered and grounded them on the pavement of the north and south aisle. At this solemn moment, Sir Isaac Heard, garter king at arms, came forward in his superb and embroidered mantle, and pronounced the style and titles of his late majesty. At the conclusion of the mournful ceremony, the royal dukes slowly quitted the choir at the side door, followed by a long train of the great officers of state, the nobility, and others, and proceeded to the chapter-house, whence they immediately went to their apartments in the castle, and the nobility repaired to their carriages; but it was long after midnight before the different courts of the castle were entirely cleared of the sorrowing multitude who attended to see their late royal master's remains deposited in a mausoleum, the construction of which was originally designed under his own superintendence, and completed by the kind orders and attention of his son, our present beloved monarch.

PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.

The illness of the sovereign was a two-fold source of regret and inconvenience, as it precluded his majesty from receiving the addresses of the house of lords and commons on the throne, and also from going to dissolve the parliament in person. Our constitutional laws requiring the dissolution to take place within the next six months following the demise of the king, it was decided that the parliament should be closed by commission on the twenty-eighth of February—when the lord chancellor delivered the subsequent speech:

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

"We are commanded by his majesty to inform you, that it is a great disappointment to his majesty, that on this first and solemn occasion he is prevented, by indisposition, from meeting you in person.

"It would have been a consolation to his majesty, to give utterance in this place to those feelings, with which his majesty and the nation alike deplore the loss of a sovereign, the common father of all his people.

"The king commands us to inform you, that in determining to call without delay the new parliament, his majesty has been influenced by a consideration of what is most expedient for public business, as well as most conducive to general convenience.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS:

"We are directed by his majesty to thank you for the provision which you have made for the several branches of the public service from the commencement of the present year, and during the interval which must elapse before a new parliament can be assembled.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN:

"We are commanded to inform you, that, in taking leave of the present parliament, his majesty cannot refrain from conveying to you his warmest assurances of the sense which his majesty entertains of the important services which you have rendered the country.

"Deeply as his majesty lamented that designs and practices such as those which you have been recently called upon to repress, should have existed in this free and happy country, he cannot sufficiently commend the prudence and firmness with which you directed your attention to the means of counteracting them.

"If any doubt had remained as to the nature of those principles by which the peace and happiness of the nation were so seriously menaced, or of the excesses to which they were likely to lead, the flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy which has lately been detected, must open the eyes of the most incredulous, and must vindicate to the whole world the justice and expediency of those measures to which you judged it necessary to resort, in defence of the laws and constitution of the kingdom."

DISCOVERY OF CATO-STREET CONSPIRACY.

The conspiracy thus glanced at in the speech of the lords commissioners, was one of the most desperate policy that could have been conceived by bad men for the worst of purposes; the object contemplated being no less than an attempt to over-

throw the existing government, and plunge these realms into anarchy and lawless confusion. This, as it appeared, was to be effected by the projected assassination of his majesty's ministers.

The chief leader implicated in this extravagantly atrocious and absurd plot was a person called Arthur Thistlewood; originally bred to the drug trade, at Newark, in Nottinghamshire; then a subaltern officer in the militia, and subsequently in a regiment of the line in the West Indies. Having resigned his commission, imbued with republican principles, after passing some time in America, he visited France, at that period of the revolution when the sanguinary despot Robespierre had just expiated his guilty career on the public scaffold; and it is presumed that the scenes he there witnessed confirmed the opinions upon which he finally acted. As an accomplice of doctor Watson, he was tried with him; and on his acquittal he challenged lord Sidmouth, then secretary of state for the home department:—this drew upon him the prosecution of his lordship, and a sentence of fine and imprisonment. When liberated, he seems to have nourished ideas of the utmost turpitude; to realize which he devoted all his time—associating with none but the most degraded of the lowest class, who, stimulated by similar doctrines, were worthy coadjutors in such a cause. A nucleus of disappointed revenge, he gathered together a number of individuals desperate as himself, and, with their aid, resolved to destroy the ministers and abolish the government.

The next in consequence were Ings, a butcher; Davison, a crooke; Brunt and Tidd, shoemakers.—The plan, as finally arranged by this horde of assassins, was so detestably wicked, so pregnant with danger to themselves in theory, and attended with such little probability of success in practice, that it requires all the strength of corroborating evidence—not only of spies, accomplices, and more creditable witnesses—ere the human mind can reconcile such a union of madness and delinquency.

It was resolved, after a series of meetings, that delay was useless; and poverty, as they admitted, goading them to the attempt, Wednesday, twenty-third of February, was fixed upon for the individual murder of the ministers, at their respective houses. On the preceding Sunday the plan was arranged as follows:—Forty or fifty men were to devote themselves to the task of assassination; under no less pledge than a forfeiture of their own lives, in case of failure, through any want of address or determination, whilst executing the diabolical project. Other detachments were simultaneously to seize upon the field-piece, at the London Light horse station in Gray's Inn Lane, and the artillery ground. Possessed of these cannon, the Mansion house was to be used as the palace of the provisional government—the bank was to be attacked—and the metropolis was to be set fire to in various points. Similar meetings were held on the Monday and Tuesday; on which last day one of the conspirators, named Edwards, informed Thistlewood that a cabinet dinner would take place on the morrow. Thistlewood's doubts being removed by the announcement in the newspaper, and it being specified therein that the dinner would be given at lord Harrowby's house in Grosvenor square, on the Wednesday, he exultingly observed,—"As there has not been a dinner for such a length of time, there will no doubt be fourteen or sixteen there, and it will be a rare haul to despatch them all together!" Pursuant to the plan of operations now settled, one of their body was to go with a note addressed to lord Harrowby: when the house door was opened, a band of the conspirators were to rush in—and while one party were occupied in seizing the domestics, and preventing any one below making their escape, another was to effect their entrance to the room which contained the ministers, and massacre them all. It was a peculiar provision, that the heads of lords Castle-reagh and Sidmouth were to be brought away as trophies of success. From the house of lord Harrowby a few of the number were instantaneously to repair to the barracks, in King-street, Portman-square, where, after firing the straw depot of the cavalry by means of fire-balls, they were to co-operate with the remainder in executing the other parts of the scheme already detailed. In the interim strict watch was kept upon lord Harrowby's dwelling, in order to ascertain that none of the police or military entered, or were concealed in its neighbourhood. The whole of the day was passed by

them in preparations for the intended plot: weapons and ammunition were prepared, and proclamations written, to affix on those places that were to be set fire to. During this period these infatuated wretches rendezvoused gradually; and about six o'clock in the evening, they met in a stable, in an obscure street, called Cato-street, near the Edgeware road. This place they had hired a short time previous: it comprised, besides the stable, two rooms above it, the ascent to which was by a ladder only. In the largest room, having taken the precaution to post a sentinel below, the conspirators were to be seen to the number of twenty-four or twenty-five; by the glimmering ray of one or two small candles, adjusting their accoutrements on an old carpenter's bench, and exulting in the fast approaching consummation of this scene of blood.

DETECTION—TRIAL, AND EXECUTION OF THISTLEWOOD.

AMONGST their number was one disaffected to the cause. This spy, the above named Edwards, had for some time been in the pay of the administration, and gave regular intelligence to his employers of all particulars connected with this foul and extraordinary transaction. Every precautionary method was adopted to lull suspicion: the apparent preparations for the banquet, were continued at Lord Harrowby's mansion, till eight o'clock in the evening, and by these means the conspirators were detected with arms in their hands. To effect this, a large party of constables, under the direction of the magistrate Mr. Birnie, proceeded to Cato-street, where it was intended they should be supported by a detachment of the Coketown guards. The police officers reached their destination about eight, immediately entered the stable, ascended the ladder, and discovered the conspirators in the loft, (for it was nothing better,) on the point of setting out to execute their meditated object. The principal officer required them to surrender, and Smithers, one of the active police constables, dashing forward to secure Thistlewood, received his sword through his body, and instantly fell. The candles were now blown out, the conflict became general; some of the gang rushed down the ladder, the officers grappling with them, while others forced their way from a window situated in the back of the loft. At this juncture the military, commanded by captain Fitzclarence, arriving, two conspirators were secured in the act of escaping; and by the co-operation of the police and soldiers, seven more were taken that evening, and securely conveyed to Bond-street. Thistlewood, who had escaped in the first moment of confusion, was seized next morning in bed, in the neighbourhood of Finsbury-square, and some others were apprehended in the two following days.

MARCH the twenty-seventh true bills of indictment for the charge of high treason, were returned against eleven of the prisoners. And April the seventeenth, a commission for the purpose being regularly opened, Thistlewood was put on his trial. The chief witness adduced, was a conspirator named Adams, who, after escaping from Cato-street, had been arrested on the following Friday, and kept in custody until he was brought forward to give his testimony in support of the prosecution. The trial lasted three days, when the accused was found guilty, on that part of the indictment which charged him "with having conspired to levy," and with "having levied war against the king." Jngs, Tidd, Brunt, and Davidson, were severally tried and convicted. The other six being permitted to withdraw their original plea, now pleaded guilty; and it appearing, that one of the number who had attended the meeting in Cato-street, was ignorant of its destined purpose, he was graciously pardoned; while the sentence of the remaining five was commuted into transportation for the term of their natural lives.

The throng of spectators assembled at the execution of the criminals was immense; and commensurate was the disgust manifested at that part of the sentence, which displayed the horrid spectacle of mangling, and decapitating the reeking remains of these miserably deluded men. This tribute of justice to violated laws, occupied in its shocking details, nearly an hour and a quarter; during which a strong body of cavalry lined the streets in the vicinity, and very considerable augmentations of all branches of the military, were assembled in th-

metropolis, pending the trial until the final execution of its sentence.

TUMULTUOUS PROCEEDINGS IN THE NORTH.

THIS extraordinary and desperate plot, was confined to a very limited number of infatuated wretches, unconnected with the revolutionary partisans, who, in this instance, seemed to have no share with them. Still little doubt remains that the general feeling of discontent, so diffusively spread abroad, was the foundation on which Thistlewood and his gang confidently looked for support and triumph.

The spirit of discontent had been a lengthened time smothering, and at last broke forth in some districts in a very appalling manner. About the middle of March much alarm prevailed in and about Glasgow; it being known that numbers of the class of artisans, and others, who wished to pursue their quiet avocations, unmixed with the noisy turmoil of political convulsions, had been repeatedly menaced by the adherents of riot and confusion. This had gained such a height, that they imagined they could not, without endangering the safety of their families, persevere in the conduct of peaceful and loyal subjects. The panic which was now prevalent, on Sunday the second of April received an accession, when, on that morning, a treasonable proclamation was discovered posted on the walls of Glasgow, its neighbouring towns and villages.

This proclamation supposed to emanate from "the Committee for the formation of a Provisional Government," recommended the proprietors, and these concerned in large manufactories, to suspend their employments till order should be insured by the organisation alluded to. This paper likewise enjoined all parties to desist from their avocations, denouncing as enemies and traitors to their king and country, whoever should attempt by force of arms, or otherwise, ought against the projected political amelioration.

The fruits of this inflammatory placard exhibited themselves on the Monday. The weavers and colliers, in Paisley and Glasgow, declined work; and this baneful example spread through the numerous bodies of wrights, iron-founders, masons, and machine-makers, &c. Several of the cotton mills commenced their usual routine; but being presently disturbed by threatening visits, most of their workmen did not return after breakfast, or absented themselves in the latter part of the day. Glasgow now exhibited a most extraordinary aspect, the streets were crowded with throngs of artisans, idly loitering away their time, and waiting in anxious suspense for the first burst of the promised revolution, which was to commence at a moment, and to emanate from persons and powers invisible, and unknown. As these persons and powers remained shrouded in their original mystery, rumour, at the time, was busy in imputing the whole as a fabrication of political espionage, with what degree of truth is not evident. Suffice it to observe, that if any secret hope of disorder was nourished, it happily was not realised; the people then conjugated, did not attempt by any open act to violate the public peace, the far greater number of them seeming to be awayed more by motives of curiosity and dread of these secret agitators, than by any revolutionary fervour or desire of change to plunge the country into confusion.

ATTACK ON SOLDIERY AT BONNYMUIR.

RESISTANCE to the public authorities did on one occasion show itself. On the Wednesday, an individual of the Stirling yeomanry, proceeding from Kilsyth to Falkirk, fell in with a radical squad, armed in a heterogeneous manner with muskets, pikes, and pistols,—these demanding his arms, which he refused to surrender; after several ineffectual shots were discharged at him, he escaped uninjured to his former quarters at Kilsyth. The commanding officer immediately detached eleven cavalry, and an equal number of yeomanry, to scour the road leading to Falkirk, and clear it, if possible, of the insurgents. The military soon came in sight of them. The insurgents, augmented in number, had, in the interim, found some arms and food in the neighbouring houses, and were now posted advantageously on a rising ground in Bonnymuir, commanding an extensive view of country. This, on the advance of the cavalry, the insur-

gents subsequently abandoned, and now sought the protection of a wall, from behind which they fired several times: the commander of the detachment requiring them to surrender their arms, received in answer a volley therefrom, accompanied with a loud cheer, and a remark that they came there to fight. Secured by the stone wall in front from an immediate charge, the cavalry were compelled, as well by that opposition as the mossy and plashy state of the ground, to make a circuitous approach to a gap which offered a readier access. Observing this intention, the rebels hurried to the gap for the purpose of disputing the entrance, but the better half hurried off to their different homes.

DEFEAT AND TRIAL OF DISAFFECTED PERSONS.

Those who still made a show of resistance, were instantly scattered; many of them severely wounded, and nineteen prisoners were taken. Besides the commander of the troops who was wounded, three of the soldiery received hurts, one horse also being killed, and three wounded. The majority of those implicated in this petty insurrection, had arrived that morning from Glasgow, hoping to find, as pre-arranged, a considerable number from the neighbouring districts, associated on Bonnymuir. The plan it appeared was to have marched forth—with to have taken possession of the Carron iron-works—to have equipped themselves therefrom with arms, particularly artillery, and thence to have instituted a regular plan of offensive military operations. These intentions were defeated by the judicious precautions of the magistracy, who, in promptly co-operating with the military, prevented the evil-minded from reaching the proposed rendezvous. So that instead of the four or five thousand expected to muster there, there was found about fifty only, whose strength of infatuation made them true to their engagements, in despite of rational prudence. Open resistance was thus crushed. The failure of this Quixotic attempt tended on the one hand to extinguish the hopes of the deluders, by the defection of those heretofore deluded, who, resuming their former habits of industry, in a few days the threatened storm passed over, and that part of the country displayed no further signs of political agitation.

A special commission being held in the different counties where these treasonable acts had taken place; all persons who were in custody, were brought to trial: and, on this occasion, though numerous sentences were recorded, the royal clemency evinced itself by extending mercy to all but three. One of these had been long known as an organiser of sedition; the other two had been taken in open resistance, at the affair with the cavalry before-mentioned. The execution of these three delinquents differed materially from that of Thistlewood and his coadjutors,—in as far as the Scotch rebels died, some of them penitent of their political guilt, and all of them sensibly affected with proper feelings of morality and religion.

CONDUCT OF MINISTRY.

In taking a retrospect of the many momentous cares which occupied the attention of ministers; the earliest transaction, and one which, from its peculiar delicacy, obtruded itself on the public eye, was the unhappy prelude to those proceedings against the consort of the reigning monarch, which afterwards convulsed the kingdom from one extremity to the other. After advising the queen's name to be omitted in the liturgy, which omission was sanctioned by an order of council; a case of alleged misconduct out of the realms was submitted to the consideration of the crown lawyers, who gave it as their decided opinion, that no indictment could be supported on these premised grounds. The solidity of which opinion can be alone fully estimated when treading hereafter more fully on this road.

GENERAL ELECTION.

On issuing the writs for the return of individuals to sit in parliament, the cities of London and Westminster took the lead; and during their elections, as well as throughout the kingdom, every nerve was strained, every influence used by all parties, to bring in those individuals whose after-exertions promised to be most conducive to their several views; and as these returns became public, the

characteristics of the various members elected was scrutinized, and the consequent assemblage of the senate looked for with considerable anxiety by the great class of the community.

NEW PARLIAMENT.

On the twenty-first of April, the new parliament began to assemble, till the twenty-third was occupied by the several members taking the requisite oaths.—On that day the right honourable Charles Manners Sutton was unanimously re-chosen as speaker of the house of commons. And on the twenty-seventh, his majesty opened his first parliament in person, by delivering a gracious speech from the throne in the following terms:—

KING'S FIRST SPEECH.

"I HAVE taken the earliest occasion of assembling you here, after having recurred to the sense of my people.

"In meeting you personally for the first time since the death of my beloved father, I am anxious to assure you, that I shall always continue to imitate his great example, in unceasing attention to the public interests, and in paternal solicitude for the welfare and happiness of all classes of my subjects.

"I have received from foreign powers renewed assurances of their friendly disposition, and of their earnest desire to cultivate with me the relations of peace and amity.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS;

"The estimates for the present year will be laid before you.

"They have been framed upon principles of strict economy; but it is to me matter of the deepest regret, that the state of the country has not allowed me to dispense with those additions to our military force which I announced at the commencement of the last session of parliament.

"The first object to which your attention will be directed is, the provision to be made for the support of the civil government, and of the honour and dignity of the crown.

"I leave entirely at your disposal my interest in the hereditary revenues: and I cannot deny myself the gratification of declaring, that so far from desiring any arrangement which might lead to the imposition of new burdens upon my people, or even might diminish, on my account, the amount of the reductions incident to my accession to the throne, I can have no wish, under circumstances like the present, that any addition whatever should be made to the settlement adopted by parliament in the year 1816.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN:

"Deeply as I regret that the machinations and designs of the disaffected should have led, in some parts of the country, to acts of open violence and insurrection, I cannot but express my satisfaction at the promptitude with which those attempts have been suppressed by the vigilance and activity of the magistrates, and by the zealous co-operation of all those of my subjects, whose exertions have been called forth to support the authority of the laws.

"The wisdom and firmness manifested by the late parliament, and the due execution of the laws, have greatly contributed to restore confidence throughout the kingdom; and to discountenance those principles of sedition and irreligion which had been disseminated with such malignant perseverance, and had poisoned the minds of the ignorant and unwary.

"I rely upon the continued support of parliament in my determination to maintain, by all the means entrusted to my hands, the public safety and tranquillity.

"Deploping, as we all must, the distress which still unhappily prevails among many of the labouring classes of the community, and anxiously looking forward to its removal or mitigation, it is, in the mean time, our common duty, effectually to protect the loyal, the peaceable, and industrious, against those practices of turbulence and intemperance, by which the period of relief can only be deferred, and by which the pressure of the distress has been incalculably aggravated.

"I trust that an awakened sense of the dangers which they have incurred, and of the arts which have been employed to seduce them, will bring back by far the greater part of those who have been unhappily led astray, and will revive in them that

spirit of loyalty, that due submission to the laws, and that attachment to the constitution, which subsist unabated in the hearts of the great body of the people, and which, under the blessing of Divine Providence, have secured to the British nation the enjoyment of a larger share of practical freedom, as well as of prosperity and happiness, than have fallen to the lot of any other nation in the world."

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT — LORD JOHN RUSSEL'S MOTION ON ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

ONE of the first acts of the legislature referred to a subject of vital import to the constitution. Proof having been given during the preceding parliament, that the utmost venality prevailed in the borough of Grampound, wherein it was substantiated, that the greater portion, nearly amounting to the whole, of the electors were in the habit of selling their votes; of which offence several had been convicted; Lord John Russell, upon the issue of these indictments, had brought forward a bill in the house of commons, for the purpose of disfranchising that borough, and transferring the right of election to Leeds. This important measure, his lordship seized the earliest opportunity of pursuing; and the necessary preliminaries having been adjusted, a second reading of the bill was moved on the nineteenth of May, though scarcely any opposition disclosed itself against the deserved punishments of this highly corrupted borough;—of which one of their corporate body, in palliation, made use of these remarkable words, "*That there might be perhaps two or three voters who had not taken bribes.*" Yet in the mode of disposing of the franchise, much conflict of opinion arose. Before any discussion could take place on the essential point of forfeiture, eventful circumstances so completely engrossed the attention of parliament, that the measure fell through, the session having closed, without any final decision on the bill in question.

ALLUSION TO QUEEN'S ARRIVAL.

THE circumstances referred to originated in the unexpected arrival of her majesty queen Caroline, who, after several years travelling in foreign countries, now returned to England. The general explosion of sympathies excited by this event, and the ever-to-be-regretted proceedings instantaneously following it, annihilated as it were all other matters of import, to which the attention of parliament was tributary. Still, as various transactions necessarily preceded this, we must continue our parliamentary records.

REVISION AND AMENDMENT OF CRIMINAL CODE.

In this period, Sir James Mackintosh distinguished himself as a philanthropist, in benevolently devoting his time, and great knowledge of jurisprudence, to a renewed plan for ameliorating the system of criminal laws;—and these exertions, on renewal, met with much success. In the preceding session, a committee had been deputed to take this important subject under their consideration; and, so far as related to punishment of a capital nature, had recommended considerable modifications. Complying with these suggested ideas, on the ninth of May, Sir James moved for leave to bring in six bills to amend our penal code. Three out of these six different bills, after much and lengthened discussion, and some alteration in the house of peers, were finally carried through both houses of the legislature. Of these three bills, the first was to repeal the acts by which stealing privately in shops to the value of forty shillings was made a capital offence; but, upon the suggestion of the lord chancellor Eldon, it still subjected to capital punishment those who should privately steal in shops to a value exceeding ten pounds.

The second bill which passed was for the repealing certain acts of parliament, which visited with capital punishment a class of actions, that were in fact either no moral offence, or, from their obsolescence, could at most be deemed but misdemeanors; such as rendering it a capital crime for an Egyptian to reside or remain one year in the kingdom; notorious thieves residing in Cumberland or Northumberland, was still a capital offence by the statute-book; as was any one being found in disguise in

the mint, or for any one injuring Westminster bridge.

The third bill went to repeal those clauses of certain acts of parliament which constituted the offences specified in them capital, and which, by this amended act, would be converted from capital into simple felonies. Of the offences thus modified were enumerated the taking away of any maid, wife, or widow, for the sake of her fortune; the receiving of stolen goods; the destroying of trees; the breaking down the banks of rivers; the wounding of cattle; sending threatening letters; and all the capital offences created by the bankrupt laws, and the marriage act. For these several crimes, differing as they did in consequence, the indiscriminate punishment of death was (as the statute-book stood then unrepealed) still the sentence of the law. By this bill, with certain exceptions in particular cases, that heaviest punishment death was now commuted for transportation, imprisonment, or hard labour, within the discretionary powers of the court.

The ultimate success of these bills, accompanied, as they were, with the modifications of the house of peers, is a convincing proof, if such were wanting, of the progressive march of reason and humanity, which in the present time may be looked upon with complacency as the precursor of more triumphs over prejudices, however inveterate. England's criminal code had too long been disgraced with these atrocious anomalies: at length those blemishes in the statute-book were beheld, acknowledged, and partially erased. Sir Samuel Romilly's hand may be said to have wiped the first stains therefrom; and his name will long be remembered by an admiring posterity, for the perseverance with which he attacked those prejudices which protected such statutes, and for the strenuous efforts he made, during the whole of his life, to ameliorate our criminal jurisprudence. Sir James Mackintosh, worthily pursuing the steps of his predecessor, and equally zealous in the cause of humanity, must be cheered by the progress he has made in so righteous a cause; and thus encouraged, a continuation of his labours will doubtless reward him by the final accomplishment of his virtuous and benevolent attempt. The attention given to this subject by its partisans is a source of eternal renown. Never-fading wreaths of civic honour should be entwined round the brows of Romilly and Mackintosh—and the parliament of 1820 will be gratefully hailed by every friend to the honour of his country, for having passed these laws, so much milder in their import, and beneficial in their influence.

EDUCATION OF THE POOR.

MR. BROUGHAM, having rendered an important service to his country in his efforts to establish a system for the detection and remedy of existing abuses in the management and appropriation of various charitable funds and establishments, early this session brought forward a plan for the education of the poor. This subject, of the utmost importance—embracing so much to interest the better feelings of society, and opening so fine a field for discussion—was not to receive the desired concurrence of all parties. Accordingly Mr. Brougham's measure did not at this period experience the support it needed; and having obtained leave to bring in his bill, which was read on the eleventh of July for the first time, the measure unfortunately fell to the ground.

STATE OF AGRICULTURE.

THE member for Surrey, Mr. Holmes Summer moved for a select committee to take into consideration the agricultural state of the country,—the table of the house being loaded with petitions from all parts of the kingdom, complaining of its agricultural distress. The general prayer of these petitions was for some further restriction upon the importation of foreign corn, under a conviction that the before-mentioned calamity was much aggravated by the large importations of grain from different parts of the continent. These views of intended relief, gratifying as they might be to the agriculturists, were not indulged with equal complacency by the classes engaged in manufactures and general commerce—who, equally oppressed by the peculiar spirit of the times, were loud in their outcries of distress, which could not meet alleviation, but on the contrary must experience much increase by any measure, however plausible, tending to raise the

price of corn. The debates resulting from the motion of the member for Surrey, occupied the house for a considerable time; and when the bill came to be argued, those debates were protracted to a considerable length—and every minutia connected with the important questions which that motion involved elicited the best endeavours of the commercial and landed interests; and in their conflicting opinions, as well as those on both sides of the house, great ability was displayed.

AFFLICTING POSITION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

THOUGH this bill promised much, yet it was speedily discovered that no immediate remedy for existing evil could possibly be devised; and the only hope of effectually removing the general distress must arise from the lenient hand of time—when a continuance of peace, and a perseverance in rigid economy and efficient retrenchment, might authorize a gradual and liberal diminution of taxation, and a general and improved increase of foreign markets. These lengthened discussions were humiliating to national feeling, and painful to humanity, by the statements adduced of political and private wretchedness, apparently irremediable, which at that time existed in many parts of the kingdom. Depreciated as our landed property was then in value, and darkly as the clouds impended over our national prosperity, it yet was a never-failing source of true consolation to every thinking person, who contemplated with a great degree of satisfaction the expanded views of liberal and enlightened policy which actuated the greater members of ministry and opposition, whilst arguing on these subjects of leading import. And the natural inference deduced from the candour manifested by all parties was such as to warrant the well grounded hope of the most beneficial results to the real interests of the community, from the laudable endeavours of the house in their future parliamentary labours.

PETITION OF LONDON MERCHANTS.

As the period of misfortune will sometimes achieve miracles, so the present crisis produced a most important petition from the great body of London merchants, enumerating the many and serious difficulties under which the commerce of the country laboured, which was introduced to the consideration of the commons by Mr. A. Baring, preluded by an able and well digested speech. This petition possessed, among other remarkable features, the abandonment of many ancient errors of the mercantile system, and the consequent prayer for a commerce unrestricted by monopoly, and fraught with an entire freedom of trade, which it recommended, as being most essentially conducive to promote individual enterprise, and national prosperity.

WAYS AND MEANS FOR 1820.

On the nineteenth of June, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the usual statement of financial arrangements for the service of the year. On the subject of the army estimates, its expenditure, which for the year 1819 had been taken at eight million seven hundred and eighty-two thousand pounds, received an increase of eight hundred and four thousand pounds; which made an aggregate of nine million five hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds, a sum rendered necessary by the augmentation of force the situation of the country demanded. The estimate of naval expenditure also went beyond that of the preceding year by one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; being now calculated at six million five hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds. The sum total for the service of the current year, including the interest of the national debt, was estimated at fifty millions five hundred thousand pounds. The ways and means proposed to meet this enormous charge upon the empire, were, exclusive of permanent revenues, the continuation of the customary annual taxes, amounting to three million pounds,—the sum of two million five hundred thousand pounds, from the produce of the temporary excise duties, which had remained in force since the war,—two hundred and forty thousand pounds arising from lottery,—old naval stores, two hundred and sixty thousand pounds,—a loan of five million pounds,—seven million pounds of exchequer bills to be funded,—together with twelve million pounds, taken from the sinking fund. These various items comprised the budget,

and will be found to form in the aggregate the required sum, amounting to thirty million pounds.

DELICATE SITUATION OF THEIR MAJESTIES.

THE attention of the legislature was now aroused, and this posture of parliamentary affairs suddenly arrested, and remained so for a considerable lapse of time, being almost exclusively devoted to the unhappy situation of their majesties. The reader will remember, that reference has before been had to the proceedings which arose in consequence of charges exhibited against the queen, whilst in her subordinate station, as princess of Wales; the sequence of which proceedings was the full and triumphant exoneration and acquittal of her royal highness, coupled with the disgrace of her accusers. From that period she had remained in great privacy, nearly amounting to total seclusion; though afterwards when, in pursuance of the advice of friends, or her own inclinations, she went abroad, her mode of life varied, passing in rapid succession through many distant countries. Whilst thus occupied in travelling, her name was seldom brought before the public; and except in the casual perusal of an occasional extract from foreign newspapers, none seemed to remember her long absence from England. Though the million then appeared so regardless, subsequent disclosures have evinced that the conduct of her royal highness, during her residence abroad, had been visited with strict scrutiny, and a formal inquiry had been instituted, in order, if possible, to ascertain what belief might be afforded to reports which had spread about, in their nature affecting her character most materially. Rumours of an extremely prejudicial complexion were current on the continent, charging the princess of Wales with no less a dereliction of her high station, than that of living in a state of habitual adultery, with an individual whom she had rapidly raised from the obscure situation of her courier, to that of the first post in her household.

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY.

AN inquiry into the truth or falsehood of so serious a charge was now absolutely necessary. And, accordingly, it appears that the English government appointed commissioners, who resided in Germany and the Italian states, for the purpose of collecting evidence, touching these transactions, which were so repeatedly stated to have occurred. The labours of these commissioners, in their collecting of evidence, was not made public, nor were any measures of publicity then adopted by the government, arising out of the information obtained from the Milan committee.

MR. BROUGHAM'S PROPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT.

IN consequence of these reported movements, it is supposed, in the month of June, 1819, Mr. Brougham, the acknowledged legal adviser, and confidential servant of the princess of Wales, communicated a proposition to the earl of Liverpool, then prime-minister to the prince regent, that the income of thirty-five thousand pounds per annum, at that time enjoyed by her royal highness, but which was to expire at the demise of the late king, should, in lieu of terminating at that premised period, be secured to her for her natural life; and that, upon this arrangement taking place, the princess should undertake to reside abroad permanently; and not assume, at any future time, the title or rank of queen of England! This singular proposal was, at the period, stated to be made without the cognizance or authority of the princess, or any knowledge of it on her part. Such being the circumstances attending this fact, government accordingly replied, that there would be no indisposition on its part, at the proper epoch, to give due attention to the principle on which the proposal rested, provided it received the sanction of her royal highness; and in this manner was that negotiation then disposed of.

PROPOSED COMPROMISE WITH QUEEN.

By the accession of the king, when *de facto*, the princess, his consort, became queen of England, it then was imperative, that government should decide upon the line of conduct which was to be observed respecting her; and, in their determination, they appear to have selected a mode of compromise, which, to say nothing either in extenuation or

otherwise, would at least have prevented the odious trial that afterwards took place. This compromise was founded upon the basis of Mr. Brougham's former proposal, and now required of the queen the quiet renunciation, or *a priori*, the non-assumption of her title, with her permanent exile from the realm. Such a serious determination on the part of the ministry, must have resulted from a very strong, if not thorough, conviction on their minds of her majesty's delinquency; with a consequent persuasion of the absolute necessity for such compromise with guilt, to ensure the paramount safety and welfare of the constitution and the nation. Upon weaker grounds than these, it would be impossible to screen the conduct of ministers, by urging ought in their defence. That their after measures were concerted upon, and connected with, the decision to refuse all public recognition of her title, as strongly as possible, may be gathered from their very first act, after the king's accession; when her name as princess of Wales was as a preliminary necessarily expunged from the church liturgy, and the omission of it in her character of queen was, as already cursorily mentioned, wholly omitted by order of council.

OFFER OF FIFTY THOUSAND A YEAR TO QUEEN.

The next step taken by ministers was an effort to obtain some declaration from her majesty, regarding on her part the same principles. To effect this, Mr. Brougham was again applied to, and to him a memorandum was couched to be communicated to the queen. This memorandum contained the terms on which government would treat with her majesty, and which was an exact transcript of those Mr. Brougham had originated, save that on the point of allowance, in lieu of the thirty-five thousand pounds, proposed by him, it was suggested to augment the sum to fifty thousand pounds yearly. The verbiage of which memorandum was as follows:

"15th April, 1820.

"The act of the 54th George III. cap. 100, recognised the separation of the prince regent from the princess of Wales, and allotted a separate provision for the princess. This provision was to continue during the life of his late majesty; and to determine at his demise. In consequence of that event, it has altogether ceased, and no provision can be made for her, until it shall please his majesty to recommend to parliament an arrangement for that purpose.

"The king is willing to recommend to parliament to enable his majesty to settle an annuity of fifty thousand pounds a year upon the queen, to be enjoyed by her during her natural life; and in lieu of any claim of jointure or otherwise, provided she will engage not to come into any part of the British dominions, and provided she engages to take some other name or title, than that of queen; and not to exercise any of the rights or privileges of queen, other than with respect to the appointment of law officers, or to any proceeding in courts of justice. The annuity to cease upon the violation of these engagements, namely, upon her coming into any part of the British dominions, or her assuming the title of queen, or her exercising any of the rights or privileges of queen, other than above excepted, after the annuity shall have been settled upon her. On her consent to an engagement on the above conditions, Mr. Brougham is desired to obtain a declaration to this effect, signed by herself, and at the same time a full authority to conclude with such person as his majesty may appoint a formal engagement upon these principles."

A fact no less extraordinary avowed itself, than that this memorandum transmitted to Mr. Brougham, by lord Liverpool, by some fatality was not communicated to her majesty, until, in the course of subsequent proceedings, some allusion being made to it by his lordship, in a note addressed to the queen on the ninth of June; when in her reply thereto, on the next day, she commands Mr. Brougham to state, "that the memorandum of April fifteenth, 1820, which the proposition made through lord Hutchinson had appeared to supersede, has also been now submitted to her majesty for the first time.

The proposition now alluded to, as made through the medium of lord Hutchinson, arose from a tissue of difficulties and extremely delicate circumstances,

which will be dilated upon as the history proceeds. In the interim, it is highly necessary and proper to observe, the great distance at which Mr. Brougham was stationed from his illustrious client, offered no inconsiderable bar to that prompt despatch, which was so peculiarly desirable to have been observed on an occasion of such first-rate importance. The queen, who was engaged in a travelling excursion, had passed about three months in the French dominions, and on quitting Toulon on the twenty-sixth January, had returned to Tuscany in the commencement of February. Up to that period, no official intimation was afforded her of the death of George the Third, the only intelligence she had acquired upon that subject, was from the newspapers; to which channels of information, she was indebted for the appraisal that her name had been omitted in the liturgy of the church. Towards the latter end of the same month, February, her majesty visited Rome, and upon her arrival in that city, she immediately assumed her title of queen of England, demanding at the same time, a guard of honour from the papal government. Cardinal Gonsalvi, in reply to this requisition, stated, "that as no communication on the subject had been made to the papal government by the king of England and Hanover, or his ministers, his holiness did not know that the queen of England was in Rome, and in consequence could not grant her a guard of honour."

QUEEN'S NARRATIVE.

INCREASED by this answer, her majesty wrote a letter dated the sixteenth March, describing the numerous insults, which she stated as having received from different courts, which letter appeared in all the English newspapers about the middle of April. "During my residence at Milan," she observes, "in consequence of the infamous behaviour of Mr. Ompteda, (he having bribed my servants to become the traducers of my character,) one of my English gentlemen challenged him; the Austrian government sent off Mr. Ompteda. I wrote myself to the emperor of Austria, requesting his protection against spies who employed persons to introduce themselves into my house, and particularly into my kitchen, to poison the dishes prepared for my table. I never received any answer to this letter. After this I was obliged to go into Germany to visit my relatives, the margravine of Baden, and the margravine of Baruth. The shortest road for my return to Italy was through Vienna, and I took that road with the flattering hope that the emperor would protect me. Arrived at Vienna, I demanded public satisfaction for the public insult I had received in Lombardy; this was refused me and a new insult was offered. The emperor refused to meet me, or to accept my visit." Lord Stewart, the English ambassador, having received a letter from me informing him of my intention of returning by Vienna, and of taking possession of his house there, (as it is the custom of foreign ambassadors to receive their princesses into their houses when travelling) absolutely refused me his house, left the town, and retired into the country. Lord Stewart afterwards wrote a very impertinent letter to me, which is now in Mr. Canning's hands, as I sent it to England. Finding the Austrian government so much influenced by the English ministers, I sold my villa on the lake of Como, and settled myself quietly in the Roman estates. I there met with great civility for some time, and protection against the spy Mr. Ompteda; but from the moment I became queen of England, all civility ceased.

"Cardinal Gonsalvi has been much influenced since that period by the baron de Rydan the Hanoverian minister who succeeded Mr. Ompteda, de ceased. The baron de Rydan has taken an oath never to acknowledge me as queen of England and persuades every person to call me Caroline or Brunswick. A guard has been refused me as queen, which was granted to me as princess of Wales, because no communication had been received from the British government announcing me as queen. My messenger was refused a passport to England. I also experienced much insult from the court of Turin.

"Last year in the month of September, (I was then travelling incognito, under the name of the countess Oldi,) I went to the confines of the Austrian estates, to the first small town belonging to the king of Sardinia, on my way to meet Mr.

Brougham at Lyons, as the direct road lay through Turin. I wrote myself to the queen of Sardinia, informing her that I could not remain at Turin, being anxious to reach Lyons as soon as possible, and also that I was travelling incognito; I received no answer to this letter. The postmaster at Brionio, the small post town near the villa where I then resided, absolutely refused me post horses; in consequence of this refusal I wrote to Mr. Hill the English minister at Turin, demanding immediate satisfaction, and the reason of such an insult. Mr. Hill excused himself upon the plea of its being a misunderstanding; and told me that post horses should be in readiness whenever I should require them. I accordingly set out, and arranged to go through the town of Turin at night, and only to stop to change horses, but I received positive orders not to go through the town, but to proceed by a very circuitous road, which obliged me to travel almost the whole night in very dangerous roads, and prevented me from reaching the post town (where I should have passed the night) till five in the morning, when, by going through Turin, I might have reached it by ten at night.

"Finding so much difficulty attending my travelling, I thought the most proper mode for me to pursue would be to acquaint the high personages of my intention of passing the winter at Lyons, or in the neighbourhood of Lyons, previous to my intended return to England in the spring. I addressed a letter to the French minister for foreign affairs, informing him of my intentions, and also that I wished to preserve the strictest incognito. No notice was taken of this letter; and one addressed to the prefect of Lyons met with like contempt. In fact from the seventh of October to the twenty-sixth of January, the day I embarked from Toulon for Leghorn, I received so much insult from the governor and prefect, that I almost considered my life in danger, unprotected as I then was in such a country. Another motive induced me to leave it. Mr. Brougham could not fix the period for meeting me any where in France.

"I have written to lord Liverpool and lord Castlereagh demanding to have my name inserted in the liturgy of the church of England; and that orders be given to all British ambassadors, ministers, and consuls, that I should be received and acknowledged as the queen of England; and after the speech made by lord Castlereagh in the house of commons in answer to Mr. Brougham, I do not expect to receive further insult. I have also demanded that a palace may be prepared for my reception. England is my real home to which I shall immediately fly. I have dismissed my Italian court, retaining only a sufficient number of persons to conduct me to England; and if Buckingham house, Marlborough house, or any other palace is refused me, I shall take a house in the country till my friends can find a house for me in London. I have sent a messenger to England to make the proper arrangements for that purpose."

The letter addressed on this occasion to lord Liverpool, was as follows:

"ROME, 16th March, 1820.

"The queen wishes to be informed through the medium of lord Liverpool, first minister to the king, for what reason or motive the queen's name is left out of the general prayers, with a view to prevent all her subjects from praying her such respect as is due to her. And it is an equally great omission towards the king, that his consort queen should be obliged to submit to such neglect, as if the archbishop was in perfect ignorance of the real existence of the queen Caroline of England. The queen is desirous that lord Liverpool should communicate this letter to the archbishop of Canterbury. Lord Liverpool will with difficulty believe how much the queen was surprised at this first act of cruel tyranny towards her; since she had been informed through the newspapers of the twenty-second February, that, in the course of the debates in the house of commons, lord Castlereagh, one of his best friends, assured the queen's attorney-general that the king's servants would not use towards the queen any inattention or harshness. And after that speech of lord Castlereagh the queen is surprised to find her name left out of the liturgy, as if she no longer existed in this world. The queen trusts before she arrives in England these matters will be corrected,

and that she will receive a satisfactory answer from lord Liverpool.

"CAROLINE QUEEN."

HER MAJESTY'S PROGRESS.

THE diffusive publication of these letters naturally excited a general idea that her majesty would instantly shape her course for England: it was confidently asserted that her majesty was rapidly proceeding thither; and even the public journals so far lent themselves to busy rumour as to announce that she had reached Calais, and would "be in Dover on the following day, the nineteenth of April." Concurring reasons, however, induced her majesty to prolong her visit at Rome, so that she did not arrive until the ninth of the next month at Geneva. At that place she despatched a letter to Mr. Brougham, requiring his immediate attendance, either there, or at one of the French sea-ports. Upon the arrival of these despatches from her majesty, a consultation was held in London by Messrs. Brougham and Denman, aided by others the friends of the queen, the result of which deliberation was, an humble request from Mr. Brougham that her majesty would, without any loss of time, repair to Calais; from whence she would easily hold communications with the shores of England—it being at that juncture utterly impossible to forestel in how many and various points it might be requisite for her law officers to have access to, or consult the queen respecting her wishes and her views.

Pursuant to this advice her majesty quitted Geneva, directing Mr. Brougham to meet her, on the thirtieth of May, at St. Omers. To further this interview, the queen proceeded to Dijon, and from thence to Montebard, where she was joined by Mr. Wood, an alderman, and one of the representatives in parliament for the city of London. This gentleman was a great favourite, and highly popular among the working classes and the lower orders of the people; and his name will often recur, as well as that of Lady Anne Hamilton, who had formerly belonged to her majesty's household, and who now at the same place hastened to rejoin her.

Whatever might be the representations made by these new attendants, or whatever views this enlargement of her suite might elicit, is still involved in mystery; yet it was obvious to those who had paid attention to her movements—which, prior to the appearance of these individuals, had been slow and apparently of uncertain character—that a fresh impetus seems to have resulted from their arrival, as thenceforward the queen pursued her route in a more rapid and determined manner. On the twenty-ninth she arrived at Villeneuve le Roi, from whence her majesty wrote two letters, one addressed to the duke of York—the contents of which sever met the public eye—the other to lord Liverpool, declaring her intention of being in London in five days; desiring that a royal yacht should be in readiness for her at Calais, the port she proposed embarking from; and that a residence should be prepared for her temporary or more permanent habitation. By the same despatch Lady Anne Hamilton addressed a letter, in her majesty's name, to the first lord of the admiralty, lord Melville, requesting him to give the necessary orders that one of the royal yachts should be in attendance at Calais, at the latest, on the third of June. The promptitude of these wishes and determinations clearly evidenced that her majesty seemed to have viewed her situation in a different point than heretofore; for the courier who bore her commands to Mr. Brougham to attend upon her at St. Omers, where she had resolved to wait for him, could barely reach London sooner than Wednesday or Thursday, and Mr. Brougham's arrival at St. Omers could not by any possibility be effected at the earliest before Friday; and yet her majesty apprised lord Liverpool with her full intention to be in London on the Saturday! Mr. Brougham reached Dover, on his road to attend her majesty, on Friday; and on the same day again departed for St. Omers, accompanied by lord Hutchinson: at this place they arrived on the afternoon of Saturday, and took up their abode at different hotels.

MISSION OF LORD HUTCHINSON.

THIS nobleman, who went in company with Mr. Brougham to St. Omers, had been formerly one of the queen's friends, and was at that time in the com-

fidence of the king. The mission confided to him was of a highly delicate nature, and one which demanded great judgment and much discretion to discharge it properly. The ministers of the king having determined upon the evidence, which had been now for some length of time in their possession, had resolved that the queen could never be received in England with the dignified honours attendant upon her royal station; and being anxious, upon every consideration, to avert the necessity of bringing such evidence before the public eye, they to the latest moment indulged the hope, that her majesty would ultimately be induced to consent to remaining abroad in a state of incognito, sooner than risk the alternative of the disclosures in their power to make.

The communication which Mr. Brougham had been directed to submit to the queen on this subject, so long back as April the fifteenth, was understood by ministers as forming the basis of that gentleman's negotiation; whenever he should have a personal interview with her majesty; and the duty lord Hutchinson was commanded to undertake was to be considered as wholly unnecessary to be proceeded in, in the event of a successful issue to the proposition from the queen's own advocate. As a *ne plus ultra* in the possible, but scarcely anticipated, rejection of overtures, on the part of the queen—overtures which the members of government had at least persuaded themselves met with no opponent, in her legal adviser, and attorney-general;—to meet, however, such extreme case, lord Hutchinson was directed to present himself to her majesty, and in consideration of her former friendship, and also in virtue of his situation as the friend of the king, he was empowered, as the last resource on the part of the ministry, as well as being an act of justice due to the queen herself, to impress upon her in the most urgent manner the important resolve which government had been compelled to take; and to convince her that no other alternative remained, if she persisted in her determination of landing in England, than to exhibit against her a public accusation of adultery. A mysterious veil has to the present moment shrouded this important period of the history of the unfortunate queen—the introduction of lord Hutchinson to her majesty by Mr. Brougham; which took place immediately on their arrival, and before the official communication entrusted to the queen's advocate had been presented to her, is an event that has never been elucidated, though it is well known such was the extraordinary course that was unhappily pursued.

Her majesty had reached St. Omers the day before the arrival of Mr. Brougham, who waited upon her without delay, and at once informed her that lord Hutchinson had come in the spirit of former friendship to make some proposals to her in the name of the king. Her reply was, that she would be happy to receive him; and in consequence his lordship was immediately introduced. A situation more embarrassing than that of lord Hutchinson, at such a moment, can scarcely be conceived; for it appears, that although he remained for some time with her majesty, no conversation arose, except upon topics wholly foreign to the intended purpose of the meeting. Her majesty could not well be expected to commence such a subject; and his lordship, of course, could not allude to it himself. As the part specifically assigned to his performance, was not to be entered upon, till he was apprised that a complete failure had attended the negotiation of Mr. Brougham, from whom on the following day, lord Hutchinson received this note:—

"Mr. Brougham having humbly submitted to the queen, that he had reason to believe that lord Hutchinson had brought over a proposition from the king to her majesty, the queen has been pleased to command Mr. Brougham to request lord Hutchinson to communicate any such proposition as soon as possible in writing. The bearer of this, (count Vassalli) will wait to receive it from your lordship.

"June 4th, 1820."

To this lord Hutchinson sent a written answer, stating that his lordship had no written proposals in his possession, but merely some scattered memoranda on scraps of paper. Mr. Brougham instantly returned the following reply:—

"Mr. Brougham is commanded by the queen to express to lord Hutchinson her majesty's surprise at his lordship not being ready to state the terms

of the proposition of which he is the bearer; but as lord Hutchinson is desirous of a few hours' delay, her majesty will wait until five o'clock, in the expectation of receiving a communication from his lordship at that hour.

"Two o'clock, 4th June, 1820."

At five o'clock, Mr. Brougham received the answer as follows:—

"SIR—In obedience to the commands of the queen, I have to inform you that I am not in possession of any proposition or propositions detailed in a specific form of words, which I could lay before her majesty; but I can detail to you for her information the substance of many conversations held with lord Liverpool. His majesty's ministers propose that fifty thousand pounds per annum should be settled on the queen for life, subject to such conditions as the king may impose. I have also reason to know that the conditions likely to be imposed by his majesty are, that the queen is not to assume the style and title of queen of England, or any title attached to the royal family of England. A condition is also to be attached to this grant, that she is not to reside in any part of the united kingdom, or even to visit England. The consequence of such a visit will be an immediate message to parliament, and an entire end to all compromise and negotiation. I believe that there is no other condition—I am sure none of any importance. I think it right to send to you an extract of a letter from Lord Liverpool to me, his words are:—'It is material that her majesty should know confidentially, that if she should be so ill-advised as to come over to this country, there must be then an end to all negotiation and compromise.' The decision, I may say, is taken to proceed against her as soon as she sets her foot on the British shores.

"I cannot conclude this letter without my humble, though serious and sincere supplication, that her majesty will take these propositions into her most calm consideration, and not act with any hurry or precipitation on so important a subject. I hope that my advice will not be misinterpreted. I can have no possible interest which would induce me to give fallacious counsel to the queen. But let the event be what it may, I shall console myself with the reflection, that I have performed a painful duty imposed upon me, to the best of my judgment and conscience, and in a case, in the decision of which the king, the queen, the government and the people of England are materially interested. Having done so, I fear neither obloquy nor misrepresentation. I certainly should not have wished to have brought matters to so precipitate a conclusion; but it is her majesty's decision and not mine. I am conscious that I have performed my duty towards her with every possible degree of feeling and delicacy. I have been obliged to make use of your brother's hand, as I write with pain and difficulty, and the queen has refused to give any, even the shortest delay.

"I have the honour to be,

SIR,

"With great regard,

"Your most obedient,

"Humble servant,

"HUTCHINSON.

SUDDEN DEPARTURE OF HER MAJESTY FROM ST. OMERS.

IMMEDIATELY on the perusal of this letter by the queen; at her request, Mr. Brougham made the following answer in writing:—

"Mr. Brougham is commanded by the queen to acknowledge the receipt of lord Hutchinson's letter; and to inform his lordship, that it is quite impossible for her majesty to listen to such a proposition.

"Five o'clock, 4th June, 1820."

A very few minutes had elapsed, after this communication, when the queen abruptly left Mr. Brougham, and stepping into her carriage, it was ordered to drive off with the utmost speed. So sudden and unexpected was this departure of her majesty, that Mr. Brougham was scarcely sensible that she had quitted the room, till he beheld her in the carriage, and departing, as he was standing at the window.

The motive which induced this strange conduct

on the part of the queen, was ascribed to a sudden suspicion which assailed her, and which she did not think it consistent with prudence, to communicate even to her attorney-general. A very short time previous thereto, it had been cursorily mentioned by Lord Hutchinson, that he expected a courier every instant to arrive from Paris. This casual observation led her majesty to conceive the erroneous notion, that hostility must be the intended object of this courier, from a court which had invariably manifested a marked disrespect in its measures toward her, and that as a climax, it might probably end in an interception of her journey, by the agency of France. She therefore instantly embracing this idea, took the resolution of setting off with such celerity, lest the delay of a few minutes might begot time for the arrival of a messenger, fraught with powers to refuse her the means of travelling unrestrained; and influenced by this apprehension, she lost no time in hurrying on board an English packet-boat the moment she reached the port of Calais. This courier to whom Lord Hutchinson alluded, had been despatched to Paris with letters to his lordship's nephew, at that time residing there, requesting him to hasten to St. Omers to assist him, in case of necessity, as his confidential amanuensis.

At the very moment when her majesty, swayed by this panic, was hurrying away, Lord Hutchinson was employed in writing the following letter, which, after the queen's departure, was delivered to Mr. Brougham:

"ST. OMERS, *Nine o'clock,*
4th June, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I should wish that you would enter into a more detailed explanation; but to show you my anxious and sincere wish for an accommodation, I am willing to send a courier to England to ask for further instruction, provided her majesty will communicate to you whether any part of the proposition which I have made would be acceptable to her; and if there is any thing which she may wish to offer to the English government on her part, I am willing to make myself the medium through which it may pass.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"HUTCHINSON."

This letter was despatched immediately to her majesty in an enclosure from Mr. Brougham, and was received on board by alderman Wood; but as her majesty was then laid down and asleep, a couple of hours elapsed ere an opportunity presented itself for delivering it to her hands. Having perused it, her majesty desired the alderman to acknowledge the receipt of it, and to add thereto, that she saw no reason for altering the course adopted by her.

The individual with whom the crime of adultery was alleged to have taken place so repeatedly, was named Bartolomeo Bergami; and he having accompanied her majesty as far as to St. Omers, there requested permission to withdraw his further services, and received his dismissal in consequence. Mr. Brougham still remained at St. Omers; and the only persons in attendance upon the queen, at the period of her embarking for England, with the exception of menial servants, were her protégé Mr. William Austin, of whom so much surmise has taken place, Lady Anne Hamilton, Alderman Wood, and his son.

LANDING OF QUEEN CAROLINE IN ENGLAND.

On Tuesday the sixth of June, at one o'clock, after an absence of six years, her majesty set foot once more on the shores of Britain. The queen was received, on her landing at Dover, with the most heartfelt expressions of joy, and demonstrations of welcome, by myriads of people, who had assembled on the beach to hail her return to England. A triumphal procession was arranged, preceded by a variety of flags with inscriptions appropriate to the occasion, from the place of landing to the principal inn. She left Dover at half-past six in the evening, and slept that night at Canterbury; which place, after receiving the compliments of the corporation, she quitted the next morning, and, anxious to proceed, arrived in London that afternoon.

Prior to the queen leaving Dover, she received an address from the inhabitants, congratulating her on her reaching this country, as well as on her acces-

sion to the throne, as queen consort. Her answer was gracious, dignified, and appropriate to her new situation. She expressed her unfeigned delight in once more being united with so generous and noble a nation; and her hope that the time would come, when she would be permitted to promote the happiness of her husband's subjects.

On each part of the road her progress was marked, and her presence greeted by the congregated masses of people, with every unequivocal testimony of devotion, and every demonstration of triumph and joy that time and possibility could achieve. On her nearer approach to the capital, the cavalcade which preceded her carriage increased to such a surprising extent, that it might be thought a nation of cavaliers, winged with the spirit of ancient chivalry, had flown to congratulate her arrival, and become her escort; whilst the metropolis, at the same time, poured forth its million from all quarters, so as actually to retard the procession. The queen having finally resolved to take up her temporary residence at the dwelling of alderman Wood, in South Ainsliey street, the growing cavalcade took the route up Pall Mall, passing the king's palace with shouts of triumphal exultation, and at last gained the alderman's house; at which place her majesty alighted, and subsequently came forward, at the loud and reiterated request of the immense concourse, to the balconies of the house—and by this, and other acts of condescension, testified the grateful sense she entertained of the rapturous reception which she had met with during her journey. Long after the queen had withdrawn from the windows, and even during the chief part of the night, multitudes of the lower classes still remained collected around the house, discussing the events of the day: illuminations were called for, with no small voice, in the neighbouring streets; and complied with, by many from a spirit of real exultation, and others from the dread of refusing what the clamours of the populace demanded, made darkness visible, so that the illumination became general—but not before the committing of divers outrages had taken place.

If the queen's friends were thus on the alert, no supineness could be ascribed to the ministers of the king, as during this her majesty's triumphant progress they had been engaged in deliberations upon the measures which her sudden and almost unexpected arrival in England rendered it expedient for them to pursue. Intelligence had been received by them of the queen's positive refusal to negotiate on the evening of Monday the fifth of June, at which time they were also informed of her embarkation at Calais. A cabinet council was held at Lord Liverpool's house, on the same night, which assembled at nine o'clock, and continued till past twelve in close conference. The ministers resumed their deliberations the next morning, and protracted them till near one; adjourning only for the despatch of other business till half-past nine the same night. During the interval of this adjournment, the two houses of parliament assembled at their usual hour, and the king went in state to the house of lords about two o'clock, and gave the royal assent to several bills, including the civil list bill, which had then first passed.

THE KING'S MESSAGE TO PARLIAMENT.

IMMEDIATELY afterwards Lord Liverpool brought down the subsequent message from the king, which was read from the woolsack by the lord chancellor Eldon:

"GEORGE R.

"THE king thinks it necessary, in consequence of the arrival of the queen, to communicate to the house of lords certain papers respecting the conduct of her majesty since her departure from this kingdom, which he recommends to the immediate and serious attention of this house.

"The king has felt the most anxious desire to avert the necessity of disclosures and disclosures, which must be as painful to his people as they can be to himself; but the step now taken by the queen leaves him no alternative.

"The king has the fullest confidence, that in consequence of this communication, the house of lords will adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case, and the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown may require."

Lord Liverpool then laid on the table the papers

referred to in his majesty's message, contained in a green bag; and his lordship proposed that his majesty's message should be taken into consideration on the following day, when he meant to move an address upon it. "The terms of the address," his lordship observed, "would be such as not to pledge their lordships to any thing further than to thank his majesty for his communication, and to assure him, that their lordships would adopt that course of proceeding which the justice of the case and the honour and dignity of the crown should appear to require." His lordship added—"that he should then move to refer the papers he had laid on the table to a secret committee, having for its object to inquire whether any, and what course of proceeding should be adopted."

The same message from the king, accompanied by a duplicate bag of papers, was carried to the house of commons by lord Castlereagh; who stated that he should pursue precisely the same procedure as those which lord Liverpool had announced in the upper house.

The notification of lord Liverpool originated no discussion; but immediately upon this motion of lord Castlereagh being put by the speaker, Mr. Grey Bennett commenced an attack, by assailing the conduct of ministers; in which he demanded to know, whether a letter, which had appeared in a public journal, purporting to be a letter from lord Hutchinson to Mr. Brougham was a genuine document or not? Whether lord Hutchinson had been instructed by his majesty's ministers to tender to the queen a proposal, that she should renounce all right, title, and claim to the name, dignity, and honours of queen of England? And whether the bribe offered her for making this renunciation was an income of fifty thousand a-year as stated therein? Lord Castlereagh, in a vein of irony, replied, that "out of tenderness to the honourable gentleman, and with a view to allow him time to reflect upon the subject, he should decline answering the questions which he had then put; for he appealed to the good sense of the house, whether any answer was necessary considering the very grave communication which had just been made to it." Mr. Brougham complained that an imperfect statement of the transactions at St. Omers had that morning made its appearance in the newspapers, and also censured the publication of lord Hutchinson's letter. He did not however elucidate or explain away any of the misrepresentations or misstatements. He avowed that he was at a loss to conjecture to whom so great and palpable a breach of confidence as this publication of lord Hutchinson's letter could be ascribed; and observed that whatever the merits of the case now at issue against the queen might be, the defence of ministers must solely rest upon their clearly proving, that her majesty's landing in England had not only precluded other measures, but rendered impossible all further forbearance on their parts.

THE QUEEN'S COMMUNICATION TO HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE following day, June seventh, prior to the taking the king's message into consideration, Mr. Brougham read to the house the communication from the queen which follows:

"The queen thinks it necessary to inform the house of commons, that she has been induced to return to England, in consequence of the measures pursued against her honour and her peace for some time by secret agents abroad, and lately sanctioned by the conduct of the government at home. In adopting this course, her majesty has had no other purpose whatsoever but the defence of her character, and the maintenance of those just rights, which have devolved upon her by the death of that revered monarch, in whose high honour and unshaken affection she had always found her surest support.

"Upon her arrival, the queen is surprised to find that a message has been sent down to parliament requiring its attention to written documents; and she learns with still greater astonishment that there is an intention of proposing that these should be referred to a select committee. It is this day fourteen years since the first charges were brought forward against her majesty. Then and upon every occasion during that long period, she has shown the utmost readiness to meet her accusers, and to meet the fullest inquiry into her conduct. She now also

desires an open investigation, in which she may see both the charges and the witnesses against her; a privilege not denied to the meanest subject of the realm. In the face of the sovereign, the parliament, and the country, she solemnly protests against the formation of a secret tribunal to examine documents, privately prepared by her adversaries, as a proceeding unknown to the law of the land, and a flagrant violation of all the principles of justice. She relies with full confidence upon the integrity of the house of commons for defeating the only attempt she has any reason to fear.

"The queen cannot forbear to add, that even before any proceedings were resolved upon, she had been treated in a manner too well calculated to prejudice her case. The omission of her name in the liturgy; the withholding the means of conveyance usually afforded to all the branches of the royal family; the refusal even of an answer to her application for a place of residence in the royal mansions; and the studied slight of the English ministers abroad, and of the agents of all foreign powers over whom the English government had any influence, must be viewed as measures designed to prejudice the world against her, and could only have been justified by trial and conviction."

PROCEEDINGS IN THE COMMONS.

WHEN this communication had been read, lord Castlereagh moved the order of the day for taking the message of the king into consideration. His lordship, after entering at great length into a defence of the conduct of ministry, concluded a speech of considerable ability, with moving, that the papers contained in the sealed bag, which he on the preceding day presented to the house, should be referred to a select committee, in order to consider fully the matter thereof, and to report thereon their opinions to the house accordingly. The appointment of a committee was resisted by Mr. Brougham, who proceeded to a minute examination of the proposals made to her majesty through the intervention of lord Hutchinson; these he commented upon, and in the severest terms deeply reprobated.

STATEMENT OF MINISTERS.

MR. CANNING rose to follow Mr. Brougham. He declared that next to the desire which was the nearest his heart, that this inquiry might be even now avoided, he cherished the hope, that she, who was chiefly interested in the result of this inquiry, would come out of the trial superior to the accusation. He next defended the conduct of ministers in proposing terms of compromise to her, and in endeavouring to open a negotiation with her. He then alluded very strongly to the proposals which had originated with Mr. Brougham in 1819. He said ministers had been inadvertent enough to receive a communication under the seal of such rigid secrecy, that he must abstain from stating its contents, although he held the paper in his hand: nor could he even state the quarter from whence it came, though that would be very material, but when goaded by wanton and unnecessary insult he must mention to the house that, in July 1819, a statement had been given to government, under an obligation of keeping it secret, discussing every one of the propositions which had been made in the present instance to her majesty. He said he was precluded from stating its actual contents; but thus much he would say fearlessly, that not one proposition had been made by his majesty's ministers, which had not its prototype in the suggestion thus made to government, for the eventual guidance of its conduct. When drawing his speech to a conclusion, Mr. Canning lamented, that the projected and much to be desired negotiation at St. Omers had failed, and in continuation said, "For this result no blame could be attached to the honourable and learned gentleman, (Mr. Brougham,) or to the noble lord who accompanied him. Other advice, no doubt, had been given to her majesty, advice which, if it had not proceeded from bad intention, was not characterised by absolute wisdom. But that advice, at least the failure of the negotiation, had forced this appeal to parliament."

Several other members having delivered their consequent opinions on this subject, Mr. Wilber

force rose to recommend a short delay, in the expectant hope of some mode of compromise being yet achievable, and accordingly moved that the present debate be adjourned until the Friday next following. Lord Castlereagh said he would not oppose the motion for this delay, as it marked the spirit which pervaded the house, which spirit was perfectly in unison with that upon which ministers had themselves acted. He could not, however, he added, be responsible for the effect of such delay; indeed it was his full conviction, that little, if any good could be anticipated or expected from it; but he was not therefore the less disposed to bow to the wisdom of those who professed a different view of and opinion on this subject. The adjournment of the house in consequence took place.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

In the house of peers, the motion of lord Liverpool for a secret committee was carried without a division. His lordship observed, "that the appointment of this committee would in no respect prejudice the queen's case, as their business would be not to condemn, but merely to inquire whether there were sufficient reasons for ulterior proceedings. The adulterous intercourse of which her majesty was suspected, having been committed with a foreigner, did not amount to treason; it was not even an indictable offence; it was a mere civil injury. The affair, therefore, could not come before their lordships in their judicial capacity, according to the common forms of law. Neither could they be called upon to decide upon it in the shape of an impeachment; for how could any person be impeached for that which the law treated as a simple civil injury! It was, therefore, only legislatively that the lords could have to deal with this matter, and before any definitive legislative measure should be proposed with respect to it, a committee should inquire whether any, and what steps were necessary to be taken."

A secret committee, consisting of fifteen peers, was accordingly chosen, by ballot; but in consequence of a negotiation instigated by the house of commons, the meeting of the committee was postponed by various adjournments, in the hope that ulterior proceedings might even then be avoided. All overtures for a compromise being finally rejected by her majesty, the secret committee made its report on the fourth of July, in the following terms:—

"By the lords' committee appointed a secret committee to examine the papers laid before the house of lords on Tuesday the sixth of June last, in two sealed bags, by his majesty's command, and to report thereupon as they shall see fit; and to whom have been since referred several additional papers, in two sealed bags, by his majesty's command, relative to the subject matter of his majesty's most gracious message of the sixth of June last.

"Ordered to report, that the committee have examined, with all the attention due to so important a subject, the documents laid before them; and they find that these documents contain allegations supported by the concurrent testimony of a great number of persons in various situations of life, and residing in different parts of Europe, which deeply affect the honour of the queen, charging her majesty with an adulterous connection with a foreigner, originally in her service in a menial capacity, and attributing to her majesty a continued series of conduct highly unbecoming her majesty's rank and station, and of the most licentious character.

"These charges appear to the committee to be calculated so deeply to affect, not only the honour of the queen, but also the dignity of the crown, and the moral feeling and honour of the country, that, in their opinion, it is necessary they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry, which it appears to the committee may be best effected in the course of a legislative proceeding, the necessity of which they cannot but most deeply deplore."

On the subsequent day, lord Dacre presented the following petition from the queen:—

"CAROLINE Regina.

"THE queen observing the most extraordinary report made by the secret committee of the house of lords, now lying upon the table, represents to the house that she is prepared at this moment to

defend herself against it, as far as she can understand its import. Her majesty has also to state, that there are various weighty matters touching the same, which it is absolutely necessary, with a view to her future defence, to have detailed in the present stage of the proceeding. The queen, therefore, prays to be heard this day, by her counsel, regarding such matters."

Lord Dacre then moved that counsel should be called in, but the motion was negatived.

The earl of Liverpool then proposed the following

BILL OF PAINES AND PENALTIES.

"AN act to deprive her majesty queen Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of the title, prerogatives, rights, privileges and exemptions of Queen Consort of this realm, and to dissolve the marriage between his majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth.

"Whereas, in the year 1814, her majesty Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, then princess of Wales, and now queen consort of this realm, being at Milan, in Italy, engaged in her service in a menial situation, one Bartolomeo Bergami, a foreigner of low station, who had before served in a similar capacity.—And whereas, after the said Bartolomeo Bergami had so entered the service of her royal highness, the said princess of Wales, a most unbecoming, degrading intimacy commenced between her royal highness and the said Bartolomeo Bergami.—And whereas, her royal highness not only advanced the said Bartolomeo Bergami to a high station in her royal highness's household, and received into her service many of his near relations, some of them in inferior, and others in high and confidential situations about her royal highness's person; but bestowed upon him other great and extraordinary marks of favour and distinction; and conferred upon him a pretended order of knighthood, which her royal highness had taken upon herself to institute without any just or lawful authority.—And whereas, her royal highness, whilst the said Bartolomeo Bergami was in her said service, further unmindful of her exalted rank and station, and of her duty to your majesty, and wholly regardless of her own honour, and character, conducted herself towards the said Bartolomeo Bergami both in public and private, in various places and countries which her royal highness visited, with indecent and offensive familiarity and freedom; and carried on a licentious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse with the said Bartolomeo Bergami, which continued for a long period of time during her royal highness's residence abroad; by which conduct of her said royal highness great scandal and dishonour have been brought upon your majesty's family and this kingdom. Therefore to manifest our deep sense of such scandalous, disgraceful, and vicious conduct on the part of her said majesty, by which she has violated the duty she owed to your majesty, and has rendered herself unworthy of the exalted rank and station of queen consort of this realm; and to evince our just regard for the dignity of the crown and the honour of the nation, we your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons in parliament assembled, do humbly entreat your majesty that it may be enacted—And be it hereby enacted, by the king's most excellent majesty by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that her said majesty Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, from and after the passing of this act, shall be and hereby is deprived of the title of queen, and of all the prerogatives, rights, privileges and exemptions, appertaining to her as queen consort of this realm; and that her said majesty shall from and after the passing of this act, for ever be disabled and rendered incapable of using, exercising, and enjoying the same, or any of them; and moreover that the marriage between his majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth be, and the same is hereby, henceforth and for ever wholly dissolved, annulled, and made void to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever."

This document will remain as a lasting memorial to posterity of the nature of these charges which were exhibited against the queen, and of the serious penalties which, if the bill had finally passed, would have followed the declaration of her majesty's guilt. According to the forms observed in the

house of lords, it was requisite that this bill should be read a first time, as a preliminary step to the introduction of any evidence to be adduced in support of such heavy charges at the bar of their house; so that it was not until the seventeenth of August that the trial of her majesty upon this bill of indictment may be said to have actually commenced.—On that day there appeared in support of the bill, Sir Robert Gifford, the king's attorney-general; Sir John Copley, the king's solicitor-general; Sir Christopher Robinson the king's advocate-general, doctor Adams, a civilian, and Mr. Parke an outer barrister. On the part of the queen, appeared her majesty's attorney general, Henry Brougham, Esq. her majesty's solicitor general, Thomas Denman, Esq. Dr. Lushington a civilian, and Messrs. John Williams, Tindal, and Wilde, outer barristers. Mr. Maule, solicitor to the treasury, assisted by Mr. Powell, an attorney who had been employed at Milan in collecting the evidence, acted as agent for the bill, and Mr. Vizard as agent for the queen.

PREPARATORY PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO QUEEN.

WHILST the city of London, followed by various other cities, towns, villages, corporations, guilds, and associated bodies, were pouring in addresses of congratulation, which stream of public opinion was daily swelling to a torrent, foaming and impetuous, declaratory to her majesty of the people's sentiments, and assuring her of their determined and affectionate support, the adverse party were busily employed in preparing for the approaching investigation; in aid of which, many witnesses, principally natives of the Italian states, were rapidly arriving at our different ports: one party of these, on landing at Dover, received a sample of British feeling, being very roughly handled by the populace; and their safety was ultimately provided for, by congregating them in a spot conveniently contiguous to the houses of parliament, known by the name of Cotton Garden.

LIST OF WITNESSES REFUSED.

HER MAJESTY'S petitionary application for a list of times and places, referred to in the several charges, as well as names and designation of witnesses to be adduced in support of such charges, having been refused by the house of lords, they adjourned until the fifteenth of August, and the house of commons until the twenty-first; all means of accommodation, in the interim, being rejected, and the legal advisers on both sides of the question having been marshalled as before stated. The memorable day, August seventeenth, 1890, may be considered as the

COMMENCEMENT OF THE QUEEN'S TRIAL.

AT a very early hour on that day, many individuals, from a hope that assiduity and perseverance might procure them an opportunity of witnessing this interesting scene, assembled in the neighbourhood of the houses of parliament; all, however, who did not bear with them the passport of a noble lord, or were unconnected with the public press, were disappointed. Soon after nine o'clock, the peers began to take their seats, and several members of the lower house occupied stations near the throne. The space reserved for the queen's counsel, short-hand writer, &c. was provided with desks, and an abundant supply of writing materials. The peers now arrived in considerable numbers, and as soon as the lord chancellor was seated on the woolsack, prayers were read by the junior Bishop of Landaff. Soon afterwards Sir Charles Abbott, (chief justice of the king's bench), Mr. Justice Holroyd, and Mr. Justice Best, entered the house; they were quickly followed by lord chief baron Richards, Mr. Baron Garrow, and the lord chief justice of the common pleas. At ten o'clock, precisely, the order of the house was read, for calling over the names of the peers by Mr. Cooper, deputy clerk of parliament. These preliminaries concluded—the earl of Liverpool moved, "That the order of the day for the second reading of the before recited bill of pains and penalties, be now read." The duke of Leinster opposed this measure, in pursuance of previous notice given by him, and moved, "That the said order be now rescinded." On the lord chancellor's putting the question, the cry of "content" was feeble, that of "noncontent" very powerful. The duke then

demanded a division; the numbers were contents forty-one, noncontents two hundred and six—majority one hundred and sixty-five. The earl of Liverpool then moved that counsel be called in, and heard in support of the preamble of the bill.

The earl of Caernarvon having, in a speech of considerable length and sound argument, stated his reasons for opposing the present measure, as one not of necessity; a discussion took place, as to the propriety of the course about to be pursued, towards the queen, and questioning whether the crime imputed to her did not amount to high treason; and therefore subjected her to a mode of proceeding, different to a bill of pains and penalties. In this discussion, earls Grey, Liverpool, and the marquis of Lansdowne partook. The doubts thus arising, were then submitted to the decision of the judges, who retired, and on their return, the lord chief justice Abbott delivered their united opinion.

"The judges have conferred together upon the question proposed to them by the house, whether, if a foreigner, owing no allegiance to the crown of England, violates in a foreign country the wife of the king's eldest son, and she consents thereto, she commits high treason, within the meaning of the act of the 25th Edward III. ? And we are of opinion that such an individual, under such circumstances, does not commit high treason, within the meaning of that act." This opinion, his lordship continued, was grounded upon the language of that statute of Edward III., which declared it to be treason for any man to violate the wife of the king, the wife of the king's eldest son, &c.; the judges holding that, unless there were a man who could be legally charged with such a violation, the charge being that he did the act against his allegiance; it could not be said that treason had been committed. An act done by a foreigner, therefore, owing no allegiance to the crown, could not amount to that crime.

The question that counsel be called, being carried in the affirmative, it was followed by the appearance of her majesty's law officers, and those retained in her behalf; the attorney and solicitor general, and others on the side of the prosecution. On presenting themselves at the bar, the duke of Hamilton requested to know by what authority the king's attorney general stood in that place? On what part he appeared? and by whom he had been instructed to appear?

The earl of Liverpool understood the attorney-general appeared in consequence of an order received from the house. He had taken those steps which to him seemed best for the purpose of obtaining information. He had applied for information to the secretary of state for the home department, and with that and such other information as had been obtained, he now appeared for the purpose of opening the case.

Mr. Brougham then said, that he humbly conceived the time was now come when, under the authority of their lordships themselves, he was free to state his objections to the principle of the bill in this present stage of its progress.

Counsel was then ordered to withdraw. After a few minutes it was communicated to them that they were at liberty to urge their objections to the principle of the bill, either at that time, or after the evidence was concluded.

Though it will not be admissible, to enter at full into the proceedings of this most extraordinary trial, by giving the detailed evidence adduced on the occasion, yet as some satisfaction to the reader at this point, and in trifling, though very feeble, testimony of the forensic eloquence displayed by the legal gentlemen engaged in the prosecution, as well as the defence, and the legislative acumen elicited during this momentous period, some copious extracts will be hazarded from the printed proceedings; delivered during the trial from day to day, for the use of the house. In these extracts, the utter impossibility of doing justice to the real oratory, and the persuasive force, and legal argument offered at the bar, by the various advocates, would deter the attempt in persons less inclined, to afford more than a bare recital of dates to their readers; at the same time it is proper to remark, that these data can only be considered as scarcely discernible marks of the broad track, given in many contemporaneous accounts of the trial published at large at the period; and in particularly referring the intelligent reader to that well digested

account written by Adolphus. It is only necessary to peruse it, to prove that it is the most authentic, as well as succinct, that can be obtained of all the matters connected with this important political measure.

THE SPEECH OF MR. BROUGHAM AGAINST THE BILL.

MR. BROUGHAM then commenced his general address to their lordships against any further proceedings with the bill of pains and penalties on the queen. Such laws were sometimes passed in the earlier periods of the Roman history, and were denominated *privilegia*. They were divided into two classes: one consisting of laws passed against, and the other of laws passed in favour of, individuals. The great Roman juriconsults, however, who well knew the value of their expressions, as well as of the principles which they established, had called all such laws *privilegia odiosa*, thereby indicating to aftertimes, that they ought never to be resorted to except in cases of absolute necessity. He would not say that all those whom the great masters of ancient jurisprudence served had governed their conduct by that principle. On the contrary, he was well aware that no blacker proceedings were to be found than some of these *privilegia odiosa*. Another objection to the present bill was, that it was an *ex-post facto* law: it suffered a deed to be done, and afterwards pronounced upon its innocence or its guilt. Without notice or warning, it laid hold of a party, and inflicted punishment with the same severity as if the supposed crime had been distinctly defined and the punishment denounced. The bills passed against Mortimer and others at the commencement of Edward III.'s reign, were afterwards rescinded, as was also the case with most of those passed during the reign of Richard III. The succeeding age was almost sure to guard them as measures adopted to serve a temporary purpose. He did not think it necessary, at this stage of the proceeding, to make any reference to the reign of Henry VIII., and he should therefore pass over the whole history of that barbarous and detested prince; detestable alike for his spoliations of property and his cruelty to his family; but still more detestable for his violation of the dearest and most sacred charities. He should therefore take his stand upon what had passed under milder reigns, and the case of lord Strafford, under Charles I. would be sufficient for his argument. He considered the bill of attainder passed against that nobleman as the greatest diatribe that ever sullied the purity of either house of parliament. He would read to them the recorded sentiments of their ancestors, because no language of his could make so deep an impression as this was calculated to make on the hearts and understandings of all men. After stating, that, under various pretexts, the turbulent party, hostile to lord Strafford, seeing no mode of obtaining their object by any ordinary procedure, had resolved to effect that nobleman's destruction (meaning not only his bodily destruction, but that of his character), and, therefore, purposely murdered him. The present bill, substituting, for death, deprivation of rank the most illustrious, removal from a station the most exalted, and the loss of privileges the most esteemed amongst women—say, and what was yet dearer, the ruin of her character and happiness—belonged strictly and technically to that class of enactments which their lordships' predecessors had thus characterized.—He had thus stated his general objections to all bills of this nature, and he had now to address himself to the one immediately before them. He should form but an inadequate approximation to the understanding of this libel, if he believed it to be only like other bills of pains and penalties; for he would venture to say, that the worst of those bills (not excepting even those relating to the wives of Henry VIII.) was, when compared with the present, a regular, consistent, and judicial proceeding. In the first instance he assumed that nothing illegal could be laid to her majesty's charge. He was bound to assume this by the decision of the judges, and, indeed, from the very face of the proceeding. He submitted, therefore, that some satisfactory reasons ought to be stated why impeachment was not resorted to in this instance. Was the case such, that no house of commons could be expected to pass a vote upon it or was the evidence so lame and defective, that no committee would recommend any proceedings in relation to it? Why had they not confidently trust-

ed to that house, and taken their papers and their witnesses where an impeachment might be founded upon them, and where their lordships would have to administer justice in the regular and established form? Her majesty was deprived of many advantages by this adoption of a different course. In the other case she would have been furnished with some specification of the charges, or at least they would have been set forth with more peculiarity of detail as to the various points of the accusation. Perhaps also a list of witnesses could not then have been withheld, and, in a word, the queen would have had all the advantages of a real judicial proceeding. The case of lord Strafford, and the proceedings to which it led, as well as the protests of the virtuous minority who opposed the bill,—all went to prove that such measures could only be justified in order either to have the state from ruin, or because justice had failed from some positive defect in a court competent to administer it. The burden of proof on the necessity of this bill being thrown on the other side, he would ask, where was that impelling and overruling necessity (he did not say motive, for that might be guessed) which alone could prescribe and justify this measure? Was the succession or its purity endangered, or was there even a possibility of its being put in jeopardy? Here he was entitled to ask, Why proceed with this bill without necessity? Why attack the queen for acts which, if committed, could not endanger the succession? This was not a trial under any known law; and if the possibility of danger of this kind were established, he allowed that one of the preliminary objections to the bill had been removed. But he called upon its supporters to show how the succession was endangered. If there were a chance that the succession might fail for want of heirs, some such change might be desirable; but it could not be contended that such a contingency was at all likely to happen. It was said that the exalted station of her majesty rendered her conduct an object of peculiar solicitude with her family, and that the legislature was bound to protect the honour of that family; that her majesty's conduct tended to degrade the throne on which she sat, and the nation over which she was placed; and it was contended, therefore, that the connection existing between her and the nation must be broken, because her conduct would sully its purity. First of all he might be permitted to ask, whether it had never struck their lordships that these charges all referred to the conduct of her majesty before she became queen, when she had no royal dignity to support, when she had no immediate connection with the diadem, and when she was only the wife of a subject, though filling the highest station in the realm? But see how this operated on another most important part of the question. If the queen had been brought before the house when princess of Wales, and charged with offences alleged to be done in that capacity, could any man deny that a bill of divorce from her royal husband must have been the remedy, and that divorce could only be obtained with the ordinary forms? All the preliminary forms must have been observed; the party claiming the bill must have come into the house by petition, and he would come in vain, if he did not enter it with clean hands. But here the promoters of this measure waited till the queen had lost her rank as princess of Wales, and until that rank was almost forgotten; and then they said, because she is now queen we will proceed against her for offences alleged to have been committed when she was princess of Wales—thus taking especial care not to take one step while she possessed those rights against her husband which every private wife enjoyed. He did not say that those rights were extinct, but some persons did assert it, and that was enough for his argument. Thus the question now was, not between man and wife, but between king and queen, and the promoters of this bill delayed till they thought at least that she was deprived of one protection. Either, then, this bill must be dismissed for having been brought in too late, or there was not a shadow of justice in not giving her *hanc pro tunc*, as lawyers expressed it, the benefit of her situation as princess of Wales. This brought him to implore their lordships to pause a while on the threshold of this proceeding.—“I put out of view,” said Mr. B. “at present the question of recrimination: I raised it for the purpose of my argument, and I shall pursue it no farther. I should be most deeply, and I may say with

perfect truth unfeignedly afflicted, if in the progress of this ill-omened question the necessity were imposed upon me of mentioning it again; and I should act directly in the teeth of the instructions of this illustrious woman [pointing to the queen, who sat immediately below him], I should disobey her solemn commands if I again used even the word re- crimination without being driven to it by an absolute and overruling compulsion. In obedience to the same high command I lay out of view, as equally inconsistent with my own feelings and those of my client, all arguments of another description in which I might be tempted to show that levity or indiscretion, criminality, or even criminal intercourse (for why should I be afraid to use the term?) cannot be held to be fatal to the character of the country, or to the honour and dignity of the illustrious family governing it. Here nothing is or has been proved; and is it because calumnies have been bruited and gossiped about—because such a jealous watch has been kept upon the queen abroad, that we are to think they are to have more force than conduct less, equivocal at home? The argument, and every thing resulting from it, I willingly postpone till the day of necessity; and in the same way I dismiss for the present all other questions respecting the conduct or connections of any parties previous to marriage. These I say not one word about: they are dangerous and tremendous questions, the consequences of discussing which, at the present moment, I will not even trust myself to describe. At present I hold them to be needless to the safety of my client; but when the necessity arrives, an advocate knows but one duty, and, cost what it may, he must discharge it. Be the consequences what they may to any other persons, powers, principalities, dominions, or nations, an advocate is bound to do his duty; and I shall not fail to exert every means in my power to put a stop to this bill. But when I am told that a case of absolute necessity for the measure is made out, because the queen has been guilty of improper familiarities (though I must look at the bill itself for the nice distinctions and refined expressions found in it)—because she has thought fit to raise from low situations, officers who had served other people in menial capacities—because she had treated them with unbecoming intimacy—because she had advanced them, and bestowed marks of favour and distinction upon them—because she had created an order, and conducted herself in public and private with offensive familiarity—I cannot help asking, if these matters are so fatal to the honour and dignity of the crown, nay, to the very peace of the nation (for what else can justify a bill like this?) why it is only resorted to at the present moment? The bill charges even a licentious, disgraceful, and adulterous intercourse, and therefore its supporters say, it is absolutely necessary for the house to interpose. But I appeal to the house—for I am compelled to do so—whether this is not only untrue, but whether it is not known to be untrue. The bill itself speaks falsely, and I will tell you why I say so. Are we arrived in this age, at that highest pitch of polish in society, when we shall be afraid to call things by their proper names, yet shall not scruple to punish by express laws an offence in the weaker sex which has been passed over in the stronger? Have we indeed reached that stage? I trust I shall not hear it said in this place: I hope that spirit of justice which I believe pervades this house at large will prevent it. But if not I will appeal to the spirit of holiness, and to the heads of the church now ranged before me, whether adultery is to be considered only a crime in woman. I make the same confident appeal, and to the same quarter, when I ask whether the crown can be dishonoured, the fame of the country tarnished, and the morals of the people put in jeopardy, if an adulterous intercourse (which no one ventures to call adultery) shall be proved against a lady, when that which I venture to call adultery, because the exalted individual himself has confessed it to be so, has actually been committed by a prince. It is with the utmost pain that I make this statement: it is wrung from me by hard compulsion; for there is not a man who acknowledges with a deeper sense of gratitude than I do all the obligations which this country and Europe owe to that illustrious individual. I say it not—God forbid I should—to visit harshly upon him any of the failings of our common nature, much less to alter in

one iota my recorded sense of the baseness of that conspiracy by which those failings were dragged before the public. I bring it forward because it is in truth an answer to this case. Why was no bill of degradation brought in in 1809, after the resolution of the house of commons, and a full confession on behalf of the party accused, that he had been guilty of "most immoral and unbecoming conduct?" All this, I say, was well known to the authors of the present bill; for one of themselves penned the very words I have just read to the house. I ask, therefore, whether there is any possibility of replying to this objection, but in one short way—that all men may do all they please, however exalted their station, however intimately connected with the crown, and with the highest interests of the state, that their conduct is perfectly indifferent; but let the tooth of slander once fix upon a defenceless female of the family, who has been residing abroad, who has been allowed to expatriate herself; who has been assisted in removing from the country, and even cherished to keep away from it; then, that instant, the venous murex is loosed, and she must be persecuted and degraded, under the canting, hypocritical, and disgusting pretence that the character of the country and the honour of the crown are at stake. Whether all of us, nearer to the object, do or do not see through the flimsy pretext, be assured that the good sense of the nation cannot be deceived, and that those at a distance will be both shocked and astonished. The people at large must look upon it as something too ridiculous to be examined. I myself can hardly use decorous terms in speaking of it, and they, in their homely language, will assert that it is an attempt to accomplish one purpose under the colour of another. "Here is a man," they will say, "who wishes to get rid of his wife; he talks of the honour and safety of the country; yet its dearest interests, its peace, its morals, and its happiness, are to be sacrificed to gratify his desires." He would ask who had encouraged the queen to go abroad? When the illustrious personage, were it only by all she had experienced in this country, naturally began to think repose a blessing, who had recommended that she should seek it on the continent? Who had opposed the advice given by the friends of the queen, to which they had set their hands, and he (Mr. Brougham) among them, that they would answer with their heads for her safety while in England, but that when abroad she would be surrounded by foreigners, spies, and informers? Who had counteracted this faithful suggestion? Who but those who were now arrayed against her, with a green bag of documentary evidence in the one hand, and this bill of degradation in the other? How happened it that they never before thought of the character of the country, the honour of the royal family, and the dignity of the throne? Where was their boasted sagacity, when these evil counsellors could not foresee what might be the consequences of the step they were so earnestly recommending? Then there was no whisper of any thing of the sort: all was to be ease, tranquillity, and liberty, for the rest of her majesty's life: there was to be no watching, no prying, no spying, no asking "why do you do so or so?" but all was to be kindness and toleration. With these promises, the next thing was to assist the queen to depart. The ship of war, which was refused to bring her back, had been readily granted to take her away. Money was also offered, with equal liberality, for her outfit, and her residence abroad commenced, under the happiest auspices. Yet reports soon came over; they increased by degrees; the slander became blacker and more malignant; and as early as four years ago it had assumed a certain consistency. Still there was no jealous watching, no hunting for evidence, and no hint given to the queen that it would be fit to be more guarded in her conduct: the character of the country and the honour of the crown were then never dreamed of. Ministers had never said, "Return; this is dangerous—the country suffers—the crown is dishonoured—the royal family degraded by these calumnious reports." On the contrary, they had done every thing to encourage her staying; and he (Mr. Brougham) would venture to stake his existence that any man would have been deemed an enemy, and have had the court doors flung in his face, who should have had the hardihood to counsel that her royal highness should have been requested to re-

visit this country. Yet these very men, after forcing her away—after aiding, abetting, and encouraging a foreign residence—after taking no one step to put an end to that which they themselves alleged to be the sole cause of the evil: even at the twelfth hour, and when the twelfth hour was about to toll, did they then come with a request that she should return? Did they then suggest that her majesty, having changed her station, could no longer live abroad with safety—that what might be good for a princess was evil for a queen? Did they come forward with any plain frank disclosure that some inquiry might be rendered necessary—that reports had got abroad so malignant that they could not be overlooked—that suspicion attached, and that that suspicion must be removed? Was any thing of this sort done, not in kindness to the queen, but in compassion to the long-suffering people of England now agitated by this great question? No such thing: to the last moment she was warned not to come back: she was to be pensioned, largely pensioned, for not coming home; and she was to enjoy the rank she had degraded and the privileges she had forfeited. She was to have an income to enable her to be wicked on a larger scale—all levity, all indiscretion, even “adulterous intercourse,” was to be pardoned on one condition, and that condition was, that she should continue abroad, before the eyes of foreigners, who envied and hated us: she was to be the degrading spectacle of the queen of this country, without one of the virtues the ought to belong to her sex and her condition. With these facts before him, he must have a mind capable of swallowing the most monstrous improbabilities who could lend himself for one moment to the belief that ministers gave credit to the preamble of the bill. It would never have been heard of if the queen had returned from Calais; but her landing at Dover called up all those phantoms of national degradation and insulted honour, of which so much had recently been heard: they were all raised by the foot which she set upon the English shore; and if she had consented to restrain it, she might still have lived without imputation, at least from the quarter in which it now originated. “I end here,” said Mr. Brougham, “what I have to urge—not that I have nothing more to bring forward, but because I am sure that your lordships are men of justice, that you are men of principle, men of ordinary sagacity, and, above all, that you are men of honour. I have made my appeal to you upon this bill. I feel confident that I have not made it in vain. True it is that your committee has reported in its favour, but that cannot pledge the house, and he is the greatest of all fools who consults his apparent consistency at the expense of his absolute ruin. The sooner you retrace the step into which you may have been led at an unwary moment, the greater will be the service you render your country: if you decide that this bill ought not to proceed, you will be the saviours of the state, and indeed promote the substantial welfare of the kingdom, and the truest honour of the crown.”

MR. DENMAN AGAINST THE BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES.

MR. DENMAN presented himself at the bar, and in a speech distinguished as much for eloquence as it was for sound argument, argued against the principle of the bill. “I trust,” said the learned counsel, “your lordships will, above all things, seriously weigh the balance of evil which is likely to arise from this measure. I trust also, that you will not yourselves, overlook any matter which is calculated to injure, or produce a disregard for the marriage tie. Look, my lords, to the moral feelings of the country, which this measure is calculated to outrage. Observe that all this cannot be productive of any good—but must, be the result what it may, produce infinite harm to the country. I must here, on the part of her majesty, protest against any proceeding by bill of pains and penalties, when the scene is laid in a foreign and distant land, when the inquiry is to be into a life of more than six years, and when the accused has been refused a list of the witnesses against her. This last refusal placed her majesty in a worse situation than any person taking his trial in one of the lower courts. The request made to your lordships was, in fact, that this great principle might be preserved, but modified according to your lordships’ pleasure, so

as to avoid inconvenience. This, however, has been refused. In the case of a charge in the lower courts, the witnesses appeared before a grand jury, and the accused had an opportunity of ascertaining the character of the persons by whom the accusation was to be supported. But her majesty has been denied this right. Therefore instead of having received any favour at the hands of your lordships, she has every right to complain. Again, I say, that in her majesty’s name I protest against this bill of pains and penalties in a case which admits of impeachment. I also protest against your lordships not discharging the duties imposed on you, as well as your exercise of a power not contemplated by the constitution. Your lordships may meet with the co-operation of the other branch of the legislature; but be it remembered, that you may also meet with its check and control. I must here guard myself from any imputation, from what I have said, that either I or my learned friends are declining the contest. No; we do not shrink from the combat—we are ready and anxious to meet it. Here I feel it my duty to state, that I owe to my illustrious client an apology, for having, in the line of argument which I have been obliged to take, allowed even a possibility of the truth of the charges against her. I feel a perfect conviction of her innocence; I feel also that there cannot be brought against her any thing which, to an honourable mind, will be a proof of her guilt. But whatever be the consequences which follow this investigation, whatever may be the sufferings inflicted on her majesty, I shall never withdraw from her that homage and respect which I owe to her high station, her superior mind, and those resplendent virtues which have shone through a life of persecution and of suffering. I shall never pay to any other who may usurp her place that respect and duty which belong to her, whom the laws of God and man have made the consort of his present majesty, and the partner of his throne.”

Her majesty entered the house during the learned counsel’s speech, and at its conclusion withdrew.—She was treated by the house with every mark of respect.

SPEECH OF HIS MAJESTY’S ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

THE attorney-general then rose and said, the question to be considered was, whether they would entertain the grave and solemn, but disgusting charges preferred against her majesty, or whether they were prepared to say, that notwithstanding the proof to be adduced, there was something in this bill that it ought not to be followed up by the enactments contained in the preamble? This was his view of the question before their lordships. But see how it had been argued by his learned friends. They had argued the question as if the preamble had not been proved, and yet they had indulged themselves in talking of spies, informers, perjured and suborned witnesses. When those witnesses had given their testimony, the time would come to speak of their character and the nature of their testimony. This line of proceeding was, in fact, nothing more nor less than tampering with their lordships’ feelings, and doubtless it must have made an impression upon their minds. His learned friends had also placed another difficulty in his way. They had found fault with the framing of the preamble, and not satisfied with that, had gone through its whole history. They attacked the proceedings of the secret committee, and went on to show the disadvantages under which her majesty laboured, in consequence of not having her case brought before a grand jury. But their lordships had decided that this was the only mode of proceeding—they had decided, that the crime with which her majesty was accused, though if committed in England would be treason, could not be so construed, having been committed abroad, and with a foreigner. They had in fact decided that her majesty was not amenable to any of our courts of justice, and this was the only mode of proceeding which could be instituted. Their lordships instituted this inquiry on the report of a secret committee; this, it was urged, deprived her majesty of the benefit derived from a grand jury. But did the committee find her majesty guilty of any one charge? They merely said, that from what had been laid before them, they were of opinion, that there was serious ground of charge against her majesty, affect

leg the dignity of the crown, and they recommended the house to proceed to an inquiry. See then, how the arguments of his learned friends were applied—first, they found fault with the preamble of the bill; and secondly, they quarrelled with the measure itself, which their lordships, by their having read it the first time, had sanctioned. It was urged that the secret committee had reported upon unvouched documents. He had no means of knowing upon what statements the secret committee reported, nor did he know from whence his learned friends drew their information; but he was much mistaken if the select committee had not had the sworn testimony of witnesses in support of the statements laid before them. But whether they had or not such testimony was not now the question; their lordships had decided upon that report, and that decision could not now be called in question. The grounds alleged in the preamble of the present bill were of the same public nature and import as those stated in the bill against the bishop of Rochester. When the facts recited were proved in evidence, the great question which their lordships would have to decide, would be, whether such a substantiation of the truth of the facts should be followed by the enactment of the bill? It had been endeavoured by his learned friends to raise an objection to the bill, on the ground that the charges which it alleged against her majesty had flowed from slander and perjury. In the present stage of the proceeding, what right, he would ask, had they to argue upon such a gratuitous and unprovoked assumption? Where were the proofs to justify it? Their lordships knew nothing of them—they could not know any thing of them; and for what purpose such a line of observation was introduced, he would leave to their lordships to decide. In the same spirit, it was objected by his learned friend, that the present bill originated in a committee of that house, where no decisive opinion had been formed. He could not see the least strength in such an objection. The decisive opinion of their lordships had yet to be formed. It would be doing a great injustice to her majesty had their lordships, in that previous part of the proceeding, ventured to pronounce a decisive opinion; it would then be imputed to them that they had forestalled and prejudged the question. Their lordships had wisely abstained from such a course. All that they had done was to express their opinion, that there existed grounds for a serious charge against her majesty. Throughout the whole of the argument of his learned friends, that had been assumed, which, at least was extremely doubtful, namely, that in proceeding against her majesty an impeachment could have been founded. The whole of the argument against proceeding by bill of pains and penalties, rested on the ground of their lordships acting in that case in their legislative, and not in their judicial capacity. When, therefore, his learned friends deprecated such a course, and contended for an impeachment, they were bound to have shown, that in the present case an impeachment could have been maintained. That proof they had declined; and their lordships, he trusted, would agree with him, that the wisest course which could have been pursued, was the one which was the least subject to doubt and uncertainty. Besides, he would confidently say, that notwithstanding all those airs of triumph with which those objections were introduced—notwithstanding all the inflammatory language which accompanied their statement, that a very different character would have been given to the measure of proceeding by bill of pains and penalties, had not that been the very measure, which in the present case had been adopted. It was adopted because it adverted to certain charges against her majesty, which, though of the gravest import, were not a violation of any law, while the best authorities supported the doctrine that an impeachment could not be maintained but for a breach of the law. Sure, then, he was, that notwithstanding all the challenges now so heroically thrown out, notwithstanding all those allusions to the morality of the country, and all those various topics so liberally brought into view, had impeachment been the proceeding adopted, the very same objectors would have deprecated it, and have said, that the proceeding in the case of an adultery should have been by bill, and not by impeachment, because by the adoption of the latter course, the accused party was deprived of the power of recrimination. They complained of the proceed-

ing by bill, because they were now shut out from recrimination, and strange to say, regret that the impeachment was not adopted—a course of proceeding which no lawyer would venture to assert, allowed the accused to recriminate. All this contradiction had its purposes; it was to terrify and to alarm, and to withdraw the minds of their lordships from the real question on which they had to decide. His learned friends had, it was to be recollected, taken this course, not in the exercise of a duty compulsive with them, but acting under an indulgence so very rarely allowed by that house—so rarely indeed, that the divorce case of the duke of Norfolk was the only one to be found where the counsel of the accused was allowed to interfere before the evidence was produced. It was not, then, too much to expect that those sweeping charges should have been deferred until the character of the evidence to be produced was ascertained; before the charge of corruption was thrown out against witnesses to be examined, surely his learned friends should wait until enabled to sustain such imputations by proof. His learned friends may prejudice, they may prejudice, they may assail the characters of the most eminent and illustrious in rank and station; they may rake from the shades of oblivion, all those prejudices, or failings over which the healing spirit of time and more correct feeling had, in consideration of his many virtues, thrown a veil; they may select the moment when an illustrious individual (the duke of York we presume) was next in succession to the throne, when the remains of his illustrious partner has just been consigned to the grave, to wound his feelings, and revive recollections which a better feeling had never disturbed; all these things his learned friends may do with impunity—to him it was only to state the facts which he should call upon evidence to sustain. They may declaim on the bribes by which that evidence was obtained, and animadvert on the nature of the motives which they presumed to operate on the minds of some of their lordships. All that remained for him was to conjure their lordships, and he knew he did so not in vain, to dismiss all such inapplicable statements from their minds, and to apply themselves to the great and important question, on which, in fact, they were called in their judicial character to pronounce.

The solicitor-general was next heard at considerable length.

Mr. Brougham, in reply, urged a variety of arguments in favour of his original proposition, and showed the impolicy of the principle contended for by the counsel for the crown.

The public expectation was now at its height, when lord King gave notice of a motion to stop all further proceedings; and on Saturday the nineteenth, moved, "That it appears to this house that it is not necessary for the public safety or the security of the country, that the bill entitled, 'An act to deprive her majesty,' &c. should pass into a law."

On which lord Liverpool moved as an amendment, "That the attorney-general be directed to be called in." Earl Grey opposed the amendment; the house divided,—for the amendment one hundred and eighty-one, against it sixty-five, majority one hundred and sixteen.

Earl Grey then moved, "That it appears that the bill now before the house does not afford the most advisable means of prosecuting the charges against her majesty, and that therefore, under the present circumstances it is not necessary or expedient, to proceed further with it."

This resolution was put as an amendment to the motion of lord Liverpool, "That counsel be called in," and was negatived by a division as follows,—for the amendment sixty-four, against it one hundred and seventy-nine, majority one hundred and fifteen.

The lord chancellor having desired the attorney-general to open his case, he immediately commenced his address to the house:

"My lords,—I now attend at your bar to fulfil the duty which you have demanded, of stating to your lordships the circumstances which are to be adduced in evidence in support of the charges which are contained in the preamble of the bill now under your lordships' consideration. A duty, my lords, more painful or more anxious, I believe, was never imposed upon any individual to accomplish.

"I have, my lords, to state to your lordships the circumstances which are to be adduced in evidence to your lordships in support of those serious and heavy charges which are made in the preamble of the bill, which has already been so much the subject of discussion:—charges which, in the language of the preamble, not only reflect the greatest scandal and disgrace upon the individual against whom they are made, but also reflect the greatest disgrace upon the country itself. The highest individual, as a subject, in the country, is charged with one of the most serious offences both against the laws of God and man. It is that of an adulterous intercourse—an adulterous intercourse carried on under circumstances of the greatest aggravation.

"My lords, it is well known to your lordships and the country, that in the year 1814, her majesty, for reasons operating upon her mind, and not by compulsion, as has been insinuated by my learned brothers, thought fit to withdraw herself from this country to a foreign land.

"My lords, her majesty, when she quitted this country, quitted it with persons about her who were precisely such persons as should be about an individual of her exalted rank. She was accompanied by individuals connected with distinguished families in this kingdom. Among these were lady Charlotte Lindsay and lady Elizabeth Forbes, who were her maids of honour; Mr. St. Ledger, who was her chamberlain; and Sir William Gell and the Hon. Keppel Craven, who, I believe, were attached to her in a similar character. She was also accompanied by captain Hesse, as her equerry, and Dr. Holland, as her physician; besides other persons whom it is unnecessary to enumerate. With this suite her majesty arrived at Milan. She remained at Milan for a space of three months; and during that period a person was received into her service, whose name occurs in the preamble of this bill, and whose name will as frequently occur in the course of these proceedings—a person of the name of Bergami, who was received into her service as a courier, or footman, or valet de place. It was about fourteen or fifteen days previous to her majesty's departure from Milan that Bergami entered into the situation I have described. Her majesty on quitting Milan, proceeded to Rome, and from thence she went to Naples, where she arrived on the eighth of November, 1814;—and I believe that I shall be able to satisfy your lordships that on the evening of the ninth of November, that intercourse, which is charged between her majesty and Bergami by the present bill, commenced, and was continued from that time till he quitted her service."

That Bergami having gained this ascendancy over her royal highness, as is inferred from a continuation of adulterous intercourse, which was facilitated in every one of the various changes of residence, that took place during several years passed in the visiting of different countries, by the invariable arrangements of a contiguity of sleeping apartments; and as he further stated, by the command of the princess: be from his brief of instructions also stated, that a constant repetition of similar scenes had taken place till she established herself at Deste, near Cairo: that there Bergami was advanced to the dignity of her majesty's chamberlain, when he invariably dined at her majesty's table, together with his sister the dame d'honneur: that on board the ships *Leviathan*, *Clorinde*, as well as the much-famed *Polacca*, the recurrence of these licentious proceedings would be substantiated, accompanied by many public demonstrations of affection, such as the princess calling Bergami "*her dear, her love*," and other unequal terms, and acts of endearment and partiality; that she procured several titles and dignities for him—presented him her picture—and that he now entered her bed-room at all hours, without the slightest previous notice, and there remained alone with her for a considerable portion of time, and at many periods: that not contented with heaping honours, dignities, and favours on him, her majesty, at Jerusalem, instituted an order, called the Order of Saint Caroline, of which she made Bergami grand master: and that, after having on every occasion, as well by sea as upon land, continued to act in this extraordinary manner, subject to the observation of the lower classes in particular—after having on board the *Polacca* exhibited herself to the attention of the crew, during the voyage from Jaffa to Italy, and having often been

seen during the day sitting on Bergami's knee, and embracing him: "after this," said the attorney-general, "nobody could doubt for what purpose the tent was fitted up on the deck. At this time her majesty seemed to cast off all the restraints of female delicacy. It would be proved that at one period during the voyage she had a bath prepared for her on board the vessel, and into this bath she went, no person being present, or in attendance on her except Bergami:—what but the absolute banishment, the total oblivion of all remains of virtue and modesty, could have prevailed on a woman to admit a man and a servant at such a moment? From this fact every man must be satisfied that the last intimacy must have taken place between two persons of different sexes, before any female would allow a man to attend on her in such a situation." In this vessel she causes the feast of St. Bartholomew to be observed with great festivity, in honour of Bergami, his name being Bartolomeo,—as it had been done in the preceding year at Villa Deste: that, not satisfied with having previously lavished titles and honours on him, she finally expends several thousand pounds in the purchase of the estate now called Villa Bergami, or Barona, for him, situated near Milan.

After a recital of most disgusting matter, to be borne out by after evidence, the attorney-general concluded a very able and lengthened address by observing: "Let their lordships look at the general nature of the case, and, besides this, let them look at some of those strong facts which more especially confirmed the charge. This Bergami was a man in the greatest poverty. In October, 1814, he was received into her majesty's service, and in the short course of five or six months, he was not only in habits of the greatest familiarity with her, but his whole family surrounded her. Their lordships would allow him to call their attention to the state of her majesty's establishment, while settled at Pesaro. There was Bergami himself, the grand chamberlain; his mother, who did not appear to have held any particular situation in her household; his brother Lewis, who, from the humble station of a courier, had been promoted to be her equerry; the countess of Oldi, the sister, who was only maid of honour; Francis Bergami, their cousin, was dignified with the title of the director of the palace; Faustina, the sister; Martin, a page; Frances, a relation; and the house-steward, besides the Piccaroon. So that their lordships would see that there were ten, as he might say, of this family retained in her service. And, to account for the striking fact of their being advanced in this way in favours and partiality, what was to be said? How was it to be accounted for? It might well be said, Indeed, in answer to that question, 'Don't from these facts alone infer guilt—don't from those infer adulterous intercourse.' Why, no, he would not: if he did infer it from these alone, he should be betraying that duty which they had imposed upon him, and which he was pledged to perform. But when, in addition to these circumstances, their lordships found that all these familiarities continued between them, they could not leave the slightest doubt of the disgraceful conduct charged in the preamble, and of the shameful and wicked intercourse which took place between count Bergami and her majesty.

"In cases of criminal conversation, they never had—at least, it was very frequently quite impossible and impracticable to have—any other evidence but that of servants, or others whose duties called them to different parts of the house.

"But it was said, and with something like an air of exultation, 'Ay, but these are foreign witnesses.' Foreign witnesses! Let them look at her majesty's conduct: why was it that her majesty was abandoned by all her other suite, by all her English servants?—why, but that, after her arrival from Milan, she seemed anxious to forget that she was, or should be, an English woman. Could she complain of those foreign witnesses, when she had shown, by her conduct, what she thought of Italian servants—what she thought of this man, her favoured Bergami? Should it be said, 'Don't hear foreign witnesses, there is the strongest objection to them; they are not to be believed.'—he would ask them, what did this hold out to the public? Was it not to say, 'Go abroad, commit what crime you please, carry on what conduct you please; however flagitious, you never can be convicted in an

English court of justice.' And why? because the fact can only be proved by foreign witnesses, and they, we tell you before we hear them, are branded with infamy. They are marked for discredit; therefore 'go abroad, abandon yourself to the most dissolute profligacy you please; it can never be proved in a court of this country, for foreign witnesses are unworthy of belief.'

"Upon the circumstances of the case, it was hardly necessary for him to add, their lordships were to decide under a sacred obligation. It had been said that the witnesses, being foreigners, their testimony ought to be received with suspicion and distrust; but the conduct of her majesty, and the nature of the case, made such evidence indispensable. Their lordships would decide upon its value, and, he doubted not, calmly and firmly pronounce their judgment. He should now proceed to call his witnesses." The examination of which continued to occupy the uninterrupted attention of the house from the twenty-first of August until the sixth of September: on the following day, the solicitor-general summed up the evidence which had been adduced in support of the bill in the following speech.

SUMMING UP OF EVIDENCE.

THE solicitor-general then rose to sum up the evidence to the house. He commenced by stating, that his learned friend (Mr. Brougham) having closed the long and elaborate cross-examination of Theodore Majocchi, and as the whole of the evidence in support of the bill was now before their lordships, the duty devolved upon him of summing up to their lordships the leading points of that evidence, in support of the allegations contained in the preamble of the bill of pains and penalties against her majesty the queen. He trusted that, before he entered upon this summing up, their lordships would allow him a few moments to justify himself, and his learned friends who acted with him, as to the course pursued by them, and the principles by which they were actuated, in conducting this most painful and anxious inquiry. The moment the attorney-general had received his instructions to support this bill, he, together with his learned friends who were appointed to assist him, directed their most minute and anxious attention to collect all the evidence that it would be their duty to adduce before their lordships upon such an occasion. They lost not a moment in weighing well and considering all the materials, and every other evidence which could bear upon this great question. They collected together and digested every thing which they thought material to this paramount inquiry, without regard to either the influence or the impression which any parts of that evidence were calculated to create when it came before their lordships. They felt that in the progress of this cause they were not to make themselves a party to the inquiry; but to pursue it according to their lordships' instructions, fairly, candidly, and honestly. Having said thus much in behalf of himself and his learned colleagues, the duty now devolved upon him of pointing their lordships' attention to the leading facts, as disclosed in the evidence before them, and to enforce upon their lordships' attention the manner in which the case at present stood, and how the evidence adduced made out and supported the allegations in the preamble of the bill. His duty was not to impose or to influence by any distorted statement; all that was required of him was, that he should sum up the evidence with truth and accuracy, and then point out how it applied to the charges upon which the bill was founded. If it were not expected of him to incur any charge of this mis-statement, still less, he hoped, was it expected of him to use the slightest expression derogatory from the station and dignity of her majesty the queen. No such expressions should escape his lips. The queen was here on trial before their lordships: one side—and that the case against her—had only been heard. He, therefore, was bound in strict law, and so were their lordships, to consider her majesty innocent of those foul charges ascribed to her until they heard her defence. None could pronounce her guilty until their lordships' verdict decided and justified that imputation. He and his learned friends had been charged with scattering calumnies abroad, and throwing dirt against the character of the queen. But, though this charge had been insidiously disseminated, he,

and those with him, felt guiltless of the imputation. They had, throughout, stated nothing which they had reason to believe would not be satisfactorily proved. If calumnies had been uttered, they belonged to another quarter; that quarter alone ought to be called upon to account for them. Before he went further, he would beg leave to call their lordships' attention to the nature of the charges set forth in the preamble of the bill of pains and penalties against her majesty the queen. That preamble began by stating, that her majesty in the year 1814 had, in Milan, engaged in the capacity of a menial servant, a man named Bartholomew Bergami; that she had immediately after that time, committed disgraceful and unbecoming familiarities with that person; that she had raised him in her household, and loaded him with honours; that she had placed several members of his family in various situations of honour and rank about her person; and that she had afterwards carried on, for a considerable period, an adulterous intercourse with him. That was the head of the charges against the queen, as contained in the preamble of the bill; and it was his duty to ask their lordships if that charge had not been substantially made out in evidence. He must now beg leave to carry back their lordships' attention in point of time to what was done by her majesty when she first set out from Milan to Naples. He thought it right, for the sake of perspicuity, to take up the subject at the time he had just mentioned, and then pursue it from that period up to the latest time that the queen's conduct had been mentioned in evidence. It appeared, from the evidence before their lordships, that her majesty took Bergami into her service as a courier, at Milan, in the year 1814; he had previously lived in a menial situation with general Pino, his wages then being three livres a-day. It was also stated by the witness, that for the first fortnight after the queen took Bergami into her service he waited behind her majesty's table. At that time a youth, of whom their lordships had heard, named William Austin, was in the constant habit of sleeping in her majesty's apartment; but the queen gave directions when she set out from Milan, that another bed-room should in future be provided for him, as he was advancing to a period in life when it would be unfit for him to sleep any longer in the chamber she occupied. A separate apartment was accordingly provided for Austin on the arrival of the queen at Naples. When her majesty arrived there, she slept at a country house. On the night after her arrival at Naples, the queen went to the opera. It was here most material for their lordships to attend throughout to all the relative situations of the queen's bed-room and Bergami's, who was then her courier. At Naples, the communication between them was of this kind. There was a private passage, which terminated at one side in a cabinet, that led to Bergami's sleeping-room; while on the other side of the same passage was the bed-room of the queen; so that the occupant of either one or the other room could traverse this passage without interruption, for the passage had no communication with any other apartments than the two he had mentioned. The witness, their lordships would recollect, had stated, that on the evening upon which her majesty went to the opera at Naples, she returned home at a very early hour, and went from her apartment into the cabinet contiguous to Bergami's. That she soon returned to her own room, where her female attendant was in waiting, and gave strict orders that young Austin should not be admitted into her room that night. The manner and conduct of the queen upon that occasion attracted the notice of the servant, who, excited by what she had noticed on the preceding night, examined the state of the beds on the following morning. And what was the result of that examination? She had stated that the small travelling bed had not been slept upon at all on that night, but that the larger bed had the impression of being slept in by two persons; and she further said, in answer to a question from one of their lordships, which could not be evaded, that she had also observed in the bed two marks of a description which but too clearly indicated what had passed there in the course of the night. He had indeed heard that none of the witnesses had deposed before their lordships to the actual fact of adultery; but to such an assertion he would reply, that if those facts were true, no person of rational mind could doubt that on that

night the adulterous intercourse was commenced which formed the subject of the present unhappy investigation. Upon the sort of proof required in cases of adultery, he should merely observe, that he did not recollect a single instance in cases of adultery, where the actual fact was fully proved in evidence. The crime was always to be inferred from accompanying circumstances, which left no doubt of the fact upon the mind of a rational and intelligent man. On this point of proof he would beg leave to quote the opinion of one of the most enlightened judges that ever sat in this country. He had received this opinion from one of his learned friends, who had taken notes of it at the time it was pronounced by the learned judge. It was in the case of *Loveden v. Loveden*, before Sir William Scott, in the consistory court, in the year 1800. The learned judge then stated, that there was no necessity in a case of that nature to prove the actual fact of the adultery, for that could not be proved in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, where there was still no doubt of its having taken place. The uniform rule was, that where facts were proved which directly led to the conclusion that the act of adultery had been committed, such proof must be taken as sufficient. Now let the house for a moment look at the case in this light.—Suppose an adulterous intercourse really to have existed, how would that intercourse have manifested itself? How but from the habitual conduct of the parties? To screen such an intimacy from the eyes of attendants was impossible; and let their lordships direct their attention to the scenes which had been constantly occurring—to the scenes which in continued detail, had been described by the witnesses. Their lordships would remember the ball which took place at the house upon the sea-shore, while the princess was at Naples. To that ball her royal highness went, accompanied only (for the purpose of dressing and preparation) by the waiting-maid Dumont, and by Bergami; two apartments, a dressing-room, and an anti-room being allotted to her use. For her first character, that of a Neapolitan peasant, the princess was dressed by the waiting-maid; she went into the ball-room, stayed a short time, returned for the purpose of changing her dress, and did change it entirely; the chamber-maid all the while being left in the anti-room, and the courier being in her dressing-room during the operation. Now the house could not but have noticed the style of Mr. Williams's cross-examination as to that transaction. The witness had merely been asked whether there were not persons of rank and consideration in the ball-room below. But it had been said that, even admitting all these facts, they did not amount to evidence of adultery. Could any man look at a princess, locked up in her bed-room for nearly an hour, and changing her dress with the assistance of her courier, and entertain any doubt upon the subject? The thing did not stop there; there was another change of dress; her royal highness assumed the character of a Turkish lady; and in that character, for the second time, went down stairs arm in arm with this courier, this common footman, this man accustomed to wait behind her chair; and what happened then? why, almost instantly, the courier returned. (The solicitor-general then repeated the other words of Majocchi's testimony.) All this, however, rested upon the testimony of Majocchi, who was, of course, a witness unworthy of belief. That witness had been cross-examined once, twice, and because Carlton-house had somehow been introduced; he had just now been cross-examined for the third time: he (the solicitor-general) had attended most diligently to the first cross-examination; he had since read the evidence as it appeared upon the minutes; and he did declare that, as it appeared to him, during a cross-examination of seven hours, extending over a period of three years, and going through a variety of complicated facts, in no one instance had that witness been betrayed into inconsistency. Certainly the witness had repeatedly used the phrase (perhaps of equivocal import), "I do not remember;" and the changes which had been rung upon that circumstance might produce an impression upon low minds, although it could produce none upon the minds of their lordships. But it was impossible not to perceive the artifice—the let us have a few more "non mi ricordo" and it was equally impossible not to perceive that to the questions proposed the witness could return no other answer.

The learned counsel then recapitulated the evidence of *Getano Faturzo*, which, he contended, was calculated to make a deep and lasting impression. Before he quitted Naples he begged to allude to what had taken place at the theatre of Saint Carlos. The wife of the heir apparent of the throne of Great Britain, at that time holding the supreme government of the country, having about her a suite of ladies and gentlemen, was desirous of going in private. Surely she might have selected some respectable person of her suite, some respectable inhabitant of Naples, some proper and decent companion, without materially infringing upon the privacy of the transaction; but she chose her chambermaid and her courier. It was a rainy night; dark, gloomy, and tempestuous; a hired carriage was drawn up at a private door at the bottom of the garden; they traversed the terrace, the garden; got into the hired carriage at the private door, proceeded to the theatre, and there met with such a reception as obliged them to retreat and return home. To what conclusion did this occurrence lead the mind of every man acquainted with such transactions. He next alluded to the occurrences at Genoa, where the chamber of Bergami was again immediately contiguous to that of the princess, and where numerous instances occurred, clearly demonstrating the familiarity which subsisted between them. There too she became surrounded with the family of her favourite, and received his child, his mother, and his sister, into her suite. To another point.—It appeared that the princess, while at Genoa, had gone to look at a house in a secluded spot, and at some distance from the city. What was the recommendation of that house? that it was far from Genoa; far from the English. Let their lordships look to the evidence of Sacchi, and they would find—what? why, that during the whole of the journey through Germany and through the Tyrol, the greatest anxiety had been shown by her royal highness to avoid the English upon every occasion: the first question to be put on arriving at any place was, whether English of rank were at hand? If that question was answered in the affirmative, the party proceeded to other quarters. From Genoa, being joined by lady Charlotte Campbell, the princess proceeded to Milan. Lady Charlotte Campbell, however, did not travel with her royal highness, and shortly after quitted her altogether; from which time no English lady of rank or station remained in her suite. A lady of honour was then it appeared to be procured at Milan. And who had been chosen to fill that situation? The sister of Bergami. No foreigner of rank; no English lady of respectability; but the sister of Bergami, the countess of Oldi. Was that lady in any way fitted for the office? The princess spoke little Italian: the countess spoke only the Italian of the lower orders, and no French. They were so situated, that little communication, and no conversation, could take place between them. It was upon these facts, which had been called trifling by the other side, but which he did not look upon as trifling; it was upon those incidental facts—facts which could not be invented or exaggerated by witnesses, that the learned gentleman relied for confirmation of his case; and those persons must willfully shut their eyes against conviction, whose inferences and conclusions were other than his own. These facts were followed by others, not less conclusive. There was one circumstance of the gold chain at Venice—and the still more prominent fact of Dumont having actually seen Bergami pass through her chamber into the room of the princess. In cases like the present every thing was to be inferred from the general conduct of the parties; and it had been clearly shown that the princess and Bergami were constantly conducting themselves like lovers, or like man and wife during the day, while every preparation was made to prevent the interruption of their intercourse during the night. The familiarities at the Villa d'Este were not spoken to by one, two, or three witnesses, but by such a body of testimony as set doubt at defiance. Walking arm in arm in the gardens, alone in a canoe upon the lake—embracing and kissing each other—where such intimacies were proved even between persons in an equal rank of life, accompanied by a constant anxiety for access to the bed-chamber of each other, no court could refuse to draw the inference that adultery had been committed. To go through the

whole series of evidence would only be to fatigue the house: but what would be said to the testimony of Ragazzoni with respect to the statues, to the figures of Adam and Eve? He remembered that in the very case upon which he had already stated to the house the judgment of Sir William Scott—in that very case a letter had been produced written by the lady to her lover, in which she related some circumstances of an indecent nature. To that letter, as evidence, the learned judge had most particularly adverted; saying, that no woman would have so written to a man unless an adulterous intercourse had taken place between them. That observation applied most fully to the case in point. Her royal highness went subsequently to Catania, and he begged to call their lordships' attention to what passed there, because it was most important. There was a particular arrangement of apartments, which in consequence of the indisposition of Bergami, was afterwards altered. Her royal highness slept in the room adjoining that of Mademoiselle Dumont and her sister, Marietta Bron, and on the other side of that room slept the countess of Oldi. Bergami being ill, he was put into the room previously occupied by the countess of Oldi, and the countess was placed in the apartment of her royal highness. It would be seen, therefore, that up to this period Dumont and her sister slept between the apartment occupied by Bergami and that allotted to her royal highness. They were in the habit of going to breakfast about nine o'clock; the door which communicated with their room was sometimes open, sometimes closed; but on one particular morning, happening to remain beyond the usual time (to the best of her recollection, her sister being present,) about the hour of ten, her royal highness, carrying the pillows on which she was accustomed to sleep, came out of the room of Bergami. She saw Dumont—she eyed her, and passed into her own room, contrary to her usual custom, without saying any thing. He believed that no questions were put as to that part of the case by the learned counsel on the other side; but their lordships, in the discharge of that important duty, which had been cast upon them, thought it necessary that some questions should be asked, to ascertain whether a large portion of time had not been passed by her royal highness in the bed-room of Bergami. Their lordships asked, whether Dumont had quitted the room that morning? To which she answered, that she had not. How long had she been awake? She answered two hours. Whether, during that time, her royal highness passed through the room? Her answer was, no. Then the inference was, that certainly for two hours her royal highness had been in the bed-room of the courier. When he stated this fact, he was aware that it would be again said, that it depended on the evidence of Dumont, and therefore it became necessary, as much of what he had to introduce rested on her credit, fortified and supported as it was by corroborative statements, to say a word or two with respect to what had been thrown out on the other side, for the purpose of impeaching her testimony.—The learned counsel then ingeniously commented on the letters which had been produced on the cross-examination of Dumont, and contended that they were clearly written by her, not in sincerity, but for the purpose of meeting the eye of the princess and Bergami, with a view to promote the interests of her sister. If, while the counsel on the other side was saying was correct—if there were no ground for casting an imputation on the character of her royal highness—if there were nothing mysterious in the conduct of this courier—if Bergami were advanced in the service solely on account of his merits, and the respect he bore to an honourable mistress—if such were his situation, and the character of his connection, what was the inevitable conclusion to which it led? Could there be a more desirable witness than that man himself, to contradict the testimony of Dumont? She spoke of his conduct when the three parties only were present, not on one occasion, but many. If the connection of Bergami with her royal highness were such as was alleged in the bill, he certainly could not appear at their lordships' bar; but, if it were a pure connection, unsullied by those circumstances which he (the solicitor-general) had stated, why was he not opposed to this witness? Why was he not brought forward to contradict Dumont—to show that a base attack was made on the

character and honour of the most amiable princess in the world—to prove that Dumont had been falsely accusing her royal highness with crimes that were never committed? Having made these observations on the statement of his learned friend, relative to the testimony of this witness, he called on their lordships to consider the whole of the evidence, to take all the story together, and to see whether she was ultimately contradicted in any point that could destroy the inference to which her testimony must evidently lead. He asked of their lordships to mark the evidence on both sides, and to mark how the case then stood. At Milan this man had been employed as a courier in general Pino's service. He afterwards was admitted to the same rank in her royal highness's household. But in the course of a few months he became her royal highness's equerry, then her chamberlain, then, by her influence, Knight of Malta, then Baron de la Franchini, then knight of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and then grand master of the order which her royal highness herself created. They would find him also possessed of a considerable property at the very gates of Milan. The man who had been a few years before living in a prison (for what reason he knew not), who had received three livres a day from general Pino—they found this man suddenly covered with orders and honours. For what cause? for what service? for what talents? He asked this because, when their lordships considered it together with the other facts, it strengthened and confirmed the statement of the witnesses, and made it almost impossible to adduce any other cause for the extraordinary love which her royal highness manifested towards this man but that which was alleged. But to proceed. A vessel was hired for the purpose of making a long voyage, and her royal highness went on board at Augusta. [The solicitor-general here repeated the evidence relative to the transactions on board the polacre.] Here were five witnesses speaking of what passed on board the polacre—deposing to circumstances that took place in the presence of a person who was in the suit of her royal highness at the time and who was still in her service. Why then were they not contradicted? As the case now stood, had he not stated sufficient to convince their lordships' minds of what was passing, at that important period, between those parties? The learned gentleman now recapitulated the remainder of the evidence, adverting to the licentiousness which marked the proceedings at the Barona; the dance of the man named; the midnight occurrences at Charnis, where Dumont was driven from her royal highness's chamber to make way for Bergami; the events at Karlsruhe; and the subsequent transactions at Baden, Vienna, and Trieste,—at which latter place Bergami was seen coming out of his own room in his drawers and slippers, and going into that of the countess of Oldi, which had a communication with the chamber of the princess. All these facts proved an adulterous intercourse at that period, and by circumstances too which mutually confirmed each other. He would now call their lordships' recollection to the evidence of two witnesses—the last that were called before them—he meant Rastelli and Sacchi. [Here he re-stated their evidence, and contended with great force that they confirmed in every particular the testimony of those persons who had gone before them.]

On the ninth of September, upon the application of her majesty's counsel, the further consideration of the bill was adjourned to Tuesday the third of October; at which time it was stated they would be prepared to enter upon

HER MAJESTY'S DEFENCE.

MR. BROUGHAM accordingly commenced his address to the house on behalf of her majesty, a speech which occupied the whole of that, and the greater part of the following day. This speech has been so much admired, that any attempt at abbreviating it would only spoil what is considered to fine and perfect an example of legal oratory, to admit of mutilation. Suffice it to observe, his lengthened address contained a summary of events during twenty-six years, from the period of her majesty's first arrival in this country, "as niece of our sovereign, intended consort of his royal high, and herself not remote in title to the crown of England." After detailing all the occurrences, which took place between her arrival in 1794, and her departure for the

continent in 1814, he then, in a most able manner, commented on the several evidences brought forward in support of the prosecution, ably contrasting the discrepancies between their respective depositions in chief, and those which were extracted by the ingenious mode of cross-examinations adopted by her majesty's advocates—commenting most powerfully on these contradictions as they arose, and with the corruptions of a luminous display of forensic and impassioned eloquence, bearing down all opposition to truth, wherever such appeared.—Adverting to former proceedings instituted against his illustrious client, he took occasion to eulogize Pitt, Percival, and Whitbread, as her early defenders—her firm, dauntless, and able advocates. And when death had swept all these away, the approaching rumbling of the storm, he said, commenced, though it was stayed by her last friend, her daughter: when that sole support was gone, all that might be dreaded by her immediately took place, had she not possessed the consciousness of innocence. After ridiculing most forcibly the evidence, from Majocchi to Dumont, in a strain of irony so levelled that it cannot be shortened, without losing all its point,—he next, with equal felicity, assails the Milan commission; the proffer of the increased annuity by ministers; and deduces from her majesty's rejection of it an irrefragable presumption of her innocence. Then he attacks the character of the Italian witnesses, developing the motives which might naturally induce them to enlist in a cause of persecution, for filthy lucre—with the power exercised to bring them to the bar of their lordships' house, and the pains taken in drilling them for the manoeuvres displayed there: contrasting the proceedings during the reign of Henry VIII. with the present time. By these commentaries upon the mass of evidence, after entering into a line of defence too voluminous to be here repeated, he concludes his elaborate address in the manner hereunder recited:

"The queen is now, and has been long placed in a singular, in a most embarrassing situation. Her mind from recent, as well as former events, must be naturally disposed to nut a painful construction on the conduct and motives of all by whom she is surrounded. She has been injured to this by a long and uninterrupted course of persecution—by much and severe oppression, abroad and at home, by manifold frauds upon her benevolence and generous credulity—by the malice and treachery of spies and servants—by those hidden artifices which it was impossible always to trace. This last scene was not calculated to form an exception in her mind to the conduct habitually pursued by those who surrounded her. All she had witnessed in Italy, all she witnessed since her arrival here, down to the last day of this proceeding—the witnesses who appeared against her, the manner in which they conducted themselves, the nature of their testimony, were all calculated to fill with general suspicion and distrust, an otherwise unsuspecting breast. It is the portion of those who have been persecuted by enemies—it is their unhappy, but unavoidable lot to be liable to suspicion—not to know to whom they dare trust. This distrust, forced on the mind by a recollection of unceasing plots and artifice, must, no doubt, render her majesty extremely fearful and circumspect with respect to any witness she may be disposed to call in her defence. Her majesty, for aught I know, may now be harbouring in her breast a viper of the same brood as Dumont, I mean the sister of that person, one with whom she corresponded, and, as she said, in cypher, but this I do not believe. All these circumstances are calculated to prescribe suspicion, as a duty in her majesty's present situation. It is alien to an innocent creature, but it is one of these guards that innocence is obliged to have recourse to, when surrounded by such persons as the Grimmes, the Omptedares, the Douglasses, and the still less scrupulous Majocchi, Dumonts, and Sacchis. We shall show, that at the time Dumont represented Bergami as having returned with the passport, and spending the night in the princess's rooms, that preparations were then actually making for the journey; that so far from remaining there during the night, they entered the carriage in an hour and a half after his arrival; that the whole of this period was employed in getting ready the baggage; and that while this business was going forward, the queen's door continued always open: her servants were

constantly passing, so that they might easily have seen any thing that occurred in the room. They all came in and out as often as Bergami, making preparations for the journey, whilst the princess was reclined on the bed in a travelling dress, in which she had lain down determined at whatever hour the passport arrived to resume her course. How has it happened that in no one instance have two witnesses been called to establish a single fact? Why was this omitted, when it might be done without difficulty? Why, but for this plain reason, that it would not be prudent to call forward one for the purpose of swearing, and another with a view to confirmation. If two witnesses had been called to one fact, it was likely that in the cross-examination they might contradict each other, and therefore it was that my learned friends prudently abstained from having recourse to so dangerous an experiment. One circumstance was alluded to, to the truth of which, if true, a number of witnesses might have been called. The circumstance I mean is that which is stated to have taken place at the masquerade. It must have been known to numbers that her majesty appeared there; that she was hissed in consequence of the indecency of her dress. These were circumstances which, upon a public occasion, could not possibly have been concealed. The hissing must ere long have been known at Naples, and not only there, but to the surrounding country, and all the cities round about, "*Et omnibus aliis opidis.*" What has become of V. Tyson? Why has she not been called? I will tell you the reason—she is not an Italian. If the facts stated be true, there were the most important reasons for calling this witness: she was one of the queen's servants—she had the care of the linen, superintended it; the practice of calling washerwomen was not novel; they were called in the Douglas plot; rendered wise, however, by experience, no attempt was made to bring them forward on the present occasion. I contend, that as the case now stands, I am not bound to call witnesses; and I submit that there is no necessity for it. If your lordships believe what has been stated by the witnesses against her majesty, there is no proof positive of adultery. If you believe Sacchi, Bergami has been seen twice going into the bed-room of the princess, and not returning. If you believe him, and some more of the witnesses, in all they have sworn to, she is not only guilty of the crime alleged against her in the bill, but she is as bad even as Messalina. If, however, they are not worthy of credit—if they have sworn to these circumstances, knowing them to be false, we must conclude them to be more vile than those Jacobins who, in the progress of the French revolution, attempted to affix an unnatural charge upon Marie Antoinette. The fairest reputation, when attacked in this manner, cannot possibly escape but in one way. It is not possible to overturn the charge by contending testimony, because the plotter, on such occasions, takes care, that there is only one who can swear—he selects, for example, the time and place in which any of your lordships may be found alone. You may be in the place at the time mentioned. A direct contradiction under such circumstances is impossible. What does the court do before whom such a case is brought? They will direct the acquittal of the person accused, if the most trifling falsehood, and in the most unimportant particular should be detected in the evidence of the base informer. I call upon your lordships now to act upon the same principle. I ask only this protection for her majesty—a protection which justice and innocence demand. Much has been said of the situation of Bergami previous to his entering the service of the queen: it has been said that this circumstance alone, contrasted with the sphere of life in which he now moves is quite sufficient to excite suspicion. My lords, it cannot be denied that he has been elevated to a situation by his illustrious mistress, far above that in which he formerly moved, and sorry I should be, indeed, if, in this country, such a circumstance could lay a foundation for a serious charge. If raising a malicious servant to a place of trust, was to be imputed as matter of criminality, God forbid we should ever see the day when all stations may not be open to all men according to their merits. I beg, however, to remind your lordships, that the rapidity of his promotion was quite overrated. The manner of it shows, that he earned it gradually by the faithful

ness of his character and the propriety of his conduct, and it tends also to show the little credit that is to be given to some part of the evidence. Dumont stated, if she is to be believed, that, in the short space of three weeks after he was taken into service, the princess promoted him to her bed; yet after this he still continued to act as courier; he dined with the servants at Genoa, and only once sat at the princess's table by accident. It was only towards the close of the period immediately previous to their voyage, that he was admitted to her table. He proceeded by slow degrees in the service of the queen, travelling first on horseback as courier, then in a carriage by himself, and subsequently made chamberlain. This is utterly inconsistent, if you suppose the queen to be that insane, infatuated woman, she has been described. Would she, if thus violently attached, allow her paramour to remain even a day in a degrading situation. This does not resemble the manner in which love usually rewards the object on whom it is fixed. It rather resembles the slow progress by which merit struggles through difficulties to the place it is worthy of. Bergami was no common man, but a person of merit. His origin was not low, for his father possessed a moderate property in the north of Italy. He got into difficulties, like many Italian gentlemen, and soon sold his estate to pay his father's debts. He was certainly reduced, but still a reduced gentleman, and recognized as such in general Pino's service, for he dined at his table during the Spanish campaign. The general respected him, and he was universally esteemed by all those whom he served. They encouraged him to hope for better things, as knowing his former situation and his present merit. It was an Austrian nobleman who proposed him as a courier in the service of the queen, and he was hired by the chamberlain without her majesty's knowledge. This nobleman expressed a hope that he would be promoted as he had seen better days. It was almost a condition of his engagement that he should go as a courier, and be subsequently raised to a better station, if he rendered himself worthy of it. My lords, I do not dwell upon this as an important circumstance. I do not think it is material to the defence. I think I have already disposed of the case by the comments I have made upon the evidence. I thought it necessary, however, to dwell on the circumstance, as it had been a common topic of conversation. If her majesty had been charged with secret guilt, against which it is not easy to provide defence—had she been charged with what could have fallen under the observation of those with whom she could have associated as friends or equals—with any improper courses in public intercourse, I could have stood upon high ground indeed. I could have easily refuted every insinuation of this kind, to whatever period of her life it might have been attached—whether before she visited this country, or while she continued in it. I hold in my hand a testimonial, written by his late majesty, which cannot be read without the deepest feelings of sorrow and respect for his character. It proves the light in which he viewed her at that time, and whom, both then and ever after, he loved with a more tender recollection than any of the rest of her family. The plainness, the honesty, intelligence, and manly sense of this note, written in 1804, could not be sufficiently admired: it is thus—

" Windsor Castle, Nov. 13, 1804.

" My dearest Daughter-in-law and Niece,
" Yesterday, I and the rest of my family had an interview with the prince of Wales at Kew: care was taken on all sides to avoid all subjects of altercation, or explanation; consequently, the conversation was neither instructive nor entertaining: but it leaves the prince of Wales in a situation to show whether his desire to return to his family is only verbal or real, which time alone can show. I am not idle in my endeavours to make inquiries that may enable me to communicate some plan for the advantage of the dear child. You and I with so much reason must interest ourselves: and its effecting my having the happiness of living with you, is no small incentive to my forming some idea on the subject, but you may depend upon their not being decided upon without your thorough and cordial concurrence; for your authority as mother, it is my object to support. Believe me at all times,

my dearest daughter-in-law and niece, your most affectionate father-in-law and uncle,

"GEORGE R."

This was the opinion, and these were the sentiments, of a man not ignorant of the rules of society, or deficient in his knowledge of the human heart. Here he showed all the anxiety of a tender and affectionate parent for the happiness and welfare of a child, and evinced all those sentiments in favour of the interests of the princess of Wales, which the consciousness alone of the purity of her conduct, and the extent of her merits, could have excited. I might now read to your lordships a letter from his illustrious successor, not in the same tone, not indicative of the same regard—but by no means indicative of any want of confidence, or any desire to trammel his royal consort in that course of life which her own feelings might suggest. I allude to that letter which has been so often before your lordships in other shapes, and which I do not think necessary now to repeat. In that letter he expressed his wish that they should live apart. Their inclinations, he said, were not in their power, and their mutual happiness would be best consulted by their living asunder, under any plan which might seem most conducive to their comforts. There was no indication that her conduct should be made a subject of observation, or that her seclusion should be interrupted by the rigour of a scrutinizing agency—such as had brought the present bill of pains and penalties into life. (A cry of "Read the letter," from the ministerial benches.)

Mr. Brougham immediately read the following letter—

" Madam—As lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head with as much clearness, and with as much propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power; nor should either of us be held answerable for the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that; and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required through lady Cholmondeley, that, even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which I trust Providence will in its mercy avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction, by proposing, at any period, a connection of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence; trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity. I am, madam, with great truth, very sincerely yours.

(Signed)

"GEORGE P."

My lords,—I do not mean to call this, as it has been termed by others, a letter of license; but I think that such an epistle must make it a matter of natural wonder to the minds of all by whom it has been heard, to find that ever after the individual by whom it had been received should have been made the object of a more especial watchfulness, and should have been exposed to an increased rigour of observation. Such, however, my lords, is the state of this case; and it is under these circumstances that her majesty is now unexpectedly dragged to your bar. The secret agency by which she has been haunted, at length effected the first step towards her destruction; but, thank God! that their machinations must here cease. The innocence, and the purity of my illustrious client has been assailed, but I trust with confidence, that the base efforts of her calumniators will recoil upon themselves. Your lordships have attentively regarded the evidence as it has been submitted to your notice. You have no doubt watched the character of the witnesses, and I am satisfied you will agree with me, that not one of those witnesses is entitled to the slightest credit. No single fact of the heinous charges which have been made has been supported by a single individual entitled to credit. Good witnesses were within the reach of her majesty's accusers, persons entitled to confidence and belief; but these had been studiously avoided. The plot has been discovered by the means of those principles which invariably apply to such cases. It has been exposed to the open glare of day, by the case breaking down in some of those parts which, however ingeniously got up as a whole, were left ca-

posed to attack. The great features of the plan have been preserved with a studious regard to ultimate success; but some of the minor fortifications, from a belief that their weakness would not be discovered, were left unprotected. It is by this means that justice has triumphed—it is by such trifles that the weightiest and most serious accusations have, even after having received the support of great and good men, been laid prostrate. I shall be excused by your lordships for quoting an authority from Scripture, in support of this proposition. The passage to which I allude, recites a case in which the judges of that day, the elders, were arraigned against the accused—and in which, when they were on the eve of pronouncing an unjust judgment, with the full persuasion of its justice, the victim was rescued from the gripe of destruction which was about to grasp him, by the simple circumstance of a contradiction respecting a tamarisk tree. Such had been the case in the present instance. Majochi, Dumont, Saachi, and all the other herd of witnesses, who had been called, deposited with unblinking confidence, and with an undeviating accuracy to all the main features of the charges, which it was their object, as well as their interest, to sustain, and might have eventually succeeded, but for the aid and interposition of that Divine Providence which wills not that the guilty shall triumph. When such a case as this is before you—when such evidence is brought to support it, can you hesitate as to the opinion which it becomes your bounden duty to form? Can you, upon evidence which would be inadequate to prove the most trifling debt—which would be too impotent to deprive a subject of the commonest civil right—which would be rejected in the most ordinary court of justice as insufficient to establish the lowest offence—can you, I say, upon such scandalous and barefaced perjury, in this, the highest court which is known to the law of the land, entertain a charge so monstrous as that which has for its object the ruin of the honour of an English queen? What would be said by the people of England—what would be said by the world at large—upon this species of proof, acting, as you do, as judges and legislators, you were to pass a bill, which must for ever debase and degrade an injured, an innocent woman?

My lords, I pray your lordships to pause, standing as you do on the brink of a precipice, before you form your judgment—a judgment which, if pronounced in favour of the bill now under your lordships' consideration, will fail in its object, and will return upon those who give it. Save the country, my lords, from the horrors of such an occurrence; save yourselves from the consequences of an event by which you would risk the situation you hold in that country of which you are the ornament, but in which you would cease to flourish if no longer served by the people. Like the blossom torn from its parent stem, and dragged from the root by which its beauties were sustained, once deprived of the confidence, and esteem, and support of your fellow men, you must wither and decay. Then, my lords, I say, save that country, that you may continue to adorn it—save the crown, the people, and the aristocracy—shake not the altar itself, which would not be less endangered than its kindred throne. Your lordships willed—the king willed that the queen of these realms should be left without the solemn service of the church. In the absence of this solemnity, she sustained no loss, for she still enjoyed the heartfelt prayers of the people. Her majesty wants not my prayers—but I now ardently and sincerely supplicate the throne of grace, that mercy may be poured down on the people in a larger proportion than their rulers deserve, and that your hearts may be turned towards justice."

He was followed by Mr. Williams, in an equal strain of impressive eloquence; in which the learned counsel adverted to a great variety of prominent points, sworn to in the prosecution, which he stated he should be enabled to give the clearest contradiction to, by the testimony that would now be adduced. The examination of witnesses on behalf of her majesty then began on the fifth of October, and was continued till the twenty-fourth—when Mr. Denman proceeded to sum up the evidence for the defence in a speech which lasted two successive days, and which it is wholly impracticable to give even an outline of, being, as it was, a retrospective view of

the whole proceedings, as contrasted in defence and prosecution, with the comprehensive and ably applied illustrative remarks of such a counsellor, and such an orator as her majesty's solicitor-general,—who, at the conclusion of his eloquent harangue, made use of the following remarkably nervous language:

"There is one topic, my lords, on which it is impossible for me not to comment. We have been told that the conduct of her majesty furnishes an inference in support of the charges in the preamble. I am ready that the defence shall stand or fall by that test; and I ask, whether it is possible for a person so depraved, in the first place, to have turned away all her servants, at the moment when they had possessed themselves of the most important and damning secrets, and afterwards to have proceeded in that low attachment, that disgusting debauchery with an individual who had been elevated for the most criminal purposes, in defiance of all the principles with which human nature was ever acquainted? It is one of the consequences of such an infatuation that it destroys all worldly considerations—

Not Caesar's empress would I deign to prove.

And, if so, would her majesty not have been willing to hide her head in any part of the continent, in the enjoyment of that luxurious profusion, in which she had been tempted, by offers from this country, to continue even with great splendour? Would she not have been most anxious to retire to Pesaro, or to the Lake of Como, and there to expend upon her favourite the vast income to be appropriated to her use? Is it possible to believe, that, after the loss of all that makes life dear, and character valuable—after vice and profligacy had become her daily habits—that her majesty would have sprung to this country, irritated and stung by nothing but this detestable accusation? Look, my lords, at the conduct of her nameless and unseen prosecutor, and then at the conduct of my illustrious client. For a series of years she has been the object of unceasing persecution. The death of her only daughter was immediately followed by this frightful conspiracy. The decease of her last remaining protector, whose life, while it was prolonged, was still a protection, though his affection could no longer be displayed, succeeded not long afterwards. It was announced to her, not in the language of kind respect, or even of decent condolence, but in a shape which forestalled the decision of parliament upon this great question. Cardinal Gonsalvi was the instrument of stripping her of her rank, and of depriving her of those honours to which her station in society laid claim. Her title as princess Caroline of England was stated in the face of her passport; and the first transaction of this new reign, in which even traitors were spared and felons pardoned by a lavish exertion of the royal prerogative of mercy, was the most illegal and unchristian act yet recorded in the annals of the British monarchy. To the queen it was no new reign of peace and amnesty, but the commencement of a prosecution in which malignity and falsehood were united for her destruction. Her name was excluded from the liturgy; but when it was forbidden that the prayers of the people should be offered up for her, their hearts made a full compensation for that odious exercise of unjust authority. Under such circumstances, what shall we say to the bill before the house? As a divorce bill it exists no more; the mere fact that the crime imputed was committed six years ago, dismisses it with contempt; and the fact of the letter of license, written so recently after the marriage ceremony was performed, is of itself an answer to any claim on the part of the husband. But it is a bill of pains and penalties—a bill of degradation, detraction, and disgrace; and, if your lordships shall determine to proceed against this persecuted and injured woman, I can only say, that it is your pleasure to do so. But sure I am that your honour as peers, your justice as judges, and your feeling as men, will compel you to take part with the oppressed, instead of giving the victory to the oppressor. I was about to observe that there were certain individuals, who had not been called as witnesses—simply for this reason—that our case is already proved, and that we do not think it decent, or consistent with the principles of justice, to overload the minutes already so unwieldy, by admitting that we are bound to

go a single step farther. We have often heard of challenges and defiance—we have been told that Bergami might be called to the bar, to state that the whole charge was a fiction; but this is one of the unparalleled circumstances of this extraordinary case. From the beginning of the world no instance is to be found where an individual charged with adultery has been called to disprove it. Yet, for the first time, we are to be compelled to put him to his oath! The answer is in a word—there is either a case against us, or there is no case; if there is no case, there is no occasion for us to call a witness; and if there be a case, no man would believe the supposed adulterer, when he was put forward to deny the fact. On this subject the nicest casuists might perhaps dispute, with a prospect of success, on either side of the proposition; but I firmly believe that the feelings of mankind would justly triumph over the strictness of morality, and that a witness so situated would be held more excusable to deny upon his oath so dear a confidence, than to betray the partner of his guilt. Even perjury would be thought a venial crime, compared with the exposure of the victim of his adultery.—Surely, for the sake of dragging forward such a witness, the principles of our nature and of the heart of man are not to be repealed even upon this occasion, to which so many principles have been made the sacrifice. Recollect, my lords, that this is a criminal prosecution of the highest kind, and requiring the clearest and strongest evidence—evidence collected and manufactured during six years of unceasing vigilance and unremitting persecution. We have heard of the distinction of a queen of grace and favour, and a queen of right and law; but her majesty has been taught, by bitter experience, the wide difference between a husband of affection and guardianship, and a husband of jealousy and persecution! After all ties, divine and human, have been broken upon his part, he still thinks it possible to exact, from the alienated and injured object before you, the most scrupulous attention, not only to the substantial virtues of her sex, but to the most insignificant appearances of feminine decorum. Let me ask you, then, what is it that can justify you in passing such a bill? Without looking to the principle (for your lordships know that I am not at liberty to do so), and I only advert to it that I may not be supposed to waive any objection,) I say that there is not one page of evidence in this whole volume to warrant you in giving it your sanction. There is not a single piece of evidence proceeding from any respectable quarter, which has not been answered or explained, and the inventors of the most minute fabrications have been followed with success through many of their windings and minute ruminations.—I know that rumours are abroad of the most vague, but, at the same time, of the most injurious character; I have heard them even at the very moment we were defending her majesty against charges, which, compared with the rumours, are clear, comprehensible, and tangible. We have heard, and hear daily, with alarm, that there are persons, and these not of the lowest condition, and not confined to individuals connected with the public press—not even excluded from your august assembly—who are industriously circulating the most odious and atrocious calumnies against her majesty. Can this fact be? and yet can we live in the world, in these times, and not know it to be a fact? We know, that if a juryman, upon such an occasion, should be found to possess any knowledge on the subject of inquiry, we should have a right to call him to the bar as witness. “Come forward,” we might say, “and let us confront you with our evidence: let us see whether no explanation can be given of the fact you assert, and no refutation effectually applied.” But to any man who could even be suspected of so base a practice as whispering calumnies to judges, distilling leperous venom into the ear of jurors, the queen might well exclaim “Come forth, thou slanderer; and let me see thy face! If thou wouldst equal the respectability even of an Italian witness, come forth and depose in open court.” As thou art, thou art worse than an Italian assassin, because while I am boldly and manfully meeting my accusers, thou art planting a dagger unseen in my bosom, and converting thy poisoned stiletto into the semblance of the sword of justice.” I would fain say, my lords, that it is utterly impossible that this can be true; but I cannot say it, because the fact stares me in the face; I read it even in the

public papers, and had I not known of its existence in the debasement of human nature, I would have held it impossible that any one, with the heart of a man, or with the honour of a peer, should so debase his heart and degrade his honour! I would charge him as a judge—I would impeach him as a judge; and, if it were possible for the blood royal of England to descend to a course so disgraceful, I should fearlessly assert, that it was far more just that such conduct should deprive him of his right to succession, than that all the facts alleged against her majesty, even if true to the last letter of the charge, should warrant your lordships in passing this bill of degradation and divorce. I well know that there are persons, to whom, under the circumstances, I think it right to allude, who have had an opportunity of reading a vast variety of depositions against the conduct of the queen. To those noble individuals I may distinctly say, “You, at all events, must vote for an acquittal. I know nothing of the facts brought before your secret committee, but I know that it is impossible for any rational or honourable man to have presented such a case as has been proved at the bar, as a ground for degrading and dethroning the majesty of England.” The facts proved before that committee must have been of a more grave, more disgusting, and more infamous description, and whether they have been proved, or whether the witnesses publicly examined, have not dared to swear up to their original depositions, I am confident that the committee never meant it to go forth, that a case of key-holes and chamber-pots, but of notorious and undeniable guilt, ought to be the ground-work of this public prosecution. Then, I ask your lordships, has that case been made out? Is there any man, who can read the evidence brought against the queen without a perfect conviction that she has been most malignantly traduced? What the boatmen on the Lake of Como may have said to those who were gaping wide for slander, I know not: what reports may have been circulated by her enemies, I know not; what the result would have been, had the facts stated been established, I know not; but I do know, that they have not been proved—that they are false, calumnious, and detestable. Nay, I say one word more to your lordships.—I know that a supposition prevails, that a spirit has gone abroad, dangerous to the constitution and government. I have heard it said, that a spirit of mischief was actively at work among the friends of her majesty; but the same person who uttered that memorable expression, in a few weeks was obliged to admit that it was false, because the truth could not be concealed, that the whole of the generous population of England had enlisted themselves with ardour on the side of the innocent and the injured. At the same time, it is possible that both may be true; the sound and middling classes of society may feel acutely for the situation of her majesty; and there may be, also, some apostles of mischief lurking in a corner, meditating a blow at the constitution, and ready to avail themselves of any opportunity for open violence. If that be so, the generous sympathy to which I have alluded would be aggravated by a verdict of guilty; while those mischievous and disaffected men would deprecate nothing half so much as to see your lordships, in the face of the power of the crown, venturing to pronounce a verdict of acquittal for a defendant so prosecuted. I trust your lordships will not allow the idea of having fear imputed to you, to draw you from the straight course of your duty; it would be the worst of injustice to the accused, and the worst of cowardice in yourselves. I say, therefore, if your own minds are satisfied that all that has been proved has been scattered “like dew-drops from the lion’s mane,” you will never hold yourselves justified in pronouncing a verdict contrary to the evidence, because your conduct may be imputed to the dread of a mob, or to use the jargon of the day, which I detest, the apprehension of a radical attack. You have but one course to pursue, and that course is straight forward—it is to acquit her majesty at once of those odious charges. We may truly say, that as there never was such a trial, so there never existed such means of accusation. Before I conclude, I must be permitted to say, that during the whole of this proceeding (though personally I have every reason to thank the house for its kindness and indulgence) the highest gratification resulting to my mind has been, that with my learned friend I have

been joined upon this great occasion. We have fought the battles of morality, christianity, and civilized society, throughout the world; and, in the language of the dying warrior, I may say—

"In this glorious and well foughten field
We kept together in our chivalry."

While he was achieving the immortal victory, the illustrious triumph, and protecting innocence and truth, by the adamant shield of his prodigious eloquence, it has been my lot to discharge only a few random arrows at the defeated champions of this disgraceful cause. The house will believe me when I say, that I witnessed the display of his surprising faculties with no other feelings than a sincere gratification that the triumph was complete; and admiration and delight, that the victory of the queen was accomplished. This is an inquiry, my lords, unprecedented in the history of the world: the down-sitting and up-rising of this illustrious lady have been sedulously and anxiously watched; she uttered no word that had not to pass through this severe ordeal. Her daily looks have been remarked, and scarcely even her thoughts escaped the unparalleled and disgraceful assiduity of her malignant enemies. It is an inquisition, also, of a most solemn kind. I know nothing in the whole race of human affairs, nothing in the whole view of eternity, which can even remotely resemble it; but the great day when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed!

"He who the sword of heaven will bear
Should be as holy as severe!"

And if your lordships have been furnished with powers, which I might almost say scarcely omniscience itself possesses, to arrive at the secrets of this female, you will think that it is your duty to imitate the justice, beneficence, and wisdom of that benignant Being, who, not in a case like this, where innocence is manifest, but when guilt was detected, and vice revealed, said, "If no accuser can come forward to condemn thee, neither do I condemn thee; go, and sin no more."

Dr. Lushington, followed, on October twenty-sixth, and here an abstract of his speech can be given: He commenced by stating, that if he had been left to the free exercise of his own discretion on the present occasion, he should certainly decline offering any observations to their lordships, because he felt conscious that it was utterly impossible for his humble exertions to add any thing to the great and splendid address of his learned friend (Mr. Deuman) who had preceded him. He now, however, addressed their lordships by the desire of his learned coadjutors, and he felt a consolation under his conscious inability to the task, that her majesty's defence rested on a basis so solid that the observations even of an unskilful advocate could scarcely weaken it. In surveying this case, and the charges on which it was founded, some observations occurred to his mind which he would shortly lay before the house. The first was the age of the royal accused. Was ever an instance known in the annals of accusations of this kind, that the person against whom the charge was made was of the age of fifty? No: he would defy any one to cite a precedent so preposterous or ridiculous. But who ever imagined a case like the present? In addition to the circumstance of the age of the accused, there was here that of a husband, who had been for twenty-four years separated from his wife; separated, not by any desire on her part, but by his own caprice, by his own act and choice—not in consequence of any misconduct of that wife, but by his pursuit of some wayward indulgence—some capricious fancy. In this way had been broken, for self-gratifications, those bonds which the laws of God and man had formed. How, then, did the case stand? Were his majesty a simple subject, was there a man in the world who would say that he was entitled to any consideration whatever in an application for divorce—that it was possible he could have an injury founded on such a complaint, for which he could claim redress? As a husband, then, the king had no right to seek redress. But then it was said that this application was not in the name of the king, and that the law in the case of a subject was not applicable to the sovereign. Let, however, no one presume to say that he is emancipated from obedience to the laws of God; for that assertion, of whomsoever it be made, was founded in untruth and

falsehood. It was also said that rank and station in the wife required a more rigid observance of duties than in the husband; but was there any duty which was not reciprocal? Was it not so with respect to matrimonial rights? And was it to be said that there was one law for women and another for men? or did superiority of rank make the engagement taken at the altar of God less binding? Was the private individual to be told that there was one divine law for him, and another for the accepted monarch? What was the plighted troth of the husband—what the promise made at the altar? To love and to comfort. But how was that promise observed? Where was the love? where the comfort? Where should he look for the one or the other?—The comfort:—what traces were there of it? If he went back to 1806, was it to be found there? or must he look for it in 1812, at that period of cruel interference, when the intercourse between the mother and the daughter was prohibited? Was it to be sought for at the period when the mother was exiled to a foreign land? No: there it did not exist; for wherever she went the spirit of persecution followed her. It was inconceivable that a wife thus deserted, thus persecuted, should now be told that she has been unmindful of her duty, whilst the husband, who was pledged to protect her, had allowed her to pass through the world without a friend to guard her honour. He regretted the discussion of these topics. He knew well that, when the acts of kings were brought before the public, there were individuals who dwelt with triumphant satisfaction on the exposure. No man could feel the difficulty of his situation more than he did, when called upon, in the performance of a solemn duty, to dwell upon such painful considerations; but he owed it to himself and to his client to speak out boldly. There were individuals without number, always anxious to see the failings of kings, that they might turn them into derision. He would, therefore, say as little as possible upon this ungrateful subject. It was almost needless to follow it through all its bearings; but if he were in one of those courts where cases of this kind are usually decided, what should he say to the husband who, insensible of his own honour, allows his wife for a series of years, to live unprotected, and then to offer her fifty thousand pounds a year to live abroad, knowing, as he did, that she is in a course of adultery, but without giving one direction that the adulterous intercourse should cease before she enjoys the large income proffered to her? What would he say to an individual so acting towards his wife? who said to her, not in the language of pardon and admonition, which his learned friend had repeated, 'Go, and sin no more,'—but 'Go and indulge your appetites, continue your adulterous intercourse, and you shall be furnished with ample means for living in splendour with your paramour!' He was happy that he was not under the necessity of introducing another topic. He was glad to state that in this case he was not called upon by any consideration of duty towards his illustrious client, to say one word by way of recrimination; he thanked God, and the wisdom of his learned colleague, who had so advised her majesty, that the case upon which they built their hopes of acquittal was one of perfect innocence, and that, by avoiding recrimination, he should save the house and the country from all its consequences. Their lordships could not, unless fully prepared to violate the laws of God and man, declare against his client. That venerable beech of bishops, who formed part of the judges, could not, without violating the holy tenets of that gospel which they preached and inculcated, pronounce against the wife of their sovereign. The laws of God and of the country were upon her side, and he was sure that it was not there that they would be violated.

The learned counsel then proceeded to take a luminous and comprehensive view of the whole of the evidence for and against her majesty, applying himself particularly to those topics which might have escaped Mr. Denman, and arguing, in the clearest and most conclusive manner, that the only correct inference to be drawn from the whole was the innocence of his illustrious client. He concluded by saying, that he left the honour and character of the queen in the hands of the house,—with the most perfect confidence he left her, not to the mercy, but to the justice of their lordships.

On the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, the king's attorney-general, and solicitor-general, re-

plied with much diffuseness to the arguments of the counsel for the queen.

The witnesses for the prosecution and defence, with the several pleadings of the respective counsel, being gone through, the lords on the second of November, proceeded to debate the question, "Whether the Bill of Pains and Penalties should be read a second time?"—In this discussion, all the principal speakers, as well as many other peers, delivered their opinions at considerable length, such as to occasion adjournments from day to day, until the sixth instant—when the house divided upon the important question of the second reading of the bill, equivalent to the question in other courts, of GUILTY, or NOT GUILTY, according to the evidence.

THE DIVISION.

THE lord chancellor having called upon each peer, he rose in his place, and said: "Content, or Non-content?" The result was—Contents, one hundred and twenty-three; non-contents, ninety-five; majority for the second reading, twenty-eight.

LIST OF PEERS who voted for and against the second reading of the Degradation and Divorce Bill.

For the second reading.

DUKES of York, Clarence, Beaufort, Rutland, Newcastle, Northumberland, Wellington, Athol, and Montrose.

MARQUESSES Conyngham, Anglesea, Camden, Northampton, Exeter, Headfort, Thomond, Coruwallis, Buckingham, Lothian, Queensberry, Winchester.

EARLS Harcourt, Brooke and Warwick, Portsmouth, Pomfret, Macclesfield, Ayleford, Balcarras, Hume, Coventry, Rochford, Abingdon, Shaftesbury, Cardigan, Winchelsea, Stamford, Bridgewater, Huntingdon, Westmorland, Harrowby, St. Germaines, Brownlow, Whitworth, Verulam, Cathcart, Mulgrave, Lonsdale, Orford, Manvers, Rosse, Nelson, Fowle, Limerick, Donoughmore, Belmore, Mayo, Longford, Mount Cashel, Kingston, Liverpool, Digby, Mount Edgcombe, Abergavenny, Aylesbury, Bathurst, Chatham.

VISCOUNTS Exmouth, Lake, Sidmouth, Melville, Curzon, Sydney, Palmouth, and Hereford.

BARONS Somers, Rodney, Middleton, Napier, Colville, Gray, Salfoun, Forbes, Frudhoe, Harris, Ross or Glasgow, Meldrum, Hill, Combermeres, Hopetoun, Gambier, Mauners, Ailesa, Lauderdale, Sheffield, Redesdale, St. Helena, Northwick, Bolton, Eldon, C. Bayning, Carrington, De Dunsterville, Brodrick, Stewart of Garlies, Stewart of Castle Stewart, Douglas, Morton, Grenville, Sufield, Montagu, Gordon, (Huntley), and Salterford.

ARCHBISHOPS Canterbury and Tuam.

BISHOPS London, St. Asaph, Worcester, St. David's, Ely, Chester, Peterborough, Llandaff, Cork and Ross, and Gloucester.

Against the second reading.

DUKES of Gloucester, Somerset, Hamilton, Argyll, Leinster, Grafton, Portland, Devonshire, Bedford, Richmond, (St. Albans, absent from illness).

MARQUESSES Bath, Stafford, and Lansdown.

EARLS de Lawar, Ichester, Darlington, Egremont, Fitzwilliam, Stanhope, Cowper, Hartmouth, Oxford, Roseberry, Jersey, Albemarle, Plymouth, Essex, Thanes, Denbigh, Suffolk, Fombroke, Derby, Blenheim, Morley, Minto, Harwood, Grey, Gosford, Romney, Ranelagh, Caledon, Enniskillen, Farnham, Carrick, Carrarvon, Mansfield, Fortescue, Grosvenor, Hillsborough, (Marquis of Downshire).

VISCOUNTS Granville, Anson, Duncan, Hood, Torrington, Boleynbrooke.

BARONS Ashburton, Bagot, Walsingham, Dynevor, Foley, Hawke, Ducie, Holland, Grantham, King, Belhaven, Clifton (Darnley), Say and Sele, Howard of Effingham, De la Zouch, Clinton, Dacre, Audley, De Clifford, Breadalbane, Erskine, Arden, Ellenborough, Alvanley, Loftus (M. Ely), Fitzgibbon, Calthorpe, Dawney, Yarborough, Dundas, Seisea, Mendip, Auckland, Gage, Fisherwick (M. Donegall), Amherst, Kenyon, Sherborne and Berwick.

ARCHBISHOP of York.

PROTESTS AGAINST THE SECOND READING OF THE BILL OF PAINS AND PENALTIES.

DISSENTIENT, No. 1.

Nov. 6. 1820.

Because the second reading of the bill is equivalent

to a decision that adulterous intercourse (the only foundation on which the bill can rest) has been satisfactorily proved.

Because that adulterous intercourse has been inferred, but not proved; and in a doubtful case, in which the imputed guilt is not proved, although innocence be not established, the benefit of that doubt, conformably to the principles of British justice, must be given to the defendant.

Essex (first reason only), Hillsborough (first reason only), Kenyon, Orford, Somerset, Seisea, Rosebery, Morley (first reason only), Leinster, Mansfield, Enniskillen, Richmond, and Lennox, Jersey (first reason only), Carrick, Grafton (first reason only), Anson (ditto), Darlington (ditto), Belhaven (ditto).

Dissentient, No. II.—Because this proceeding, from its nature, cannot be assimilated to a common indictment, in which a conviction upon one count alone is out of many, is sufficient.

And because, although enough has been proved in evidence to satisfy us of the existence of guilt, yet as evidence on many of the allegations has been contradicted, in some disproved, and in others is so suspicious as to be laid wholly out of the case, we are of opinion that it is inexpedient to proceed further in this measure.

Plymouth, Dynevor, Grantham, Denbigh, Clinton, (second reason only), Gage (second reason), Ilchester.

The following peers also protested against the bill upon general grounds:

Dissentient, No. III.—William Frederick, Lansdown, Jersey, Grey, Plymouth, Fitzgibbon, Albemarle, Hamilton and Brandon, Duncan, Hillsborough, Westworth (Fitzwilliam), Derby, Anson, Yarborough, Sherborne, Cowper, Audley, Kenyon, Carrick, Seisea, Foley, Arden, Egremont, Torrington, Suffolk, and Berks, Loftus (Ely), Morley, Granville, Richmond and Lennox, Bedford, Fortescue, Darlington, Belhaven, Grafton, Breadalbane, Auckland, Dawney (Downe), Mendip (Cliffden), Leinster, Hawke, Gosford, Romney, Roseberry, Scott (Portland), Thanes, Hood, Ashburton, Howard of Effingham, Alvanley, Carrarvon, Dundas, Caledon, Smurridge (duke of Argyll), Ducie, King, Rosalyn, Dacre, Calthorpe, Grantham and Ellenborough.

PROTEST FROM HER MAJESTY.

TUESDAY, November 7.—We believe the order of the day was about to be read, when lord Dacre stated, that since he had come into the house this morning, a protest, with respect to its proceedings, on the part of her majesty the queen, had been unexpectedly put into his hands to be presented. It might, perhaps, surprise their lordships that such a paper should have been placed in his hands, as he had taken no part in the proceedings on this important case; and he ought to apologise to their lordships for not having at an earlier stage expressed his opinion of it. His objection to bills of pains and penalties for the punishment of moral turpitude, long since committed, was so invincibly strong, that he never felt the least hesitation in declaring it. He hoped that the protest which had been placed in his hands would be liberally heard by the house; but whatever were his sentiments on the proceeding in general, he must object to the practice of judges, jury, and prosecutors, all voting in this case against the queen. With respect to the protest now entrusted to him, he would acknowledge that there was no precedent for receiving it; but the country would form their opinion of the conduct of the house, and precedent ought never to interrupt the equitable course of justice and of truth. He had scarcely had time to read over the protest of the queen, but it appeared that in the face of her family, the house, and the country, she solemnly protested against the proceedings in that house, as contrary to the constitution, to the spirit of the laws, and the principles of common justice. The noble lord concluded with reading her majesty's protest, which was couched in the following terms:

PROTEST.

"CAROLINE REGINA.

"To the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled.

"The queen has learnt the decision of the lords upon the bill now before them. In the face of parliament, of her family, and of her country, she does solemnly protest against it.

"Those who avowed themselves her prosecutors

have presumed to sit in judgment on the question between the queen and themselves.

"Peers have given their votes against her who had heard the whole evidence for the charge, and absented themselves during her defence.

"Others have come to the discussion from the secret committee, with minds biased by a mass of slander, which her enemies have not dared to bring forward in the light.

"The queen does not avail herself of her right to appear before the committee, for to her the details of the measure must be a matter of indifference; and unless the course of these unexampled proceedings should bring the bill before the other branch of the legislature, she will make no reference whatever to the treatment experienced by her during the last twenty-five years.

"She now most deliberately, and before God, asserts, that she is wholly innocent of the crime laid to her charge, and she awaits with unabated confidence the final result of this unparalleled investigation.

(Signed) "CAROLINE REGINA."

The four following days were passed in debating the expediency of the divorce clause, and on this point the lords spiritual took the chief part. On a division there appeared, contents one hundred and twenty-nine, non-contents sixty-two, majority in favour of the divorce clause sixty-seven.

The minority in the house of lords that voted for expunging the divorce clause, were lords Hill, Rodney, Yarborough, Salton, Bayning, Kenyon, Hopetoun, Suffield, Calthorpe, Combermere, Sidney, Curzon, Falmouth; bishops of Chester, Cork, Peterborough, Gloucester, St. Asaph, St. David's, Ely, Worcester; earls of Winchelsea, Courtown, Mount Cashel, Romney, Stamford, Browlow, Fitzwilliam, Stanhope, Balcarrais, Dartmouth, Aylesford, Verulam, Morton, Portsmouth, Caledon, Lauderdale, St. Germain, Aylesbury, Macclesfield, Lonsdale, Mount-Edgcombe, Parham, Pomfret, Whitworth, Mayo, Shaftesbury; marquises Cornwallis; dukes of Clarence, Portland, Beaufort; archbishops of York and Tuam; cabinet ministers—Sidmouth, Melville, Bathurst, Harrowby, Mulgrave, Liverpool, Westmorland, Wellington, Eldon &c.

On the tenth of November, the order of the day for the third reading of the bill of divorce and degradation, against the queen, being moved by the earl of Liverpool, there appeared on a division of the house,—for the third reading, one hundred and eight, against it ninety-nine, majority in favour of the measure nine.

On declaring which, lord Dacre observed, that he had been instructed with a petition from her majesty, praying to be heard by counsel against the passing of the bill.

BILL ABANDONED BY MINISTERS.

The earl of Liverpool said that he apprehended such a course would be rendered unnecessary by what he was about to state. He could not be ignorant of the state of public feeling with regard to this measure, and it appeared to be the opinion of the house that the bill should be read a third time only by a majority of nine votes. Had the third reading been carried by as considerable a number of peers as the second, he and his noble colleagues would have felt it their duty to persevere with the bill, and to send it down to the other branch of the legislature. In the present state of the country, however, and with the division of sentiment, so nearly balanced, just evinced by their lordships, they had come to the determination not to proceed further with it. It was his intention, accordingly, to move that the question "that the bill do pass now," be altered to "this day six months."

His lordship's motion was agreed to, and the house immediately adjourned to the twenty-third of November. The house of commons had also adjourned to the same day, and Mr. Brougham sent a written communication to the speaker, as also to lord Castlereagh, that a message would be delivered from her majesty. The speaker returned for answer, that he should take the chair at a quarter before two o'clock. In pursuance of which arrangement, he entered the house punctually, and immediately after two new members had been sworn in, and two new writs had been moved for, Mr. Denman rose with a paper in his hand, which

he stated, was a communication from her majesty; at this moment, the deputy usher of the black rod entered the house, amidst the loudest cries for "Mr. Denman, and read, read," from near fifty members. Mr. Denman continued standing with the queen's message in his hand, whilst the usher of the black rod attempted to deliver a message from the lords, but it was only in dumb show, for though his lips appeared to move, not a syllable met the ear. The usher then withdrew, and after a short pause, Mr. Tierney rose, and remarked that as not one word of what the deputy usher had delivered, could have been heard, from whence could the speaker know what the message was? or whether he was wanted at all in the other house? Mr. Bennett exclaimed, "this is a scandal to the country;" during which, the speaker rose, and proceeded down the body of the house, amidst cries of "shame, shame," and loud hisses from the opposition benches, lord Castlereagh, the chancellor of the exchequer, and other ministerial members accompanying him to the house of lords, where the commission for the prorogation of parliament was read, and the chancellor in his majesty's name, immediately prorogued the parliament to the twenty-third of January.

So terminated the proceedings of the legislative trial in the house of lords, against her majesty Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, queen consort of king George the Fourth. That this procedure should elicit, as it manifestly did, great and extraordinary displays of feeling in all quarters, cannot be denied. For though by our wisely devised state axiom, we are taught to believe, that by no possibility "can the king do wrong;" neither would the gallant principles of Britons suffer them to credit, to the extent adduced, that a queen could be so far lost to herself, and her situation. While therefore one party imputed to her crimes of a deeper dye, than appertained to a Messalina,—another exalted her beyond the common lot of humanity. And though different bodies of the community were so decidedly at variance on the respective merits of the case, as to be wholly blinded by their passions and prejudices according to the side they politically espoused, there was not wanting an intermediate, and most valuable class of reflective beings, who could not help deploring such development had ever been advised; as besides the discordant fouds that it had introduced into the bosom of many a hitherto peaceful family—decorum and morals had been daily violated, in the grossest manner, by details of a most brutal description, which defaced the columns of the public prints, and defiled the journals of the house where the trial pended. Independent of the abstract positions that "there is one law for all classes," that when "married persons separate by consent, they become free, and that the complaining party should come into court with clean hands," as inquiry was instituted, according to ministerial statements, merely to secure a purity of succession; there could be no necessity for such inquiry, when time had prevented any hope or fear of children being produced by the queen: and the insidious set off on the other side, that his majesty wished this measure to pass, that he might marry again, has proved delusive and nugatory, no such desire or event having taken place, since death has severed that tie, which proved too strong to be dissolved by any other power.

Of the necessity of these proceedings, under every feature of the case, and after the failure of conciliatory measures, little doubt remains; but the policy of it may surely be discussed, and the question of the truth, or falsehood of the allegations, produced against an unfortunate queen, will long be disputed by posterity. They who give credence to the evidence brought forward in support of the bill of pains and penalties, will be compelled to accede to a verdict of guilty; while they, who deem the greater part of the witnesses as corruptly perjured, will not only at once acquit her majesty, but gladly anathematize the wretches, however exalted, who, stimulated by any view of power, place, or provocation, could descend to the far greater crime of suborning them for so base a purpose.

Those who feel any curiosity to become more acquainted with this ever to be regretted exposure of royal domestic misery and affliction, can refer to the authentic records of the trial at large. Whilst commenting upon this subject it must be stated,

that the public feeling expressed on this abandonment of the bill, and the thereby huppled triumph of her majesty, was most unequal. On the evening of the day on which the bill was left to its fate, as well as on the following Saturday and Monday, illuminations took place in all parts of the metropolis; and the demonstrations of joy, exultation, and triumph, were on these nights as strongly exhibited by the populace, and bore an equal resemblance to those displayed on any occasion of general rejoicing. In most parts of the kingdom similar scenes took place; and congratulatory addresses were abundantly voted to her majesty from various corporations, fraternities, and public bodies, who for a lengthened period filled the approaches to Brandenburgh house, with all the pageantry of processions, on the days appointed for their reception by the queen.

November twenty-ninth.—Her majesty, preceded by a numerous cavalcade of gentlemen on horseback, led by Sir Robert Wilson, went in state to the metropolitan church of St. Paul's, to return public thanks; on which occasion, the concourse of persons assembled was so immense, rallying round the different illustrative banners borne in the line of march, that with the most extreme difficulty could the queen's carriage proceed from Temple Bar to the cathedral. The acclamations of the countless multitude were loud, and continued, but the greatest attention to order was observed; and the day concluded, contrary to the predictive fears of many, without the slightest accident or indecorum taking place. During the entire year of 1820, the public attention in Great Britain was thus powerfully excited, and almost absorbed, by the domestic affairs of the royal family. In the endeavour to achieve impossibilities, by proving too much, politicians, in common with other men, generally overreach themselves—the event verifies the remark: for, had the propounders of this trial contented themselves with half a case, or at least one containing half the alleged criminality, it would have worn a face of greater probability, and compelled those engaged in the defence to gainsay the evidence by fact more than declamation. As it was, the chivalric disposition of Englishmen, ever eager to espouse the weaker side, and *championise*, if the term may be allowed, the cause of what was made to appear, in glowing colours, a highly oppressed, helpless, and deserted female, enlisted all the generous sentiments of Britons in aid of the impassioned oratory of the queen's advocates; and thus the names of Brougham, Denman, Williams, and Lushington, were entwined together, as a wreath of perennial bloom, by the independence of civism.—Resounded at public meetings, and crowned the goblets of convivial boards in every corner of these realms, long after their three months' labour in the cause of a royal mistress had terminated. Controversies and heart-burnings did not expire with this famed trial; but, as while pending, this bill of pains and penalties had engrossed all attention, and obstructed all business, so, now it was withdrawn, it unfortunately continued to occupy the private as well as public mind, to the exclusion of other subjects, more intimately connected with the domestic interests and foreign relations of the nation and the individual.

DEATH OF THE DUTCHESS OF YORK.

On the sixth of August in this highly momentous year, expired Frederica Charlotte Ulrica, the consort of his royal highness the duke of York, the eldest brother of the king. The dutchess was in the fifty-fourth year of her age. Her royal highness was the eldest daughter of the late king of Prussia, by his first wife, Elizabeth Ulrica Christiana, princess of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel. The dutchess of York was a pattern of the milder and retiring virtues, strongly devoted to exercises of charity, and diffusive benevolence. She passed her time almost wholly, except when public occasions called her forth, in a state of comparative seclusion at the country seat denominated Oatlands Park, in Surrey, where she died; and in the neighbouring village church of Walton was, at her express desire, privately interred.

FRANCE—HER POLITICS.

REVERTING to foreign affairs, from the domestic aspect of Great Britain, we are led to contemplate the general posture of Europe at this period; and

in so doing, we discern in the position of the neighbouring nation of France the gradual development of measures, in the progressive operation of that change, which a lengthened chain of imperious circumstances had effected in that so strangely agitated country. The restoration of the ancient dynasty of the Capets, consequent on those important wars which had so long convulsed the world, required the adoption of many new schemes of government; and the alteration of the laws respecting elections appeared to be a paramount object with the ministers of Louis XVIII. M. Decazes, who at this period was deemed the minister possessed of the greatest influence, had prepared a new projet of laws on this important matter, which he was prevented by indisposition alone from propounding to the chamber of deputies. Pending this delay the Duc de Berri was assassinated by one Louvel, as he was coming forth from the opera-house. Whether the murderer, a ci-devant soldier, was to be considered in the light of a fanatical enthusiast, or as a political tool, remains as yet a secret; but certain it is, that the untimely death of this prince, who was the younger nephew of the king, and the sole member of the immediate family of Louis XVIII., who promised to continue his line of heirs to the throne, was much deplored. The horror excited by this event gave great strength to the ultra-royalists; and an extreme fermentation of opinion ensued in the chamber of deputies, which finally spread itself through every part of the kingdom. The ministers, in consequence, considered it a measure of prudence to yield somewhat to public prejudice, and to content themselves with a part of the projected measure; well knowing, that if they persisted in carrying every thing, they ran the mortifying risk of not effecting any thing. Accordingly, M. de Serre, who had been re-appointed to his former post of keeper of the seals, informed the chamber, that he and his colleagues were willing to abandon the plan proposed to such extent as to put an end to the present system of direct election, provided that an additional quantity of deputies, to be selected by the wealthiest class of voters, were allowed an introduction to the legislative body. This alteration of direct election, or in fact nomination, of senators, though apparently bettered by the new mode proposed, tended to introduce restraints of no small importance on the freedom of election to the house of deputies; and after a trial for superiority, the two contending parties at length effected a compromise. According to the plan finally adopted, while the two hundred and fifty-eight members (being the original number of the chamber as it then was constituted) were to be returned by the electoral colleges of the several districts, comprising all persons of thirty years old and upwards; one hundred and seventy-two additional deputies were to be chosen by departmental colleges, which were to be composed of one-fourth of the body of electors, that fourth being made up of those who paid the largest contributions to the public service—so that, in addition to the three estates already represented, in some degree in imitation of the British constitutional assemblies and its monarch, France now presented to view in her lower house the political anomaly of two species of deputies, or, in fact, a fourth estate. The trial of Louvel, who had murdered the Duc de Berri, which had been so long delayed in the delusive hope, that he would reveal his accomplices, or at least make some political discoveries, took place so late as the fifth and sixth days of June, before the chamber of peers. This assassin continued steadfast to his former declaration, that he had no accomplice whatever; but added, that he had long brooded in silent meditation over the deed of horror, without communicating the slightest hint of his intention to a single human being: and had perpetrated it, because he thought such an act essentially necessary to the welfare of France, in whose cause he died. He was consequently pronounced guilty, and sentenced to decapitation, which he underwent, being executed on the seventh of June.

ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE DUTCHESS DE BERRI.

THE dutchess de Berri was pregnant at the period of her husband's assassination. This unborn infant was the only hope of the zealous royalists, being now the sole remaining chance of a lineal male descendant of Louis XIV.; as the crown, in

failure of issue by the dutchess would have devolved upon the Orleans family, the idea of which was peculiarly obnoxious to the zealous partisans of the house of Bourbon. Attempts of a diabolical nature were twice made to frustrate the regular course of natural probabilities on this occasion—the first on the twenty-eighth of April, and the last on the sixth of May—by placing lighted petards close to the apartments occupied by the dutchess, so that their violent and unexpected explosion, as it was most atrociously imagined, could not fail to throw her into such a sudden state of terror as must induce a miscarriage. Both attempts, however, failed; and in the second the unmanly culprit was seized. He was named Gravier, and had formerly been an officer under Napoleon. He and an accomplice were both condemned to suffer death; but in consequence of the intercession of the dutchess, their punishment was commuted into that of hard labour for life. On September the twenty-ninth the widowed dutchess de Berri was safely delivered of a posthumous son, who immediately received the title of duke of Bourdeaux, and who is the declared legitimate heir to the crown of France. The loyalists were delighted in an extreme degree at the birth of a prince, as by the Salique law of that kingdom, females are excluded from inheriting the throne—and consequently, had it been so, the succession must have gone away from the Capet line, which would then have become extinct.

STATE OF SPANISH AFFAIRS.

SPAIN at this epoch, after her long and arduous struggle for liberty and her king, was groaning under the oppressive yoke of the ungrateful and bigoted despot, Ferdinand the seventh,—with whom, in contradiction to many political declamations, the fanaticism of monks had more credit than the valour of soldiers. An American expedition was still contemplated by the besotted councils of the Spanish government; and, preparations being completed, an army, comprising upwards of sixteen thousand men, was assembled in the vicinity of Cadiz, the beginning of the month of December 1812. Transactions which took place in the preceding June incontrovertibly proved the general spirit of the officers as hostile to the men and measures included in the sway of Ferdinand. Though that conspiracy failed in its ultimate object, the very troops who had effected the suppression of it were now in a state of extreme insubordination themselves, in so much as to have made their own terms, and amongst those terms had obtained an exemption from serving in the new world. Count Abisbel, even that individual who had arrested the progress of the former revolt, was at this juncture considered so little deserving of a continuation of the royal confidence, that the command of the army had been taken from him, and he was gone into retirement. Accordingly, in the month of December, a new plan of insurrection was matured among the troops then cantoned in and round about Cadiz; at the head of which conspiracy were prominent colonel Riego and lieutenant-colonel Quiroga. It was planned, amongst other things, that the latter should effect his escape from a convent in the neighbourhood, wherein he was detained under arrest—immediately join two battalions quartered at Alcalá los Gascales, and march with them on the first of January towards Cadiz. On the same day, Riego, who was stationed at Los Cabezas with the second battalion of the regiment of the Asturias, was to proceed with that corps to the head-quarters at Arcos, and there seize the persons of the commander-in-chief, count de Calderon, and such of the other superior officers as could not be trusted. Riego, on the first of January, having proclaimed, amid the enthusiastic acclamations of his troops, the constitution as adopted by the cortes in 1812, reached Arcos early on the following morning,—when he surprised the commander-in-chief, with his whole staff. Joined by the garrison of that town, and the second battalion of the Seville regiment from Villa Marten, he lost no time, but entered Burros on the third of January, and was there strengthened by a battalion of the regiment of Arragon; and at Xeres and Port St. Mary, he received a farther accession of force. With this body of troops he hastened directly to effect a juncture with Quiroga, who had made his escape; but was delayed in his march by the sudden swelling of the rivers and the bad state of the roads; so that he was not able to arrive at the Isle of Leon before the magis-

tracy of Cadiz had manned and strengthened the lines called Cortadura, and by those means arrested for a time his progress in that quarter. The united forces before these lines consisted of seven battalions, and assumed the title of the national army. Quiroga was commander-in-chief, with Riego as second in command. In the course of a few days this national army was joined by a detachment, comprising the brigade, artillery, cavalry, and infantry, which had been detached for the purpose of occupying Port St. Mary. On the twelfth of January, at midnight, the troops obtained the possession of the arsenal of the Caracass; which step was followed by two successive attacks made on the Cortadura, the first by the troops without the lines, and the second, on January twenty-fourth, by their partisans in the city; but neither of them were attended by success.—Such were the first movements of the revolution in Spain.

Ferdinand's adherents were in the mean time very active. Don Manuel Freyre, who had been declared captain-general of Andalusia, issued several proclamations in reply to those proceeding from the patriotic party; and having assembled such troops at Seville as he thought reliance might be placed upon, after throwing some succours into Cadiz, established his head quarters at Port St. Mary by the twenty-seventh of January.—The patriots, from being baffled in all their attempts upon Cadiz, now changed their plan of operations. Marching with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, Riego entered Algeiras on the first of February, where, though meeting with much cordial approbation and good wishes, he was unable to recruit his forces; and in the attempt to rejoin Quiroga he found himself suddenly intercepted by Don Joseph O'Donnell, the brother of count Abisbel, who had cut off all communication between the Isle of Leon and Algeiras. Thus situated the patriot general resolved to march into Grenada; and on the eighteenth of February gained Malaga, though closely pursued by O'Donnell. Accordingly, he passed the Guadalequivir at Cordova, on the eighth of March, having been constantly harassed by the close pursuit of the opposing, and superior force. On his arrival at Baeza, on the eleventh, Riego's troops were by all these casualties broken and reduced in number to about three hundred men. This being too inconsiderable a force to act any longer together as an army, the patriot band, after many privations and difficulties, were compelled to separate at the foot of the Ronda mountains, for the purpose of each individual saving himself by concealment or flight.—In the mean time Quiroga found himself in a situation of no less jeopardy; being in fact shut up in the Isle of Leon, with the skeleton of an army, by various privations and hardships reduced in numerical strength to less than four thousand men, and these becoming hourly more and more depressed through inactivity, and in imminent danger of suffering total destruction by the want of provisions, which now became dreadfully apparent.

Though these disastrous mischances so gloomily frowned upon the primary leaders of the revolution, the sun of success still gleamed upon the patriotic cause, and was gradually diffusing its radiance into other parts of the Spanish kingdoms. Galicia witnessed an energetic rising of the people, who fully, and indeed from predisposition perhaps, without difficulty, ultimately triumphed over the executive and its authorities. This branch of the revolt had been concerted, and was chiefly effected, by some officers of the garrison at Corunna; who, at the time that Venegas the captain-general of the province was in the act of holding a levee, raised the cry of "The nation for ever!" and, after disarming the guards of state, entered the room where Venegas was surrounded by his visitors. Those officers who were present at the levee immediately joined their party, and simultaneously with drawn swords proclaimed that constitution which they declared themselves ready to die in the defence of. The patriots invited Venegas to assume the command, by placing himself at the head of this new order of affairs; but this he refused; and accordingly, both himself and his staff were put under arrest, though at the same time they were treated in the most respectful manner. A new captain-general of the province was appointed, in the person of colonel Acevedo—a supreme junta constituted—and the garrison received in addition a patriotic corps of two thousand militia. Ferrol, Vigo, and Pontevedra, displayed a

similar enthusiastic spirit of devotional patriotism, and about the same period the since justly celebrated and esteemed Mina appeared in Navarre, in support of the constitution, which he so effectually aided and there proclaimed. At this important crisis, count Abisbal, who had, with the skill of a consummate politician, carefully watched the progress of these events from their development, now openly espoused the patriotic cause, and from his powerful co-operation, achieved the triumph of the revolutionary party. By his influence, a plan was matured for proclaiming the constitution, with the assistance of the officers commanding in La Mancha; in this plan was included Don Joseph O'Donnel, the brother of Abisbal, who was at that moment following up the overthrow of Riego, but who, by this new arrangement, was to lend important assistance to the cause of the patriots. Count Abisbal, for these purposes, left Madrid on the third March, was joined by some of the body guard at Aranjuez, and on the next day, with the support of his brother's regiment, surprised the governor of Ocaña, whom he placed in arrest, and followed this step with a proclamation of the constitution. From the instant of count Abisbal's defection, Ferdinand could only screen himself by apparent submission. The power that had declared in favour of the constitution, and which was now arrayed against Ferdinand, was composed of his own household troops, commanded by the same individuals, whose influence with the soldiery had once before saved him, and from whose hands alone safety could be rationally anticipated again.

In this posture of affairs, delay must have been fatal. The king lost no time in publishing an official document, in which he set forth his royal intention of immediately assembling the cortes, for the purpose of redressing grievances and remedying every national abuse. The populace of Madrid, upon the first promulgation of this testimony of the weakness of the royal cause, assembled without delay in vast multitudes in the immediate precincts of the palace, and with the fervour of those meetings, demanded the constitution, with such outcries of violent clamour, that great apprehensions were entertained for the king's personal security. Influenced by these terrors, Ferdinand issued the same evening a circular letter to the different authorities of Madrid, declaring that "the will of the people having been pronounced," he had resolved to swear to the constitution, as sanctioned by the cortes in 1812. This circular was followed by the immediate establishment of a supreme junta, composed of men of principles known to be favourable to the new order of things. All persons implicated in the late proceedings, and imprisoned for state offences, were liberated; the liberty of the press was henceforward declared, and the total abolition of the inquisition resolved upon. Tidings of the transactions which had taken place in La Mancha and Galicia, now reached Cadiz, where general Freyre had just arrived. The enthusiasm of the people was wrought to such height, that Freyre wisely determined to yield to their wishes. On the ninth of March, the very day of his arrival, he gave public intimation in the square of St. Antonio, that he would put up the stone of the constitution at ten o'clock on the following morning, and that it should be sworn to immediately when done. The populace not contented with this declaration, vehemently exclaimed "no delay, now, now," which was reiterated with such ardour and earnestness, that the general drew from his pocket the book of the constitution, which having kissed, he concluded by saying, "Now, then, the oath is taken; to-morrow the remaining and requisite solemnities shall be performed." A flag was subsequently unfurled with this inscription, "The constitution for ever, and Freyre our Regenerator."

MASSACRE AT CADIZ.

On the following day a most disgraceful and horrid outrage was committed by the troops in Cadiz, which must tend to entail upon them disgrace, coeval with the pen of history, which hesitates while it records such perfidy. In this infamous breach of faith, however, it is on all sides admitted, that general Freyre had no participation. The stone of the constitution was carried into the midst of the square of St. Antonio, as the preparatory step to the ceremony. The municipal authorities were to form themselves into a procession, as assist-

ants at the regular proclamation of the constitution, and orders had been issued from the headquarters of the general, that all the houses should be decorated, and the city publicly illuminated for three successive nights. A message had been despatched to the island of St. Leon, inviting general Quiroga and his staff to be present on the occasion. The general himself did not attend the invitation, but deputed four of his personal staff to witness this celebration of popular triumph. Nothing could exceed the joy and felicity of the inhabitants of Cadiz on this memorable morning, the tenth of March, when the whole city exhibited one scene of pleasure and hilarity. Smiles enlightened every face, and gladness shone around, while each eye was waiting the arrival of the general, each ear strained to catch the appointed hour of ten. This gratifying spectacle was soon, however, to be converted into one of far different complexion, for as the clock struck, the troops rushed forth, and firing volleys upon the gazing throng, dealt death promiscuously around, whilst shouting forth "Ferdinand for ever, and down with the constitution." The utmost consternation and appalling terror now took possession of the crowds assembled, and the defenceless people flying from their murderous assailants, trampled down each other to avoid death. The officers disappeared with the dispersion of the populace; the brutal soldiery, left without control, threw off all subordination and revelled in every unjustifiable excess; and the whole city, from a scene of universal joy and promised security, was in one instant converted into the resemblance of a place delivered over to all the horrors of military execution and pillage, after a protracted siege. This outrageous violation of public faith, this horrible exhibition of savage policy and brutal violence, continued from ten in the morning, until eight in the evening, when the officers once more interfered, and finally succeeded in withdrawing the infuriated troops to their several quarters, after a carnage of ten hours, which bestrewed the streets with four hundred dead bodies of men, women, and children, whose number of wounded was fully proportionate. Tranquillity was not restored in the town, ere the lapse of two days, at which time information was received, that Ferdinand had accepted the constitution. The troops having no further pretext for resistance, submitted in sullen silence. No more acts of open violence occurred, but yet it cannot be wondered at, that neither soldiers or citizens deemed themselves safe, until they were removed to a distance from each other. The governor Valdes, and the military commander Campana, were displaced, and within a week after the execrable massacre of their fellow-countrymen, the troops were marched away, to the great relief of the suffering inhabitants. The army of the Isle of Leon, which was now of considerable force, on the united suggestion of Riego and Quiroga, was ordered not to separate until the assembly of the cortes; and at the same time, in some recompense of their services, the rank of field-marshal was bestowed on both these chiefs of the revolution. Very soon afterwards, field-marshal Quiroga was elected a member of the cortes, and the sole command of this army devolved upon Riego. On the ninth of July, the functions of the supreme junta expired, at which period the cortes assembled, and the revolution was thought to be finally and solidly established through every part of the kingdom.

KING OPENS THE CORTES.

A SPEECH from the king opened the cortes, which immediately proceeded to the fulfilment of their various and important duties. During their sittings, divers political schemes appeared in overt act, and many disturbances broke out in Andalusia, Catalonia, Extremadura, Galicia, and Valencia; in Extremadura, an individual named Morales, having prevailed upon some of the Bourbon cavalry to join him, acquired by such accession an importance far beyond his deserts. These occurrences induced several of the most zealous revolutionists among the body of the cortes, to urge ministers to the adoption of stronger and more decisive measures against the adversaries of the new constitution. The grasping ambition of some of their own partisans was another fertile source of embarrassment to the constitutionalists, which tended to paralyze their efforts for the public good.

RIEGO'S DISGRACE.

Among these discontented chiefs, Riego particularly distinguished himself. It had been resolved that the army of the Isle of Leon should be disbanded; and as a compensation for the loss of that military command, Riego was nominated captain-general of Galicia. This change not suiting with the powerful ambition of his mind, he repaired to the capital to protest against the measure; but finding all his arguments and endeavours useless, and wholly failing in his remonstrances with the administration, he essayed to overawe the cortes by dint of his popularity with the lower orders of the people, and his influence in the several political clubs with which Madrid at that time abounded. Government, however, acted with becoming firmness, refusing to submit to a dictator: laws were enacted to prevent the recurrence of abuses originating from factious clubs and assemblies—several of the most active rioters were subjected to punishment—and Riego himself, being stripped of his office of captain-general, was banished to his native town of Oviedo.

CORTES CLOSES.

The first session of the cortes closed on the ninth of November, when a speech was read to them in the name of the king, who, under the pretext of sickness, remained at the Escorial. Previous to their final separation, however, the cortes resolved, among many other measures strongly indicating distrust of the monarch, that three-fourths of their whole number should invariably remain at their posts, to be in readiness to counteract any scheme which might arise prejudicial to public welfare. The long and continued absence of this infatuated sovereign from the capital gave great umbrage to the populace and constitutionalists, as his motions could not be so well ascertained at the Escorial as they might be at Madrid. Nor did it appear that this jealousy was without foundation; for on the sixteenth of November, only one week after the closing of the cortes, Ferdinand being still resident at the Escorial, nominated general Carvajal to the government of New Castile, without causing the appointment to be duly countersigned, as was requisite, by the proper ministers. The permanent deputations of the cortes, in conjunction with the municipal body of the capital, immediately met; and, whilst the whole population of the city was in a state of the utmost exasperation, they drew up and presented to his majesty a most energetic and decisive remonstrance, in which, among various other matters, they pointed out the absolute necessity of the king's residing at Madrid. In one part of this timely address they observed—"Your majesty's absence has occasioned apprehensions that are aggravated by connection to important employments, of persons notoriously opposed to the constitutional system, which your majesty has sworn to preserve, and which we are all ready to defend to the last drop of our blood. We are compelled, sire, to say, that without some public manifestation to the new institutions, of a nature to destroy every hope in their most determined enemies, confidence cannot be re-established. This manifestation, in our opinion, can be none other than your majesty's return to the midst of your children, and the immediate extraordinary convocation of the cortes."

FERDINAND RETURNS TO MADRID.

The king, in apparent compliance with this address, returned unwillingly on the twenty-first of November to the capital; and shortly after, the commands in the different provinces were, with an increased spirit of reluctance on his part, bestowed on the most violent partisans of the revolution.—Among those so distinguished, the ambitious Riego was appointed captain-general of Arragon: whilst Morales, the leader of the Extremaduran disturbances, with a few of his adherents, fled for safety into Portugal; but being taken by the Portuguese, he was delivered over by them to the Spanish authorities. The army was now completely organized, and received the king's sanction: it was arranged as a peace establishment, to consist of sixty-six thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight men, which was to be doubled in the event of war. The three regiments of Swiss soldiers were suppressed; and throughout the different provinces large enrolments of militia took place.—Such, at this eventful period,

was the political state of Spain, towards whom all Europe turned its eyes with an extreme anxiety of expectation, viewing the extraordinary spectacle of a country in which the spirit of firm resistance to a faithless, cruel, and bigoted monarch had displayed itself in such an unparalleled manner, and hitherto with such successful and triumphant results.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN PORTUGAL.

The neighbouring state of Portugal could not remain long unaffected by the eruption which had shaken the Spanish kingdom. Similar causes produce similarity of effects. The removal of the monarch and his court to the Brasilis had tended to make the nobles less loyal in their inclinations; and the community, seeing themselves as it were abandoned by the royal family, now that the necessity for their exile no longer existed, were more easily swayed by the resident nobility; whilst the army, in addition to many other causes of discontent, were sorely mortified by the circumstance of marshal Beresford being continued in the supreme command, and about a hundred British officers still retaining their commissions, now that the war was concluded, and during a period which promised a long continuance of peace. Marshal Beresford had sailed for Rio Janeiro in the month of April, and during his absence the spirit of revolution first manifested itself at Oporto; which was ripened into open revolt against the authorities, under the auspices of Don Bernardo Correa de Castro Sepulveda, a young nobleman, and commander of the eighteenth regiment. On the twenty-fourth of August an address was read to the regiments stationed there, inviting them to assist in the establishment of a constitutional government. This invitation was hailed by the assembled troops with loud acclamations; and subsequently, in the presence of the governor, the bishop, and the city magistrates, a provisional junta was appointed, consisting of sixteen members, charged with the government of the country until the cortes should meet. This junta, as a preliminary measure, made a declaration of their reverence for the rights and immunities of the church, and of all the constituted authorities, joined to a most devoted attachment to the monarchy established in the house of Braganza. The English officers were informed that they were to enjoy a continuance of their respective ranks and emoluments until the meeting of the cortes should take place: but they were strictly enjoined not to take any part whatever in the events then passing. On the other hand, the regency at Lisbon sent forth a proclamation, on the twenty-ninth of August, deprecating the whole of the transactions which had taken place at Oporto—condemning it as an illegal conspiracy, and declaring that it was vested in the sovereign alone, the right of convoking the cortes. Ultimately discovering that the defection of the soldiery was general in all the provinces, they yielded to necessity, and published a proclamation for the speedy assembling of the cortes.—Don Sepulveda had in the interim marched to attack count Amarante, the commander of Trózas Montes, who, finding himself abandoned by his troops, sought refuge in Galicia: by which Sepulveda reached Coimbra unopposed, and proceeded forthwith to the capital, followed by the provisional junta. September fifteenth—a day always celebrated with military pomp by the garrison of Lisbon, as the anniversary of the deliverance of Portugal from the oppression of a foreign yoke, in defiance of the attempts of the regency to prevent it—the sixteenth regiment mustered in the Rocio, the principal square of the metropolis, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and were speedily joined by the tenth regiment from the castle, the fourth from Campo D'Ourlique, the artillery from the Caes dos Salvados, and the cavalry from Alcantara—until both the Rocio and the Praça were filled with troops, headed by their officers, and in full order of march. Aided by this army, the constitution was proclaimed; the regency halls were opened; and a new set of governors appointed. During these proceedings the troops remained quietly on the ground till near eleven at night, when they marched back, according to orders, to their several quarters, in the highest regularity;—and thus was this great change brought about, without the most trifling disturbance, or slightest indication of riot. The Oporto junta entered Lisbon on the first of

October, and the northern and southern armies arrived shortly after. This was followed by the union of the two juntas, who were then divided into two sections, one of them being charged with the ordinary cares of administration, and the other with such duties as were necessary for assembling the cortes.

MARSHAL BERESFORD ARRIVES BEFORE LISBON.

NINE days from this, lord Beresford returned from Rio Janeiro, in his Britannic majesty's ship the Vengour, and cast anchor in the Tagus. His lordship expressed an extreme desire to land, and requested permission to be allowed so to do, in the capacity of a simple British subject, having various affairs of a private nature to settle in Portugal. The public alarm excited by his arrival was so great, that it was deemed necessary from motives combining the marshal's personal safety, as well as to preserve the public tranquillity, to refuse a compliance with this request, as well as to use every possible means to hasten his departure, without suffering him to have any private communication with the shore. Finding matters thus imperatively conducted, marshal Beresford at length sailed for England in the Arabella packet; and after his departure, captain Maitland delivered a sum of money to the junta, from the Vengour, which he had conveyed from Rio Janeiro, for the purpose of paying the army. Strong and serious differences of opinion were now elicited between the two juntas of Lisbon and Oporto; the former one being desirous of adhering without deviation to the ancient forms and principles of the constitution, while the latter, far more tending to democracy, was anxious to adopt the constitution of Spain in its most ample form. The leader of the violent party was Silveira, who succeeded in obtaining a decree, that the cortes should be elected as in Spain, according to the population, and that one deputy should be returned for every thirty thousand inhabitants. Not content with this success, they prevailed with the troops to assemble on the eleventh of November, round the palace, where the junta were then engaged in deliberation, and in obedience to their tumultuous clamours, the junta also decreed, that the constitution of Spain should be adopted in its fullest extent. The command of the army was then conferred upon one of their most active and zealous partisans, whilst Silveira himself assumed the department of foreign affairs. In consequence of these measures, the more moderate party of the junta now withdrew from the council, and one hundred and fifty officers of the army threw up their commissions. These events filled the kingdom with consternation, and Teixeira, commander in chief at Lisbon, by whose influence they had been consummated, soon saw cause to repent the part he had achieved. Sepulveda now strenuously exerted himself to make the army sensible of their erroneous proceeding on the eleventh, and was so far successful, that on the seventeenth November a military council was convened, consisting of general officers, and others, commanders of divisions, who came to a series of resolutions, which enumerated, "that the public welfare required that those members who lately desired their discharge, should resume their functions; that the election of deputies to the cortes be made according to the Spanish system, but that no other part of the Spanish constitution be enacted, except when the cortes shall meet and adopt it, with such alterations as they shall judge proper." The effect of these declaratory resolutions, was the immediate re-ascendancy of the moderate party, by whom Silveira was stripped of all power, ordered to quit the city within two hours, and to retire to his estates at Canales, from whence he was not to depart, upon any pretext, without first having obtained permission of the executive. These changes were hailed with unbounded applause, by the people at large, who now began to look forward with confidence and hope to the meeting of the cortes; which expectation was not then to be realized, as they did not assemble till nearly a year afterwards. In several other parts of Europe, the minds of the people were also much agitated by the spirit of free and bold inquiry; and consequently the system of governments embracing general representation, obtained numerous proselytes wherever such opinions were suffered to be promulgated.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS AT NAPLES, &c.

NAPLES made an effort at obtaining a constitution, founded on the representative system, and the king was compelled to cede to the remonstrances of the people, backed as they were by the military. On the sixth of July, he issued a proclamation, promising to publish the basis of a constitutional code within a week. A deputation from the army was immediately sent to Naples, to insist that his majesty should adopt the broad principle of the Spanish constitution, within the space of twenty-four hours. Upon receiving this demand, he instantly resolved to lay aside the exercise of his royal functions; and on the same evening, he declared his eldest son, the duke of Calabria, vicar-general of the kingdom.

On the following day, the vicar-general announced his acceptance of the Spanish constitution, and at the same time, the king confirmed this act of his son, and for the due observance of it, pledged his royal faith. On the ninth, the revolutionary army made its triumphal entry into Naples; the vicar-general named the provisional junta; and on the thirteenth, both himself and his royal father swore fidelity to the new constitution, in the presence of the assembled junta. The leaders of the revolution immediately despatched ambassadors to the principal European courts, but their envoys were received and acknowledged only at Madrid; Austria did not even attempt to disguise her feelings, or dissemble her hostile intent, but sent forth the most violent proclamations against the new government, anathematizing the Carbonari, the supposed instigators of the revolutionary proceedings, forbidding the exportation of any military stores to Naples, and ultimately sealed this frank avowal of her sentiments, by preparations for assembling a large army in Italy in the most prompt and effective manner.

MEETING OF SOVEREIGNS.

In the latter end of October, a meeting of the emperors of Russia and Austria, with the king of Prussia, took place at Troppan, to deliberate on the necessary measures which the existing state of Naples called upon them imperiously to adopt. The result of which conference was, that the regal triumvirate, by letters dated the twentieth November, invited the Neapolitan monarch to give them the meeting at Laybach; and on the thirteenth of December, he accordingly embarked on board the English ship Vengour, from whence he landed at Leghorn, and arrived at Laybach on December the twenty-eighth. The parliament of Naples, although they did not at all approve of the sovereign's removal, ventured no measures in opposition thereto.

REVOLUTION IN SICILY.

WHILST these occurrences were taking place in Naples, scenes of greater anarchy and more sanguinary disorder, were transacting in Sicily. The news of the acceptance and adoption of the Spanish constitution, reached Palermo on the fourteenth, and the intelligence gave rise to the most enthusiastic demonstrations of exulting joy. On the following morning, which happened to be the grand national festival of the Sicilians, some trivial circumstance roused the popular indignation against general Church, an Englishman, employed in the Neapolitan army, which ended in his being assaulted, and the plundering of his house. The multitude having by these acts commenced a career of misguided, lawless persecution and outrage, proceeded to the most desperate excesses; eight hundred galley slaves were immediately liberated and armed; and this insurrection being led on by a Franciscan monk, called Vaglica, successfully attacked the garrison. The regular troops being overpowered by this brutal force, every species of atrocity was without hesitation committed; many persons were killed in the heat of the conflict, besides a considerable number, among whom were the princes Aci and Cattolica, who were deliberately butchered after it was concluded. On the seventeenth July, an attempt was made to form some sort of provisional government; a junta was appointed, a civic guard established, and the galley slaves were commanded to surrender their arms and depart from the city. These arrangements were but of short duration, being subsequent

ly overthrow, and a new junta formed, of which prince Pateno was nominated the president; till, on the twenty-fifth September, a Neapolitan army, commanded by Floristan Pepe, arrived before Palermo, which capitulated on the fifth of October; on the next day Pepe took possession of the town, and immediately proclaimed the Spanish constitution. It was expressly stipulated by the capitulation, that the Sicilian states-general were to decide, whether the parliament of Sicily should be declared independent, or be united to that of Naples. The Neapolitan legislature, however, wholly annulled this article; and a new general, with large reinforcements for the army, was speedily sent to succeed Pepe, who was thus removed.

The junta being first dissolved, the Neapolitans gave the earliest proof of the practical application of their ardent love of freedom, and their devotion to liberal principles, by levying the most unjustifiable contributions, and treating Palermo, not as an integral part of their states, but in all respects as a foreign town subjugated by the success of their arms, and entitled thereby to endure every severity from the hands of a triumphant and savage conqueror.

ASSEMBLY OF THE POLISH DIET.

WHILST the more genial shores of France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, were subjected to diverse political explosions, whilst liberty was attempting some amelioration of men and manners in these realms, the north of Europe remained in a comparatively quiescent state, unvisited by any occurrence of material interest, unless indeed the transactions of the diet of Poland be deemed worthy of consideration.

The Autocrat of all the Russias, with a policy replete with worldly wisdom, had continued as a boon to this annexation to his widely extended dominions, the title of an independent kingdom; flattering this ancient (though dismembered nation,) with the right of having its own military force, and its diet or legislative assembly, composed as formerly of two separate chambers. In conformity with this arrangement, or act of sovereign grace, the emperor Alexander himself opened the session with an address, highly adapted to beget full confidence in the various measures he therein propounded to their legislative consideration. The measures he recommended were of an extremely popular aspect, consisting in "a modification of the constitution of the senate," a "plan of a criminal as well as a civil code." None of these measures, though strenuously debated, met with final adoption; and on the closing of the sessions on the first of October, his imperial majesty in his speech, expressed his extreme disappointment at the rejection of these ministerial projects. Notwithstanding the resistance of the diet to his will, this powerful monarch continued the same line of political forbearance, and far from visiting Poland with any further indications of his anger, pursued that laudably wise path towards it, which, by upholding and patronising every scheme, likely to extend the commercial intercourse of that nominal kingdom, with the other parts of his vast dominions, is rapidly tending to consolidate his colossal power, as supreme ruler of that empire, of almost unnumbered millions of civilised and barbaric subjects committed to his sway.

CHAPTER II.

Opening of Parliament—His Majesty's Speech—Debates on the Conduct of Ministers relative to the Queen—Country Petitions to restore Queen's Name to Liturgy—Queen's Message to the House of Commons—Provision for her Majesty—Discussion on the Question of Emancipating the Catholics—Bill for Relief of Catholics introduced and passed through the House of Commons—Rejected in the House of Lords—Borough of Grampound disfranchised—The Franchise transferred to the County of York—Committee to inquire into Cause of Agricultural Distress—Report of Committee—Bank of England resumption of Cash Payments—Ways and Means for the current Year—Parliament Prorogued—Death of Napoleon, ex-Emperor of France, in Captivity at Saint Helena—Situation of the Queen—Her Conduct, and Correspondence with Officers of State—Coronation of George IV.

OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

1821. **T**HE first public occurrence which took place this year was the assembly of parliament; on which occasion the king went in state to the house of lords, and opened the session by delivering a most gracious speech from the throne.

DEBATES ON THE CONDUCT OF MINISTERS RELATIVE TO QUEEN.

THE debates in both houses, consequent on the usual motions for addresses of thanks to the sovereign in grateful return for the royal speech, were long, and warmly contested; and strongly indicated the feelings and opinions of the ministerial partisans, as well as of those adhering to the opposition, on the various important topics touched upon therein; and chiefly upon the line of conduct which government had displayed towards the queen:—a conduct which was more scrutinisingly developed, and severely commented on, by the members in opposition to ministers in the house of commons, than in the lords. Immediately after the assembled house had heard the speech read by the speaker, on their return, lord Archibald Hamilton gave notice of a motion touching the omission of her majesty's name in the liturgy; and he was followed by Mr. Wetherell—a gentleman eminent in the law, and who to this period had invariably supported the ministry—who immediately moved for the production of certain papers and documents relating to the mode of the insertion of the names of the king, queen, and other branches of the royal family, in the collects and litanies of the Liturgy, including the period from the reign of James the first to the present day; and for the several orders of council for the insertion, omission, or change of such names, from the commencement of the reign of Henry the eighth. An objection was made by lord Castlereagh to such a motion, as being brought forward without previous notice—suggesting the propriety of his withdrawing it for the present. This suggestion was not attended to; Mr. Wetherell persisted in his motion; on which lord Castlereagh moved the previous question, and thus pressed to a division. Mr. Wetherell's was negatived by a majority of ninety-one: the numbers being two hundred and sixty votes against one hundred and sixty-nine. The marquis of Tavistock, on the following day, gave notice, that on the fifth of February it was his intention to move a resolution expressive of the opinion of the house on the conduct of ministers, in the late proceedings which they had instituted against the queen.

COUNTRY PETITIONS.

DURING this period the attention of the house was daily occupied, for a considerable portion of its time, with listening to the multifarious petitions which were presented from every part of the kingdom, complaining of the late proceedings against her majesty. Most of these numerous petitioners expressed in the strongest terms of reprobation their dislike of the governmental measures; and

prayed for the restoration of her majesty's name to the Liturgy; and that the house would exert its utmost influence in advising the king to dismise from his councils his present ministers—whose misconduct, as they alleged, had very seriously endangered the dignity of the crown, and greatly disturbed the peace, harmony, and welfare of the nation, by their pernicious advice. Several of the members to whom the presentation of these petitions had been entrusted, embraced the opportunity of delivering their own sentiments upon the subjects thereof; and many speeches were embued with all the warmth of feeling, flow of language, and force of eloquence, which such an occasion might be expected to produce. Lord Archibald Hamilton's motion, of which he had given due notice, came before the house on the twenty-sixth of January; and was couched in the following form:—"That the order in council of the twelfth of February, 1820, under which the name of her majesty, Caroline, queen consort, has been omitted in the liturgy, and in the accustomed prayers of the church, appears to this house to have been a measure ill advised and inexpedient." This motion originated a very long and animated debate, during which much legal lore, and deep as well as antiquarian research into history, were elicited by Sir James Mackintosh and Mr. Wetherell—who severally supported the motion, and argued in strong and able terms, that the said order in council was not only inexpedient but illegal. In reply to these assertions the attorney-general and the solicitor-general contended the point of necessity, and also that it was *not* illegal; and the former learned gentleman observed, that the act of uniformity gave a power to *omit* as well as to *alter* or *change*, as was evident from the fact, that the Liturgy annexed to that act, and which Mr. Wetherell had so rightly considered as part of it, contains a *blank* in the place of the name of queen, which, without such vested power of addition or omission, could never have been supplied. The conduct of government was defended by Lord Castlereagh, in a most luminous speech; in which, after ably refuting the several allegations adduced, he concludes in the following remarkable terms:

"For myself," said his lordship, "I can safely affirm, that I have acted as the nature of the case absolutely required; and were that act to be done again, I would pursue exactly the same line of conduct—a line which I feel to be in no degree a matter of option, but an imperative duty. In a case so surrounded by difficulties, government did not act without deliberation. No doubt they were embarrassed by the prospect of the use which would be made of the question by the seditious and disaffected. It is to be regretted too, that the law on the case is not more clear; but as the case stood, had they at first inserted her name in the liturgy, while such heavy charges against her lay on the council table, and had afterwards been compelled to erase it on account of the confirmation of these charges, the moral indignation of the country would have overwhelmed us. But it was said, that the queen was now proved innocent—that she had been tried and acquitted—and that her name should now be

restored as matter of course. As to the opinion of gentlemen opposite on this point, it has not with me much weight; and I will tell them why; because their conviction was as strong before the evidence was given as after. I will admit, however, that technically she may be said to be acquitted; and therefore may claim the possession of those privileges to which she had strictly a legal right; but the insertion of her name in the liturgy is not a matter of right; and when her character has been so far affected by the evidence in support of the charges against her, that one hundred and twenty-three peers had pronounced her guilty, the crown cannot be advised to grant this or any other matter of grace and favour, which it is at the pleasure of the crown to grant or withhold. Towards the queen, personally, I repeat, I feel compassion. When once the proceedings against her had closed, ministers were resolved to move no further measures on the subject; but since they who affect to be her friends, have renewed the discussion, be theirs the odium, and theirs the mischief which must result from its useless agitation. But I cannot be silent upon her conduct, since she has been so infatuated as to deliver herself into the hands of a party, which, I believe, to have views dangerous to the public tranquillity and the constitution. I feel I cannot honour her more in a political than in a moral point of view. Has she not in her answers to addresses, reviled the king, degraded the crown, and vilified both houses of parliament? But, thank God, the country is coming to its senses. I do not doubt, that if parliament pursue its tone of dignified determination, the efforts of that party will soon expire in despair. Your path of duty is plain. You ought either to sustain the actual government in unimpaired honour and character, that its usefulness to the country may not be diminished; or you should by a fair, tangible, and manly proceeding, put an end at once to the present cabinet."

When this statement of his lordship was ended, Mr. Brougham followed in favour of lord A. Hamilton's motion. In allusion to his assertion on a previous occasion, that the queen was not degraded by the omission of her name in the liturgy, he confessed that he was then unwilling to allow that the queen was degraded by that act: "It was not for me, at that time to declare, that my royal mistress was degraded, when she had to meet all the terrors of the threatened investigation; I say the 'terrors' of the investigation; not that innocence should be exposed to danger from injustice or inquiry, but her majesty was on the brink of an investigation in which innocence was no security; in which she was to be met by perjured men and perjured women; and by bribing men and bribing women; where the long arm of power, and the long purse of an administration stretched their influence over Italian hands and Italian hearts; over hearts ready to crouch to the one, over hearts greedy to snatch at the other. From such trial, from such a threatened prosecution the most guiltless might shrink without incurring for a moment the imputation of crime!" In the conclusion of his speech, Mr. Brougham happily contended, that gentlemen, who thought variously on one point, but who agreed on others, should choose the one on which they could unite, not that on which they differed. Most of them thought the omission of the queen's name illegal, some doubted its illegality; all were clear as to its being inexpedient and ill-advised. "The queen," said Mr. Brougham, "has been acquitted—she must be treated as if she had never been tried: or there is no justice in England. What is the object of my noble friend's motion?—To call back the attention of parliament to the weighty affairs from which it had been distracted, to give opportunity, (which while this overwhelming subject occupied the country, could not be afforded,) to consider the distresses of a people, who now, unmindful of their own sufferings, poured forth their generous and disinterested petitions in favour of their persecuted queen."

The result of this motion of lord Archibald Hamilton, was evaded by the question of adjournment being carried, which produced ayes three hundred and ten, noes two hundred and nine, leaving a ministerial majority of a hundred and one votes.

So did the first attempt to bring before parliament the conduct of ministers, as relating to her majesty. A second endeavour was then made in

the shape of a distinct and specific charge of misconduct, which was introduced by the notice of the house by the marquis of Tavistock, in the shape of a motion for a vote of censure upon the entire proceedings held by government towards her majesty. His lordship stated, "his purpose was not merely to obtain from the house an expression of their sense of the late proceedings against her majesty, but to drive the present ministers from power." Mr. Lambton seconded this motion, and while so doing, roundly charged ministers with being guilty of the grossest inconsistency and mismanagement, throughout the whole of these proceedings, which he fully and ably detailed from the omission of her majesty's name in the liturgy, to the circumstances attending the prorogation of the last session of parliament. After a lengthened debate, which occupied two entire evenings, the house on its division presented the following appearance, ayes one hundred and seventy-eight, noes three hundred and twenty-four; thus was the motion of the marquis lost by a majority against it of one hundred and forty-six votes.

The third and last attack during the session, which ministers had to combat against, respecting the lamentable procedure against the queen, was in consequence of a motion brought forward by Mr. John Smith, and seconded by Mr. Tenison, the form of which was as follows: "That the house having taken into consideration the circumstance of the queen's name not being inserted in the collects, prayers, and litanies of the church; and also the numerous petitions from the people, addressed to this house, complaining thereof; is of opinion, that under all existing circumstances, it is highly expedient that her majesty's name should be inserted in the said collects, prayers, and litanies; and that such a measure would greatly tend to remove the discontents that exist on that subject in the public mind." The numbers, on a division of the house, were one hundred and seventy-eight in favour of the motion; against it, two hundred and ninety-eight; being a majority on the side of ministers of one hundred and twenty.

The above majorities having so decisively declared the sentiments of the house upon the conduct of ministers, as connected with the late proceedings against her majesty, it was deemed by their opponents as useless to persist, and the matter went to rest for the present, the question not being resumed during the session.

QUEEN'S MESSAGE.

ON the point of the future provision for the queen, the ministry had come to a resolution to propose in the house of commons, that his majesty should be enabled to grant an annual sum not exceeding fifty thousand pounds, out of the consolidated fund, for the separate use and establishment of her majesty. When the day arrived for the house to go into a committee on this subject, Mr. Brougham rose and stated, that he had received the queen's commands to present to the house the following message:

"CAROLINE R.

"The queen having learned that the house of commons has appointed this day for taking into consideration the part of the king's most gracious speech, which relates to her decess it necessary to declare, that she is duly sensible of his majesty's condescension in recommending an arrangement respecting her to the consideration of parliament. She is aware that this recommendation must be understood as referring to a provision for the support of her estate and dignity; and from what has lately passed, she is apprehensive that such a provision may be unaccompanied by the possession of her rights and privileges in the ample manner wherein former queens consort, her royal predecessors, have been wont, in times past, to enjoy them. It is far from the queen's inclination needlessly to throw obstacles in the way of a settlement, which she desires, in common with the whole country, and which she feels persuaded, the best interests of all parties equally require; and being most anxious to avoid any thing that might create irritation, she cautiously abstains from any observation on the unexampled predicaments in which she is placed; but she feels it due to the house, and to herself, respectfully to declare that she perseveres in the resolution of declining any arrangement, while her name continues to be excluded from the liturgy."

Some warmth of debate ensued upon reading this message; and upon discussing the grant to her majesty, to which it had reference, lord Castlereagh remarked, that undoubtedly the queen had a right to abstain from receiving any benefit from the grant. Her majesty, on a former occasion, had declared that she would not take any money except from parliament. "She is misinformed," observed his lordship; "she is travelling into those unconstitutional errors she had been before led into. Her law advisers might have informed her that it was from the crown only, and not from parliament, that she could receive any pecuniary grant. With respect to her majesty, parliament could not be disturbed from its course by her interference: she might, if she pleased, reject the grant, when it came to her in a proper shape; but the house had nothing to do with her objections now; it was for them to proceed to the order of the day on his majesty's gracious communication."

Mr. Brougham, in defending the message, observed—"the noble lord charges upon it a want of respect to this house, and an attempt to dictate to its proceedings. The message appears to me perfectly unobjectionable on this head. The interpretation of its language was, that her majesty understood from the votes of the house, which she was entitled to read, that provision was to be made for her that night; and she says, that under the circumstances in which she has been placed, she cannot barter her honour for money; and, therefore, in respectful language, she warns the house against the grant."

PROVISION FOR HER MAJESTY.

THE motion of lord Castlereagh was then carried, which secured to her majesty an annual provision of fifty thousand pounds, during the term of her natural life; and this grant parliament eventually voted.

DISCUSSION ON THE QUESTION OF CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION.

CATHOLIC emancipation was the next subject of import which engrossed the attention of parliament. On the twenty-eighth of February, Mr. Plunkett (who now appeared as chief advocate of the catholic claims, in consequence of Mr. Grattan's death), prefaced this question by a most able and lucid speech, which received the acclamations of all parties in the house, and in concluding moved,—

"That the house do resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider the state of the laws by which oaths or declarations are required to be taken for the enjoyment of offices, or the exercise of civil functions, so far as the same affect his majesty's Roman catholic subjects; and whether it would be expedient in any, or what manner, to alter or modify the same; and subject to what provisions or regulations." This motion was favoured by a majority of two hundred and twenty-seven, whilst the minority was two hundred and twenty-one; consequently it was gained by six votes. On the second of March, the house, in pursuance of the success attendant on the former motion, resolved itself into a committee, to take into consideration the various claims of the Roman catholics; and on the motion of Mr. Plunkett, certain resolutions were agreed to without discussion—of which the following may be deemed an abstract: "First, that those parts of the oaths required to be taken as qualifications for certain offices, which related to the belief of transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and the idolatrous nature of the sacrifice of the mass, might be safely repealed, as concerning opinions merely speculative and dogmatical, not affecting the allegiance or civil duty of the subject. Secondly, that that part of the oath of supremacy, which expressed the denial of all spiritual jurisdiction or authority in these realms, might be so explained, as to remove the scruples entertained by the king's Roman catholic subjects with respect to taking it; by declaring that the sense in which the word spiritual is used, according to the injunctions issued by queen Elizabeth in the first year of her reign, and explained by the thirty-seventh article of the church, imports merely, that the kings of this realm should govern all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doer. By another resolution, the committee declared the necessity of accompanying such act and repeal by such exceptions and regula-

tions as were necessary for the preservation of the protestant succession to the crown, and maintaining inviolate the Protestant churches of England, Ireland, and Scotland, as by law established."

BILL FOR RELIEF OF CATHOLICS PASSED IN THE COMMONS, REJECTED IN THE LORDS.

BILLS framed on the basis of the above resolutions were subsequently introduced by Mr. Plunkett; and after many discussions (even of the utter impracticability of furnishing such an outline must be regretted), these bills were finally passed, and transmitted to the house of peers. Fortune did not continue to smile so favourably upon the measure in this new arena. Lord Donoughmore undertook the conduct of the first bill in the upper house, where, though he advocated the cause with great zeal, it was doated to receive strenuous opposition from the earl of Liverpool and the lord chancellor; and in the second day's debate, his royal highness the duke of York, the presumptive heir to the throne, declared himself as decidedly hostile to the bill—considering it as a measure pregnant with danger, not only to the throne, but to the church and constitution. "Educated," said his royal highness, "in the principles of the established church, the more I inquire, and the more I think, I am the more persuaded that her interests are inseparable from those of the constitution: I consider her as an integral part of that constitution, and I pray that she may long remain so. At the same time, there is no man less an enemy to toleration than myself, but I distinguish between the allowance of the free exercise of religion, and the granting of political power." This bill, embracing in its enactments so much to occupy the attention of the statesman and the subject in general—on which such conflict of opinion prevails—and which, interesting as it does every class of society in the kingdom, can never be duly understood in theory—after it had undergone a discussion, though long yet scarce adequate to its consequence, was thrown out by a majority of thirty-nine; the house dividing on the question of its second reading, contents, one hundred and twenty, non-contents, one hundred and fifty-nine. On this momentous occasion, many of the peers took part in the debate, and twenty-seven bishops voted on the occasion either personally or by proxy—of which number two only, the bishops of Norwich and Rochester, were among the contents.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

DURING this session, the question of parliamentary reform was on two occasions agitated, in pursuance of plans introduced to the house by its most efficient advocates; the first by Mr. Lambton, member for Durham, and the second by lord John Russell. It is only to be observed, that these measures met with rejection.

BOROUGH OF GRAMPOND.

AN act of practical reform, however, took place, which ought to be regarded as a convincing proof of the desire of the major part of our representative body to utterly discountenance and remedy the system of corruption, so long a prevailing error in the election of members returned for boroughs. On the twelfth of February lord John Russell, with the pertinacity of doing good, moved that the house resolve itself into a committee on the bill for the disfranchisement of the borough of Grampound, and proposed, in lieu thereof, that the franchise so lost should be transferred to Leeds. This proposition received the assenting voice of the house of commons; but in the house of lords the earl of Liverpool raised objections to the franchise being transferred to Leeds, on account of the extreme difficulty of establishing a due and proper scale of qualification for voters. His lordship subsequently moved as an amendment, that, in place of this proposed transfer, two additional members should be returned for the county of York. This amendment was carried; and with this alteration the bill, upon being returned to the commons, passed.

DISTRESSFUL STATE OF COUNTRY.

A CONTINUATION of depreciated prices still prevailing, considerable distress was felt by all classes of the community; but though most individuals suffered, it bore with more than common pressure on

those engaged in pursuits connected with agriculture; and important as it was to both landlord and tenant, to ameliorate their respective conditions, the difficulty was in devising the requisite means; and in the comprehensive wisdom of the legislature, alleviation could alone be hoped for. In the beginning of the session, numerous petitions had been presented from every corner of the kingdom, praying that the house would interpose for the investigation and removal of the embarrassments, which fell so heavily upon agricultural property and agriculturists. In furtherance of these petitions, Mr. Gooch, on the seventh March, moved for "a select committee to which these petitions should be referred, which should investigate the allegations contained in them, and report their observations thereon to the house." The motion being agreed to, a committee was accordingly nominated.

THE REPORT OF AGRICULTURAL COM-

MITTEE.

THE report of this committee was presented to the house on the eighteenth June; it stated that the complaints of the petitioners were founded in fact, in so far as they represented, that at the present price of corn, the returns to the occupier of an arable farm, after allowing for the interest of his investments, are by no means adequate to his charges and outgoings; it also acknowledged, "that the committee, after a long and anxious inquiry, had not been able to discover any means calculated immediately to relieve the present pressure."

"So far" the report stated, "as the pressure arises from superabundant harvests, it is beyond the application of any legislative provision; so far as it is the result of the increased value of money, it is not one peculiar to the farmer, but extends to many other classes of society. That result, however, is the more severely felt by the tenant, in consequence of its coincidence with an overstocked market, especially if he be farming with a borrowed capital, and under the engagements of a lease; and it has hitherto been further aggravated by the comparative slowness with which prices generally, and particularly the price of labour, accommodate themselves to a change in the value of money. From this last circumstance the departure from our ancient standard, in proportion as it was prejudicial to all creditors of money, and persons dependent upon fixed incomes, was a benefit to the active capital of the country; and the same classes have been oppositely affected by a return to that standard. The restoration of it has also embarrassed the land owner in proportion as his estate has been encumbered with mortgages and other fixed payments assigned upon it, during the depreciation of money. The only alleviation for this evil is to be looked for in such a gradual reduction of the rate of the interest of money below the legal minimum, as may make those encumbrances a lighter burden upon the landed interests of the kingdom; and this reduction, if peace continues, there is every room to hope for. The difficulties in which the alterations of our currency have involved the farming, the manufacturing, and the trading interests of the country must diminish in proportion as contracts, prices, and labour, adjust themselves to the present value of money."

In commenting upon this public document, it may be necessary to attempt the reconciliation of some apparent contradictions, and this is an act of great delicacy, in as much as being unacquainted with the precise data on which this legislative production was founded, the arguments contained therein can alone be scrutinized, unconnected with the evidence which gave rise to it. The subject being of importance, necessarily originates a commensurate diffidence in the enquiry. There is at first a seeming paradox, in ascribing the distressful pressure of this period to the superabundant harvest, as it might be contended, that the superabundance of any commodity, however low its price, in the hands of its possessor, must be compensated for by that very superabundance. So though the over supply of grain in the market lowers the price to the grower, yet the capability of abundance to bring such supply, counterbalances its lowness of price by the ratio of increase, which a superabundant harvest supplies him with to carry to that market. On the contrary, it may be observed, that the expense of raising and preparing the grain for sale, in a

measure met the idea contained in this report, since though commodities were lowered in value on the peace, labour still maintained nearly its war price. Again, in agreeing with the committee, that the pressure of the distress was not peculiarly confined to the farmer, but extended to many, indeed, it might with truth be alleged, to all classes of society; for the variation in the price of corn must necessarily affect all other articles; and agreeing that the general pressure then experienced was occasioned by the increased value of money; yet the doctrine does not appear to be fully substantiated, that such increase in the value of money was the consequence of a restoration of the ancient standard. Viewing this assertion, barely in connection with this document, unsupported by other facts, it might be imagined that some amazing change had arisen in the currency till now, that it had been deteriorated by authority till now, when by some act of state it had been restored to its original value. Such has not been the case; the order of the council, no edict of the king, no parliamentary act exists, or can be traced, by which the least alteration in the British guinea, or its aliquot parts in gold or silver, has been allowed; their weight and fineness remained immutable, during the adverse periods of penury and prosperity. But though so unchanged, in the sterile season of the bank restrictions, coin, from its scarcity, commanded a higher price than its relative value; and when a metallic currency was restored, its intrinsic worth was consequently, by the fruitfulness of the supply, lowered. A contemporary writer has observed, that "there must then be some other cause, which lessened the comparative value of money, in regard to commodities, totally distinct from a diminution of the intrinsic value of the coin; and this cause may be found in the proceedings of Mr. Pitt in the year 1797, when, interfering further than any among the most absolute of our monarchs had ever dared to do with the coin of the realm; this bold financier, though he did not deteriorate its intrinsic worth, or raise its nominal value, as some had done, suspended its use altogether. From the moment, therefore, that the use of gold coin was thus, by law, dispensed with, until the period of the resumption of cash payments by the bank of England, there was no real standard in Great Britain by which the owner of any commodity, or the possessor of lands or houses, could secure to themselves a certain profit, or a steady income from their property: for such was the monstrous mischief of Mr. Pitt's suspension act, that, by compulsively substituting a circulation of paper credit in the place of gold, it subjected all real property to the uncertain fluctuation of a rise or fall of prices merely nominal, according as the horizon of public credit appeared bright or stormy to the greedy eye of speculative avarice. A direct debasement of the coin to any fixed intrinsic value, by which the worth of property and the price of labour might still have been correctly measured, would have been a blessing to the country, compared with all the private miseries and public mischiefs that have resulted, and are yet to follow the fatal order of council of the twenty-seventh February, 1797. Instead of characterizing that measure, therefore, as a departure from the ancient standard, or an alteration of the currency, as this report does, it is our fervent hope, that some future committee of the representatives of the people, will not hesitate to call it by its right name, affix some public stigma upon a policy so devoid of justice and of wisdom, and discover some means of rendering it impossible for any future minister, by a similar act, to complete the ruin of the country."

When this report of the before-mentioned committee was made public, it extinguished the hopes which had been entertained from their labours, and despondent indeed was the common mind, that no discovery for the distresses of the agricultural classes could be made. It now became more and more evident to the unprejudiced observer, that the chain of events which had induced the fatal policy of Mr. Pitt, in suspending the use of coin, and thereby inundating this country with a floating paper medium, in too many instances nominal, and consequently easily attained by the speculator, was, now things had returned to their original level of solid metallic currency, productive of chief, if not of all the evils, which oppressed and nearly overwhelmed, not alone the agricultural, but dependent

thereon, the manufacturing, commercial, and every other branch of the community. In this state no remedy could be applied, no effectual relief contemplated, but from the gradual progression of time and remission of taxation, which might restore the coin of the realm to its ancient and natural mode of operation and value.

RESUMPTION OF CASH PAYMENTS.

At such a crisis, fortunately for the country, the governor and directors of the bank of England, true to the interest of their establishment and the community—boldly renouncing all the former ideas which interest, presumption, or power had induced them to adopt, and so long persevered in—swayed by this enlightened policy, they anticipated the period prefixed by law for the resumption of cash payments, and not only voluntarily opened their hoards to the holders of their notes, but in this session of parliament succeeded in obtaining an act which hastened the final removal of the restriction by a whole year. By this act it was made imperative on the bank of England to pay all demands upon it in cash, after the first of May 1822, in the place of the first of May in the next year of 1823.

The remaining transaction of this session which from its import demands especial record, was the chancellor of the exchequer's statement of the supplies required for the year, and his estimated ways and means. The total amount of supplies voted for the various services constituted the sum of eighteen million twenty-one thousand eight hundred pounds, to which was added, interest of exchequer bills one million pounds; with two hundred and ninety thousand pounds for the sinking fund on the same; as well as seven hundred and six thousand four hundred pounds for Irish treasury bills and public works—making in the whole twenty million eighteen thousand two hundred pounds.

BUDGET FOR 1821.

THE ways and means were stated as follows:—Annual taxes, four million pounds; temporary excise duties, one million five hundred thousand pounds; lottery, two hundred thousand pounds; old stores, one hundred and sixty-three thousand four hundred pounds; from the pecuniary indemnity paid by France, five hundred thousand pounds; repayment of exchequer bills lent for public works, one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds; surplus of ways and means for 1820, eighty-one thousand six hundred and thirty pounds. In further aid of the ways and means, there was taken from the sinking fund of Great Britain a loan of twelve million five hundred thousand pounds; and from the sinking fund of Ireland, five hundred thousand pounds; increase of capital of bank of Ireland, four hundred and sixty-one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine pounds—making a total of ways and means, twenty million thirty-one thousand five hundred and sixty-nine pounds. Supplies voted, twenty million eighteen thousand two hundred pounds—excess of ways and means, thirteen thousand three hundred and sixty-nine pounds.

After this view of the ways and means for the year, the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to state the probable amount of the revenue, and deduced therefrom that the general revenue would be fifty-five million eleven thousand one hundred and fourteen pounds; while the total expenditure, including the supplies, was sixty-eight million two hundred and twenty-one thousand eight hundred pounds. Thus exhibiting the pleasing prospect of an expenditure under that of the foregoing year, of no less a sum than three million pounds—a view of finance highly gratifying in itself, as indicative of what might be anticipated from a continuation of the joint system of peace and retrenchment.

VOTE OF INCREASED ANNUITY TO DUKE OF CLARENCE.

NEARLY the last act of this parliamentary session was the vote of an annuity of six thousand pounds to the duke of Clarence. His royal highness had declined a similar grant on a former occasion; but on the sixth of June lord Castlereagh informed the house, that at since the period of the aforesaid declining, the situation of the royal duke had materially changed, (being now married,) he was desirous of availing himself of the favourable intentions of parliament, for the augmentation of his in-

come to an equal amount with that of his royal brother.

The labours of the session being finished, parliament was prorogued on the eleventh of July, when a speech was delivered in his majesty's name by commission.

DEATH OF NAPOLEON, EX-EMPEROR OF FRANCE, IN CAPTIVITY AT ST. HELENA.

FROM the eventful period that Napoleon, the ex-emperor of France, became the captive of St. Helena, the wonderful and almost talismanic influence connected for so many years with the bare mention of his name, gradually diminished; and even the intelligence of his death, which reached England in the beginning of July in this year, created but a slight sensation, in comparison with the effect that would have been produced all over Europe by the same event, had it occurred before the battle of Waterloo, or at any time that he exercised absolute rule over that immense nation, swelled by those tributary kingdoms which acknowledged his power.

Various and contradictory accounts of the state of his health, and of his mode of life, had been propagated in England and France, during his detention at St. Helena; and many complaints were made to the British government respecting the regulations enforced upon the ex-emperor, the partners of his exile, and the servants who followed him in his misfortunes. It was alleged that restraints were imposed, and privations exacted, which the most timid caution against escape could not justify; and that a system of petty insults and puerile annoyances, was adopted towards the imperial prisoner, which produced upon such a mind as Napoleon's more cruel tortures than if his body had been fettered with the heaviest chains.

Many volumes detailing the treatment of Napoleon were published—according to which, and if the facts related be strictly true, it is to be lamented that the honour of Great Britain will suffer in the opinion of posterity for the absence, on this occasion, of the usual national generosity to a prostrate foe. The custody of Napoleon was a trust, which demanded in its exercise the most magnanimous feelings, combined with the highest principles of chivalric honour, and an understanding soaring far above the petty prejudices of the vulgar politician.

Upon these points, as well as for a detail of the transactions of St. Helena subsequent to the arrival of Napoleon, we must refer our readers to divers cotemporary publications; and shall leave them to form their own opinion upon circumstances too loosely stated, and of too recent occurrence to receive the seal of history, countersigned by truth and impartiality.

Whatever opinion posterity may pronounce upon the line of conduct pursued by the government of Great Britain towards the most formidable enemy that ever appeared in arms against her, when that enemy was subjugated to her power, and held his life in her hands, however busy malevolent report had been, it was in a great degree gratifying to the feelings of Englishmen to find the odious and infamous insinuation that his dissolution was accelerated by poison for ever annihilated by the infallible evidence produced on the inspection of the body after his decease.

The official detail of these circumstances was transmitted to the earl of Bathurst, one of his majesty's secretaries of state, by Sir Hudson Lowe, in the following despatch:—

“St. Helena, 6th May, 1821.

“MY LORD,

“It falls to my duty to inform your lordship, that Napoleon Bonaparte expired at about ten minutes before six o'clock in the evening of the 5th instant, after an illness which had confined him to his apartments since the 17th of March last. He was attended during the early parts of his indisposition, from the 17th to the 31st March by his own medical assistant, professor Automarchi alone. During the latter period from the 1st April to the 5th May, he received the daily visits of Dr. Arnott, of his majesty's 20th regiment, generally in conjunction with professor Automarchi, Dr. Short, physician to the forces, and Dr. Mitchell, principal medical officer of the royal navy on the station, whose services, as

well as those of any other medical persons on the island, had been offered, were called upon in consultation, by professor Automarchi, on the 3d of May; but they had not any opportunity afforded to them of seeing the patient. Dr. Arnott was with him at the moment of his decease, and saw him expire. Captain Crockatt orderly officer in attendance, and Drs. Short and Mitchell saw the body immediately afterwards. Dr. Arnott remained with the body during the night. Early this morning, at about seven o'clock, I proceeded to the apartment where the body lay, accompanied by rear-admiral Lambert, naval commander-in-chief on this station; the marquis de Montchenu, commissioner of his majesty the king of France, charged with the same duty also on the part of his majesty the emperor of Austria; brigadier-general Coffin, second in command of the troops; Thomas H. Brooke and Thomas Greenotree, Esqrs. members of the council in the government of this island; and captains Brown, Hendry, and Marmyat of the royal navy. After viewing the person of Napoleon Buonaparte, which lay with the face uncovered, we retired. An opportunity was afterwards afforded, with the concurrence of the persons, who had composed the family of Napoleon Buonaparte, to as many officers as were desirous, naval and military, to the hon. the East India company's officers, and civil servants, and to various other individuals resident here, to enter the room in which the body lay, and to view it.

"At two o'clock, this day, the body was opened in the presence of the following medical gentlemen:—

"Dr. Short, M.D.; Dr. Mitchell, M.D.; Dr. Arnott, M.D.; Dr. Burton, M.D.; of his majesty's sixty-sixth regiment, and Matthew Livingstone, Esq. surgeon in the East India company's service. Professor Automarchi assisted at the dissection, general Bertrand and count Montchenu were present. After a careful examination of the several internal parts of the body, the whole of the medical gentlemen present concurred in a report on their appearance. This report is enclosed. I shall cause the body to be interred with the honours due to a general officer of the highest rank. I have intrusted this despatch to captain Crockatt, of his majesty's twentieth regiment, who was the orderly officer in attendance upon the person of Napoleon Buonaparte at the time of his decease. He embarks on board his majesty's sloop Heron, which rear-admiral Lambert has detached from the squadron under his command with the intelligence.

"I have, &c.

"H. Lowz, *Lieut.-Gen.*"

The medical report in the above despatch was couched in the following terms:—

"LONGWOOD, ST. HELENA,

"6th May, 1821.

"Report of appearance on dissection of the body of Napoleon Bonaparte.

"On a superficial view, the body appeared very fat, which state was confirmed by the first incision down its centre, where the fat was upwards of an inch and a half over the abdomen. On cutting through the cartilages of the ribs, and exposing the cavity of the thorax, a trifling adhesion of the left pleura was found to the pleura costalis. About three ounces of reddish fluid were contained in the left cavity; and nearly eight ounces in the right. The lungs were quite sound. The pericardium was natural, and contained about an ounce of fluid. The heart was of the natural size, but thickly covered with fat. The auricles and ventricles exhibited nothing extraordinary, except that the muscular part appeared rather paler than natural. Upon opening the abdomen the omentum was found remarkably fat, and upon opening the stomach, that viscous was found the seat of the disease. Strong adhesions connected the whole superior surface, particularly about the pyloric extremity to the concave surface of the left lobe of the liver; and on separating these, an ulcer, which penetrated the coats of the stomach, was discovered one inch from the pylorus sufficient to allow the passage of the little finger. The internal surface of the stomach to nearly its whole extent was a mass of cancerous disease or schirrous portions advancing to cancer; this was particularly noticed near the pylorus. The cardiac extremity, for a small space near the termination of the œsophagus, was the only part appearing in a healthy state. The stomach was

filled with a large quantity of fluid resembling coffee grounds. The convex surface of the left lobe of the liver adhered to the diaphragm. With the exception of the adhesions occasioned by the disease in the stomach, no one unhealthy appearance presented itself in the liver. The remainder of the abdominal viscera were in a healthful state. A slight peculiarity in the formation of the left kidney was observed.

(Signed)

Thomas Short, M.D. and principal medical officer.

Archd. Arnott, M.D. surgeon, twentieth regiment.

Charles Mitchell, M.D. surgeon, H.M.S. Vigo.

Francis Burton, M.D. surgeon, sixty-sixth regiment.

Matthew Livingstone, surgeon, H.C. service."

This report clearly shows, that the disorder which occasioned the death of Napoleon was a cancer in the stomach, to which it is probable he had an hereditary disposition, his father having died of the same disease at the early age of thirty-five. The pain which the ex-emperor endured from this complaint for a long period prior to his dissolution, was so acute, being, according to his description, as if a knife had been thrust into his body, and broken short off. Whatever impetuosity he formerly displayed, he, however, bore this excruciating torture with remarkable patience, and never was heard to utter a single complaint. His thoughts in his last hours were apparently fixed upon his son, and upon France. The bust of the young prince was placed by his express command at the foot of the bed upon which he expired; it was the object to which his eyes constantly turned, and to which his ideas may be supposed as constantly to have reverted. The last words which were heard to fall from him were in conformity to this idea, being a repetition of "*Tout—l'Armée—est Française.*"

Publicity being now courted, it was determined that the body of Napoleon should lie in state, that the inhabitants of the island in general might have an opportunity of viewing his remains. The corpse, dressed in a green uniform, which the ex-emperor had worn, was extended on the small tent-bedstead, on which he was accustomed to rest during his campaigns, and on this bedstead was spread the blue-cloth-cloak which he wore at the battle of Marengo; the decoration of the legion of honour was placed on his side; and a small crucifix upon his heart.

The climate of the island rendered it expedient to hasten the interment, and the ninth of May was appointed for that ceremony. Napoleon himself had marked out the spot in which it was his desire to be buried, in a wild sequestered little valley, about a mile distant from the residence, and very near a spring, over which the branches of two willow trees formed a delightful shade. To this secluded place it was the frequent custom of Napoleon to retire alone; and among the meditations which he indulged in that "rude solitude," it is now evident that the consideration of his mortality was one. There is not perhaps to be found in the whole range of history a more striking contrast than the condition of this individual thus presents to the contemplation of mankind—the captive of the rock of St. Helena, measuring out a little space of ground to form his secluded grave; and the captain of millions of idolising warriors, the imperial potentate, the arbiter of nations, to whose ambitious mind the dream of universal empire seemed within his grasp.

Military honours due to the remains of a general of the first rank were paid to those of the late commander.

The selected spot having been previously consecrated, the funeral procession was arranged in the following order:—

Napoleon Bertrand, son of the Marshal.	The Priests in full Robes.
Dr. Arnott, 30th Regt.	Napoleon's Physician.
Grenadiers.	In a car, drawn by four horses.
Twenty-four grenadiers to carry the body down a steep hill where the car could not go.	

Count Napoleon's horse led by Marshal
Montholon. two servants. Bertrand.
Madame Bertrand and Daughter in an
open vehicle.
Servants.
Naval Officers.
Staff Officers.
Members of Council.
General Coffin. Marquis de Montchemu.
The Admiral. The Governor.
Servants: Lady Lowe and Daughter, in
an open vehicle. Servants.
Dragoons.
St. Helena Volunteers.
St. Helena Regiment.
St. Helena Artillery.
Sixty-sixth Regiment.
Royal Marines.
Twentyeth Regiment.
Royal Artillery.

The grave was fourteen feet deep, very wide at the top, the lower part chambered to receive the coffin. The body was inclosed in three coffins, mahogany, lead, and oak; the heart in a silver cup, filled with spirits, and the stomach preserved in another silver cup, were both deposited in the coffin; notwithstanding the earnest desire of counts Bertrand and Montholon to be permitted to take the former to Europe, and the request of Napoleon's surgeon to retain the latter. One large stone covered the whole of the lower chamber, which thus received the entire remains of Napoleon Buonaparte; and the grave was then filled up with solid masonry, clasped with iron.

Immediately after the funeral of Napoleon, the establishment which had been so expensive to Great Britain, amounting to nearly half a million per annum, was broken up. Counts Bertrand and Montholon, with the rest of the faithful followers, and the household of the late emperor, repaired to Europe. On his arrival in France count Bertrand was received in a manner which reflects much honour on the restored monarch of that kingdom, who justly appreciating the merits of that fidelity the count had so nobly proved to his chosen master, rewarded it, by restoring to him his rank and honours in the army by a royal ordinance. The will of Napoleon was brought over by the count, and was duly registered in the prerogative court of the archbishop of Canterbury. It bears date April fourteenth, 1821; and there are three codicils annexed dated seven days later. This will appears principally to have been made for the purpose of rewarding, as far as his means permitted him, such of his friends, officers, and domestics, as the testator conceived to have the most peculiar claims upon his remembrance; and the funds out of which these legacies were to be paid, consisted of the sum of six millions of francs, which he had deposited with the banker, La Fitte, at the period of his departure from Paris, in 1815.

The common lot of mortality having overtaken Napoleon, it may be instructive to the human mind to comment shortly upon his extraordinary elevation; nor is it wholly unworthy of remark, that he furnishes an additional example and monition to desperate politicians, that it is not the originally factious character which gains by tumult, but that in general they become speedy victims at the altar of ambition, and are usually after the first tide of success, swept away by the million into their original state; happy only should they escape ultimate destruction, during the evanescent reign of anarchy and confusion, which precludes and rules most revolutionary proceedings. So was it with Napoleon,— whilst France was deluged in blood by the successive mobs and usurping demagogues of a day,—he, in the humble capacity of a subaltern of artillery, contemplated the storm safe in his obscurity. The siege of Toulon first evinced his skill in gunnery; his talents as an engineer; and the era of liberty and equality opposing no bar to promotion, his rise was extremely rapid to the chief command of the army of Italy; his victories were as surprising; fortune favoured all his schemes, and seemed, while holding the balance, to smile on her favourite child; for into which ever scale he threw his sword, it as surely and speedily preponderated against all opposing powers of single or allied forces, at that period. His Egyptian

campaign sufficed his former successes, yet he returned to his adopted country at an eventful period, in time to command her destinies, first as consul, and subsequently as emperor; to this he added the titles of king of Italy, protector of the confederates of the Rhine, and the Helvetic confederacy; instituting two orders of chivalry, he bestowed the iron crown and legion of honour on all his military and other dependants deserving favour, and created a halo of enthusiasm throughout France, favourable to his views of universal and absolute sovereignty; his nobles, his marshals, his dignitaries and savans, rallied round and supported his cause to the last, with their councils, their treasures, and their lives; nor at Elba was his welfare neglected,—or even in his final exile was he deserted by them; he possessed the skill of Eliza, both in availing himself by every means of the talents of the country, and by fostering, made them appear his own, and subservient to the splendour of his career. Resembling Cromwell in many particulars of religious and subservient policy, skill as a commander, and knowledge as a negotiator, he went beyond him in assuming the purple robe of imperial sway; and while he pursued his game of political chess, he not only checkmated a king whenever he pleased, but played with kingdoms, and considering crowns as baubles, transferred the regal dignity at his caprice to various branches of his own family, having at one period Naples, Spain, Holland, Westphalia, and Italy, erected into kingdoms, and governed by his brothers and near relatives; his mother and sisters were queens and princesses; his uncle a cardinal; nor did his aggrandisement rest here, but by his matrimonial alliance with the house of Austria, he consolidated his power so, that had not his own destructive ambition undermined the splendid edifice, which his talents and his fortune had erected, it must have stood against ordinary events and combinations, in perennial and overtowering pride. As it proved, providence wisely ordained the poison should contain its own antidote; and his sudden rise, declension, and fall, will long stand as a lesson of morality while it hands down to after ages, the unparalleled biography in the greater class of heroes, rulers, and uncommon men,—of Napoleon cidevant emperor of the Gauls.

SITUATION OF THE QUEEN.

DURING the period that the utmost attention of parliament was devoted to the various subjects, of which a mere outline has been attempted, the public mind was excited to a very extraordinary degree, by the violence of party writers, both for and against the government. At this momentous time, the state of the public press of England was a source of melancholy regret to every unprejudiced mind and well-wisher to the country. The sordid lust of gain had so entirely vanquished the cause of truth, so completely subjugated the spirit of candid inquiry, on which the value of a free press alone depends, that the best feelings of Englishmen were wantonly sported with, by the hirelings of party and public opinions, by dint of venal pens, was as frequently the result of error as of truth. In this position of affairs, the popular indignation was aroused by the peculiarly unfortunate situation of the queen; a situation which roused the passions of the people in a surprising manner. Her majesty, by the result of her trial, was left in a state of unforeseen and very delicate nature; possessed of her prerogatives of queen consort, whilst the disclosures made during the examination of witnesses, added to the influence of the highest example, precluded her from that class of society, alone from which it might naturally be expected a queen of England ought to select her circle of associates and friends. Such combination of circumstances operating as an exclusion, threw this ill-fated princess into close alliance with a party notoriously opposed to the then existing administration; and which party, biased by political motives, did not disdain to add to their phalanx, on this occasion, the conjunctive aid of the radical faction, who eagerly embraced so rare an opportunity of assailing royalty itself, under the wily paradox of espousing a royal cause.

The kingdom now presented the unpleasant appearance of a house divided against itself; and doubtless much art had been resorted to on all sides to widen a breach which fatally existed, and which providence ruling the predominant good

sense of the nation at large, prevented from becoming as mischievous in its results as it was portentous in its opening. If, under the direful influence of deeply lacerated feeling, and encouraged by the evil counsel and ill-timed flatteries of those surrounding her, her majesty was induced to consider her cause as one for which the people at large were willing to incur all risks, and brave all dangers, it is a subject rather begetting regret than surprise. Some such fallacious persuasion must doubtless have caused her to cherish, by every possible means, that popularity which she viewed as the strength that upheld her, and which she invariably resorted to, whenever occasion presented itself. It cannot be denied, that in unison with the warm-heartedness of the British nation, the feelings of the populace, in common with a great majority of the public at large, continued firmly in favour of the queen; and even when she finally drew for the allowance voted to her, in contradiction to her solemn pledge to parliament that she never would accept it,—even then excuses for her dilemma were sought for, in the mistakes into which it was presumed certain advisers had plunged her. This was the public sentiment held respecting her majesty, when an approaching event opened a new field for general discussion.

The ceremony of the king's coronation had been originally fixed for the first of August in the year now past: the return of her majesty had rendered this arrangement nugatory, by the necessity to postpone the ceremony; and it had become a question much debated, whether, under the variety of circumstance, and in the existing state of the public mind, a coronation would take place or not.—On this subject each party had opinions; and in these the community participated. It was observed that the king had of late appeared more frequently in public; and when he visited in state the three principal theatres of the metropolis, the acclamations of the audiences equalled, if it did not surpass in enthusiasm, those which were heard within the same walls in honour of the queen's presence. Indeed his reception was so highly flattering that it realized Lord Castlereagh's prognosticated assertion in the house of commons, on the close of the late trial, "That in six months he had no doubt his majesty would be the most popular man in his dominions."

ANNOUNCED CORONATION.

EARLY in the month a proclamation was issued, which announced his majesty's pleasure, that this much discussed solemnity of coronation should take place on the nineteenth of July; and the consequent preparations for its celebration were immediately proceeded in.

CONDUCT OF THE QUEEN.

On the twenty-fifth of June, a memorial was presented to the privy council from her majesty, preferring a formal claim to be crowned in like manner with her royal predecessors. An answer was returned to her majesty, that the law officers of the crown would be consulted on the subject. In furtherance of this procedure, on the third of July a memorial was addressed by her majesty to the king, praying to be heard by her law officers before the privy council—which accordingly assembled at Whitehall, for the purpose of hearing counsel on both sides.

Mr. Brougham contended for the queen's legal right to be crowned, evincing great research, learning, and ability, but resting his chief argument on the plea of long and uniform practice. Mr. Denman strengthened Mr. Brougham's argument in a very able and eloquent speech, which, together with that of his colleague, occupied the attention of the council during two sittings.

On the ninth, the council again assembled, and the attorney-general argued against the claim preferred by her majesty. He "admitted that usage would be evidence of a right; but if it could be shown that such usage had originated in the permission of another party, there would be an end of that right. There was evident distinction between the coronation of a king, and that of a queen. The former was accompanied by important political acts; the recognition by the people, and the engagement by the king to maintain the laws. The latter was a mere ceremony. But even the coronation of the

king was not necessary to his possession of the crown; that act emanated from himself; and he had the sole direction of the time, manner, and place of its performance. The right assumed as inherent in the queen consort, was not once alluded to by any writer on the law and constitution of the country; or by any of those who had treated of the privileges peculiar to the queen consort. With respect to usage, the counsel on the other side must admit, that since the reign of Henry the eighth, the majority of instances was against them; there were since that period seven instances of queens consort who had not been crowned; and only six who had." The solicitor-general followed his learned colleague nearly in the same line of argument; and Mr. Brougham having replied, the privy council adjourned.

The decision of the council, delivered at its next meeting, on the tenth, was, that "as it appeared to them that the queens consort of this realm are not of right entitled to be crowned at any time, her majesty the queen is not of right entitled to be crowned at the time specified in her majesty's memorial."

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE QUEEN WITH OFFICERS OF STATE.

WHEN the queen, on the morning of the eleventh of July, received through the medium of her chamberlain, lord Hood, this decision of the privy council, she instantly returned an answer in her own name to lord Sidmouth, stating to his lordship "her fixed determination of being present on the nineteenth, and therefore demanding that a suitable place might be appointed for her." His lordship, in answer thereto, informed her majesty, that he was commanded by the king to refer her majesty to the earl of Liverpool's letter, in which the earl had already stated "that the king having determined that the queen should form no part of the ceremonial of his coronation, it was, therefore, his royal pleasure that the queen should not attend the said ceremony." Lord Sidmouth further stated, that it was not his majesty's pleasure to comply with the application contained in her letter.—Still persevering in her resolution, her majesty caused the following letter to be addressed to his Grace of Norfolk, as earl Marshal:

"My lord,—Her majesty has commanded me to say, as it is her intention to be in Westminster Abbey on the nineteenth instant, during the ceremony of the coronation of the king, your grace is required to appoint persons to receive her majesty at the door of the abbey, to conduct her to her seat. The hour her majesty has named to be there at half-past eight o'clock. I have the honour to be, &c. "HOOD."

"Brandenburgh House, July 15.
"To his grace the duke of Norfolk."

To this letter the duke of Norfolk replied, that having delegated his authority at the ensuing ceremony to a deputy, (lord Howard of Effingham,) he had transmitted to him her majesty's letter, which he doubted not would receive immediate attention; and on the next day the acting earl Marshal sent to lord Hood the following reply to the queen's application:

"9, Mansfield Street, July 16.
"My lord,—The duke of Norfolk having transmitted to me, as appointed to do the duties of the office of earl Marshal of England at the ceremony of the approaching coronation, your lordship's letter to his grace, of the fifteenth instant, I thought it incumbent on me to lay the same before viscount Sidmouth, the secretary of state for the home department; and have just learnt from his lordship in reply, that having received a letter, dated the eleventh instant, from the queen, in which her majesty was pleased to inform him of her intention to be present at the ceremony of the nineteenth, the day fixed for his majesty's coronation, and to demand that a suitable place should be appointed for her majesty, he was commanded by the king to acquaint her majesty, that it was not his majesty's pleasure to comply with the application contained in her majesty's letter; I have accordingly to request that your lordship will make my humble representation to her majesty of the impossibility, under these circumstances, of my having the honour of

obeying her majesty's commands. I have the honour to be, my lord,

"Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,
"HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM,

"Acting as earl Marshal of England."
"The Lord Viscount Hood."

Her majesty next applied to the archbishop of Canterbury as follows:—

"Her majesty communicates to his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, that as his majesty the king has thought fit to refuse her being crowned at the same time with the king, the queen must trust that there can be no objection to her majesty's receiving that right on the following week, whilst the Abbey still remains in a state of preparation for the august ceremony, without any additional expense to the nation; that her majesty does not wish it from any desire of participating in the mere form and ceremony of a coronation, but as a just right, which her majesty would not abandon without doing a manifest injury, not only to herself, but to future queens consort, to the British nation, and to posterity.

"*Brandenburgh House, July 15th.*"

This notification was instantly replied to by his Grace.

"*Lambeth Place, July 15th.*"

"The archbishop of Canterbury has the honour to acknowledge with all humility, the receipt of her majesty's communication. Her majesty is undoubtedly aware that the archbishop cannot stir a single step in the subject matter of it without the commands of the king."

Thus repulsed in her various applications to the different authorities, which the queen was instigated to make, lest her enemies might suppose her deficient in any of the legal means of securing a reception in Westminster Abbey on the day of the king's coronation, suitable to her high rank and dignity, no other way seemed open for her majesty, but the publication of the following high-spirited, and well-written protest, on the seventeenth of July:—

HER MAJESTY'S PROTEST AGAINST THE DECISION OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL RELATIVE TO HER CORONATION.

"CAROLINE R.

"To the king's most excellent majesty.

"The protest and remonstrance of Caroline queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Your majesty having been pleased to refer to your privy council the queen's memorial, claiming as of right to celebrate the ceremony of her coronation on the nineteenth of July, being the day appointed for the celebration of your majesty's royal coronation, and Lord Viscount Sidmouth, one of your majesty's principal secretaries of state, having communicated to the queen the judgment pronouncing against her majesty's claim; in order to preserve her just rights, and those of her successors, and to prevent the said minute being in after times referred to, as deriving validity from her majesty's supposed acquiescence in the determination therein expressed, the queen feels it to be her bounden duty to enter her most deliberate and solemn protest against the said determination; and to affirm and maintain, that by the laws, usages, and customs of this realm, from time immemorial, the queen consort ought of right to be crowned at the same time with the king's majesty. In support of this claim of right her majesty's law officers have proved before the said council, from the most ancient and authentic records, that queens consort of this realm have, from time immemorial, participated in the ceremony of the coronation with their royal husbands. The few exceptions that occur demonstrate, from the peculiar circumstances in which they originated, that the right itself was never questioned, though the exercise of it was from necessity suspended, or from motives of policy declined.

"Her majesty has been taught to believe that the most valuable laws of this country depend upon, and derive their authority from custom; that your majesty's royal prerogatives stand upon the same basis: the authority of ancient usage cannot therefore be rejected without shaking that foundation upon which the most important rights and institutions of the country depend.

"Your majesty's council, however, without contemplating any of the facts or reasons upon which

the claim made on the part of her majesty has been supported, have expressed a judgment in opposition to such right. But the queen can place no confidence in that judgment, when she recollects that the principal individuals by whom it has been pronounced were formerly her successful defenders; that their opinions have varied with their interest, and that they have since become the most active and powerful of her persecutors: still less can she confide in it, when her majesty calls to mind that the leading members of that council, when in the service of your majesty's royal father, reported in the most solemn form, that documents reflecting upon her majesty were satisfactorily disproved as to the most important parts, and that the remainder was unassailable of credit. Under this declared conviction, they strongly recommended to your majesty's royal father to bestow his favour upon the queen, then princess of Wales, though in opposition to your majesty's declared wishes. But when your majesty had assumed the kingly power, these same advisers, in another minute of council, recanted their former judgment, and referred to and adopted these very same documents, as a justification of one of your majesty's harshest measures towards the queen—the separation of her majesty from her affectionate and only child.

"The queen, like your majesty, descended from a long race of kings, was the daughter of a sovereign house, connected by the ties of blood with the most illustrious families in Europe, and her not unequal alliance with your majesty was formed in full confidence that the faith of the king and the people was equally pledged to secure to her all those honours and rights which had been enjoyed by her royal predecessors. In that alliance her majesty believed that she exchanged the protection of her family for that of a royal husband, and of a free and noble minded nation. From your majesty the queen has experienced only the bitter disappointment of every hope she had indulged. In the attachment of the people she has found that powerful and decided protection which has been her steady support and her unflinching consolation. Submission from a subject to injuries of a private nature may be matter of expedience—from a wife it may be matter of necessity—but never can it be the duty of a queen to acquiesce in the infringement of those rights which belong to her constitutional character.

"The queen does therefore repeat her most solemn and deliberate protest against the decision of the said council, considering it only as the sequel of that course of persecution under which her majesty has so long and so severely suffered, and which decision, if it is to furnish a precedent for future times, can have no other effect, than to fortify oppression with the forms of law, and to give to injustice the sanction of authority. The protection of the subject, from the highest to the lowest, is not only the true, but the only legitimate object of all power; and no act of power can be legitimate which is not founded on those principles of eternal justice, without which law is but the mask of tyranny, and power the instrument of despotism.

"*Queen's House, July 17th.*"

The publication of this protest immediately preceded her majesty's endeavour to deliver it personally into the hands of the king on the day of his coronation, in which attempt her majesty wholly failed, as will be shown hereafter.

The above public acts of the queen, detailing her avowed and fixed determination, under all hazards and circumstances, to be present at the coronation, occasioned expectations, that the celebration of that august ceremonial would be interrupted, if not prevented, by some infraction of the public peace: but these expectations were, highly to the honour and wisdom of the nation, wholly falsified.

Agreeably to the original intention, our historic career will terminate with a detailed account, from the best sources of actual observation, and otherwise, of the proceedings of that eventful day when the reigning monarch was to be seated as it were to his people, by solemn inauguration, and investment with the climax of regal sway, manifested in the public act of placing the imperial diadem of these realms on the brow of George the fourth, where may it long remain!

CEREMONIAL OF CORONATION.

The day at length arrived, which had been contemplated with so much interest by every class of

the community. Sixty years had elapsed since a coronation had taken place in this kingdom; and, in addition to the charms of novelty, many peculiar circumstances combined to render the approaching ceremony one of the most interesting of the kind ever solemnised in England. Ambassadors extraordinary had been despatched from all the sovereigns of Europe to be present at the coronation of King George the fourth. France was represented by the duke of Grammont; Austria, by prince Nicholas Esterhazy; Prussia, by the prince of Hatzfeldt; Russia, by count Stackelberg; and Spain, by the marquis of Santa Cruz; and, in addition to these noble representatives of our allies, and their several splendid *suites*; a vast number of distinguished foreigners from various parts of Europe, had arrived in the metropolis, for the express purpose of witnessing this august and magnificent solemnity.

On the preceding evening, the eighteenth July, the king slept at the house of the speaker of the house of commons, in palace yard, where he was guarded during the night by the lord great chamberlain, and the usher of the black rod. On the morning of the nineteenth, at seven o'clock, the lord great chamberlain carried to the king his shirt and apparel, and with the lord chamberlain of the household, dressed his majesty. Breakfast was then served; after which his majesty proceeded to the chamber, near the south entrance into Westminster hall, prepared for his reception.

The interior of the hall was fitted up in a style of great and splendid magnificence for the occasion, and at a very early hour several hundreds of spectators, who had been favoured with admission, occupied the various places assigned to them. The sides of the upper end of the hall, including the boxes for the foreign ministers and the royal family, were hung with scarlet cloth, richly edged with gold. The throne was most sumptuously adorned with crimson and gold; as was the canopied draperies over it, with the royal arms in embroidery. Before the throne was a large square table, covered with purple, having a rim of gold, and an interior square moulding of the same description, about two feet from the edge. The platform on which the throne was placed, and the steps immediately descending from it, were covered with brown carpeting; and two other descending flight of steps, as well as the handsome double chairs placed for the peers by the side of the tables, and the covering of the railings in the fronts of the seats, were of Morone cloth. The middle of the floor of the hall, from the throne to the north gate, was overlaid with blue cloth, and the remaining parts were matted. The side tables were covered with green cloth; and as on each side the galleries reached nearly to the top of the windows in the wall, only the upper arches of those windows and the noble roof of the old fabric appeared, except at each end, the upper one more particularly, where the sedate countenances of the Saxon kings, newly decorated, were exhibited: the light, which was only admitted from the roof windows, and those in each end, though sober, was good on the whole; and as early as half-past five, the appearance of the hall studded with groups of gentlemen pensioners, and various other attendants, in their fantastic and antique costumes, with the officers of the guards and others in military attire, and above all, the elegantly dressed women who began to fill the galleries, was altogether superb.

At the early hour, a quarter before six o'clock, her royal highness the dutchess of Gloucester arrived in the hall, and took her seat in the royal box; being soon afterwards joined by her royal sister-in-law the dutchess of Clarence.

About half-past seven, her royal highness the dutchess of Kent, the princess Sophia of Gloucester, and the princess Feodora, (daughter of the dutchess of Kent,) likewise took their seats in the royal box. The attendants on the earl-marshal had begun to assemble, and attracted notice by their dark dresses, with white sashes, stockings, shoes with large rosettes, and queen Elizabeth ruffs, with gilt staves tipped with black. The prince and princess Esterhazy, and the rest of the foreign ambassadors, with a number of foreigners of distinction, entered their box about the same time; and the hall, which was speedily filled by the arrival of peers and persons, now presented a spectacle most brilliant and imposing. The box of the foreign

ambassadors and their *suites*, was particularly splendid, on account of the peculiar richness and variety of the foreign uniforms; decorated with a profusion of orders, and brilliant paraphernalia, affording specimens of the costume of every country in amity with Great Britain, from the dazzling military garb of Prussia or France, to the plain chints gown and dark beard of the nephew of the Persian ambassador, who, in right of such relationship, claimed to be seated with the ministers of foreign courts. Soon after seven, an attendant habited in the dress of Henri Quatre, laid on the table near the canopy, eight maces, to be borne in the course of the procession. The herb-women soon after entered the hall from the south end, the principal one, Miss Fellows, led by a gentleman, and the six young ladies, her assistants, followed two and two, and traversing the hall were seated at the north entrance: they were elegantly dressed in white tastefully decorated with flowers, as was their hair—and their chief wore white satin, with the addition of a scarlet mantle; three large baskets filled with flowers were provided, to be borne by them.

The barons of the cinque ports were now practising the carrying the canopy they were to bear over the king during the procession. This canopy was yellow, of silk and gold embroidery, with cartouches of muslin and tissue, upheld by steel rods, surmounted by silver balls, and with the splendid dresses of the supporting barons, which consisted of large cloaks of garter blue satin, with slashed arms of scarlet, and stockings of dead red, presented a singularly unique appearance.

The queen about this time, faithful to her word, arrived at the outer gates of the hall, and demanded admission, claiming her right of being present at the coronation. Her majesty had set out from her house in South Audley-street, in her state carriage, drawn by six beautiful bay horses, elegantly caparisoned, and accompanied by lady Hood and lady Ann Hamilton, followed by another carriage containing lord Hood and the Hon. Keppel Craven, and proceeding through the parks, to dean's-yard, she alighted from her carriage, in expectation of being allowed to enter; but was refused at two different doors of entrance. Her majesty then proceeded towards poet's corner; and again alighting from her carriage in old palace yard, she sought admittance at two temporary doors, which, however, were shut at her majesty's approach. Some of the people then pointed out the opening to the platform, which her majesty immediately acceded, and walking from thence to old palace yard, entered first the passage to Cotton garden, and subsequently along the covered way to poet's corner at the door lord Hood, who accompanied the queen, desired admission for her majesty. The door-keepers drew across the entrance, and requested to see the tickets. Lord Hood then said, "I present you your queen, surely it is not necessary for her to have a ticket." One of the attendants replied, that he did not know the queen; and positively forbade her majesty from entering without a ticket, and one of the poor knights of Windsor came up and said, there was no place for her majesty. Lord Hood had a thicket which he produced, but was informed it would only admit one person. Finding every effort to gain admission ineffectual, her majesty returned to her carriage, and proceeded through Whitehall, Pall-mall, St. James's street, and Piccadilly, to her house, attended by an immense concourse of people, who by their continued cheers strongly evinced their feelings in favour of her majesty.

On her majesty's arrival at home, she immediately transmitted through the medium of lord St. John, the following letter to the king:

"JULY 19.—"The queen requests that his majesty would be pleased to give an early answer to the demand which the queen has made to the archbishop of Canterbury, to be crowned the following week, not wishing to increase any new expense to the nation. The queen must trust, that after the public insult her majesty has received this morning, the king will grant her just right to be crowned on next Monday; and that his majesty will command the archbishop of Canterbury to fulfil the queen's particular desire, to confer upon her that sacred and august ceremony.

"The queen also communicates to his majesty, that during the king's absence in Ireland, her majesty intends visiting Edinburgh."

This received lord Sidmouth's reply as under:
JULY 20, 1821.

"Madam,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from your majesty, enclosing one addressed to his majesty the king, which I have had the honour of laying before his majesty; and I am commanded to acquaint your majesty, that the privy council, to which your majesty's petition was referred at your request, having decided, after solemn argument, that the queens consort of this realm are not entitled as of right to be crowned at any time, the king does not think proper to give any orders for the coronation of your majesty. I have the honour to be, with the highest respect, your majesty's most obedient humble servant.

(Signed) "SIDMOUTH."

During the interval that these transactions were taking place without the hall, considerable anxiety was manifested within. An apprehension prevailing of the tumult and confusion which might have resulted, and was fully expected by many as the sequence of this very extraordinary proceeding of the queen; nor is it to be wondered at, that such feeling was entertained by the illustrious assemblage, whose ears were loudly assailed by the uproar of mingled applause and disapprobation, which the appearance of her majesty excited. Happily, however, this was speedily at an end, without any disastrous consequences; and the attention of all both within and around the hall was again occupied with an intense expectation of the commencement of the splendid ceremonies of the day.

When eight o'clock arrived, most of the persons entitled to walk in the procession were assembled in their respective places; and the heralds commenced arranging the order of procession from the hall. These preparations occupied the time till about twenty minutes before ten o'clock, when the principal officers of the household withdrew, to wait upon the king, and all eyes were anxiously turned towards the throne. At ten o'clock, the duke of Wellington entered the platform from behind the throne, and announced the approach of his majesty. Lord Gwydir entered immediately after; and the king then appeared, his train supported by eight sons of noblemen; it was of crimson velvet, adorned with large golden stars, and a broad golden border, of the most costly description.

At this instant, the whole company in the hall rose, as his majesty stepped into the throne, and the full band in the gothic orchestra performed the national air of "God save the king." His majesty was habited in full robes of great size and richness; and wore a black hat of Spanish shape, with a spreading assemblage of white ostrich feathers, which encircled the rim, and was surmounted by a heron's plume. The king had his hair in thick falling curls over his forehead, and it fell behind his head in a similar shape. His majesty having taken his seat on the throne, bowed with great affability to the peers, who stood on each side; and the ceremony of the delivery of the ancient regalia, by the dean and prebendaries of Westminster then commenced in usual form.

All the regalia being deposited with great ceremony by the appointed persons, on the superb table before the throne, and the dean and prebendaries having retired, the king commanded the deputy-garter to summon the noblemen and bishops who were to bear the regalia in the procession, and the deputy lord great chamberlain accordingly placed them in the hands of the following distinguished persons:—

1. St. Edward's staff: marquiss of Salisbury.
2. The spurs: lord Calthorpe, as deputy to the baroness Grey de Ruthen.
3. The sceptre with the cross: marquiss Wellesley.
4. The pointed sword of Justice: earl of Galloway.
5. The pointed sword of spiritual Justice: duke of Northumberland.
6. Curtana; or sword of Mercy: duke of Newcastle.
7. The sword of state: duke of Dorset.
8. The sceptre with the dove: duke of Rutland.
9. The orb: duke of Devonshire.
10. St. Edward's crown: marquiss of Anglessea, as lord high steward.
11. The platine: bishop of Gloucester.
12. The chalice: bishop of Chester.
13. The bible: bishop of Ely.

Two bishops were then summoned by the deputy-

garter to officiate as supporters to his majesty; they ascended the steps and placed themselves on each side of the king.

At eleven o'clock the procession set out from Westminster-hall to the Abbey, in the following order:—the anthem of "O Lord, grant the king a long life," being sung in parts, in succession with his majesty's band playing, the sounding of trumpets, and beating of drums, until the arrival in the Abbey.

ORDER OF THE PROCESSION.

The king's herb-woman, with her six maids, strewing the way with herbs.

Messenger of the college of Arms, in a scarlet cloak, with the arms of the college embroidered on the left shoulder.

The dean's beadle of Westminster, with his staff, in a scarlet cloak.

Two household fiere, with the banners of velvet, fringed with gold, and five household drummers in royal livery, drum covers of crimson velvet, laid and fringed with gold.

The drum-major, in a rich livery, and in a crimson scarf, fringed with gold.

Eight trumpeters, in rich liveries, banners of crimson damaak, embroidered and fringed with gold to the silver trumpets.

Kettle drums, drum covers of crimson damaak, embroidered and fringed with gold.

Eight trumpeters, in liveries as before.

Sergeant trumpeter, with his mace.

The knight marshal, attended by his officers.

The six clerks in chancery.

The king's chaplains, having dignities.

The sheriffs of London.

The aldermen and recorder of London.

Masters in chancery.

The king's sergeants at law.

The king's ancient sergeant.

The king's solicitor-general—The king's attorney general.

Gentlemen of the privy chamber.

Sergeant of the vestry of the chapel royal—Sergeant porter.

Children of the choir of Westminster in surplices. Children of the chapel-royal in surplices, with scarlet mantles over them.

Choir of Westminster in surplices.

Gentlemen of the chapel royal, in scarlet mantles.

Sub-dean of the chapel royal, in a scarlet gown.

Prebendaries of Westminster, in surplices, with copes.

The dean of Westminster, in a surplice, and rich cope.

Pursuivants of Scotland and Ireland in their tabards. His majesty's band.

Officers attendant on the knights commanders of the Bath, in their mantles, chains, and badges.

Knight commanders of the Bath, not Peers. Officers of the order of the Bath, in their mantles, chains, and badges.

Knight grand crosses of the Bath (not Peers) in the full habit of their order, caps in their hands.

A pursuivant at arms, in his tabard.

Barens of the exchequer, and justices of both benches.

The lord chief baron of the exchequer. The lord chief justice of the common pleas.

The vice chancellor. The master of the rolls.

The lord chief justice of the court of king's bench. The clerks of the council in ordinary.

Privy counsellors, not Peers. Registrar of the order of the Garter.

Knight of the Garter, not Peers, in the full habit and collar of the order, caps in their hands.

His majesty's vice chamberlain. Comptroller of his majesty's household. Treasurer of his majesty's household, bearing the crimson bag, with the modale.

A pursuivant at arms in his tabard. Heralds of Scotland and Ireland, in their tabards, and collars of S. S.

The standard of Hanover borne by the earl of Mayo. Barons, in their robes of estate, of crimson velvet, their coronets in their hands.

A herald in his tabard and collar of S. S. The standard of Ireland, borne by Lord Beresford. The standard of Scotland, borne by the Earl of Lauderdale.

The bishops of England and Ireland, in their robes, with their caps in their hands.

knight's grand crosses of the said order, and their officers, the clerks of the privy council in ordinary, the privy counsellors, the register of the garter, vice chamberlain, comptroller and treasurer of his majesty's household, and peers, were then conducted severally to their seats by the officer of arms.

The prebendaries of Westminster went to their places near the altar. The sergeants at arms took post near the theatre. The standards were delivered by the bearers of them to pages at the entrance of the choir, and resumed and borne in the return from the abbey. The princes of the blood royal were conducted to their seats as peers. The prince Leopold to his royal box. The barons of the cinque ports bearing the canopy, and the gentlemen pensioners remained at the entrance of the choir during the ceremony.

The king ascending the theatre, passed on the south side of the throne to his chair of state, on the east side thereof, opposite to the altar, and after his private devotion, (kneeling down on the faldstool,) took his seat, the two bishops his supporters, standing on each side, the noblemen bearing the four swords on his right hand, the deputy lord great chamberlain, and the lord high constable on his left; the great officers of state, the deputy earl marshal, the dean of Westminster, the noblemen bearing the regalia, train bearers, with deputy garter, the lord lion of Scotland, the lord mayor of London, and the black rod standing about the king's chair. The spectacle at this period in the abbey was perhaps one of the most magnificent, as well as the most interesting that ever had been displayed since the construction of its ancient walls; a scene of sparkling splendour, with jewels, waving with feathered plumes, and enriched with velvet, ermine, and every gorgeous embellishment that taste could devise or wealth procure.

As soon as the anthem was concluded, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, together with the lord chancellor, the deputy lord great chamberlain, the lord high constable and deputy earl marshal, preceded by the deputy garter, moved to the east side of the theatre where the archbishop made the recognition, and repeated the same at the south, west, and north sides of the theatre; during this part of the ceremony his majesty continued standing, and turned towards the people on the side on which the recognition was made in the usual form, "I here present to you king George the fourth, the undoubted king of this realm; wherefore all you are come this day to do your homage, are you willing to do the same?"—the people replying in this demand with loud and repeated acclamations of "God save king George the fourth"—and at the last recognition the trumpets sounded and the drums beat in unison.

His majesty was then seated; and the bible, the chalice, and the patine, were placed upon the altar by the bishops who had borne them in the procession.

The next of these august ceremonials was the offering. A rich cloth of gold being spread, and a cushion placed at the altar, the king, attended by the two bishops, his supporters, the dean of Westminster, and the noblemen bearing the regalia passed to the altar, where, uncovered and kneeling, his majesty made his first offering of a pall, or altar cloth of massive gold tissue: it was delivered by the lord chamberlain to the deputy lord great chamberlain, and by his lordship to the king, who delivered it to the archbishop of Canterbury, by whom it was placed on the altar. The treasurer of the household then delivered an ingot of gold, of one pound weight, being the second offering, to the deputy lord great chamberlain, who having presented the same to the king, his majesty delivered it to the archbishop, to be by him put into the oblation basin. The prayer "O God that dwellest in the high and holy place," was then said by the archbishop, at the conclusion of which the king rose, and was conducted to his chair of state on the south side of the area. The regalia, except the swords, were delivered by the several noblemen who bore them to the archbishop, and by his grace to the dean of Westminster to be laid on the altar: the noblemen then returned to their places.

The litany was then read by the bishops of Oxford and St. Asaph, vested in copes, and kneeling at a faldstool above the steps of the theatre on the middle of the east side thereof. After which was read the beginning of the communion service, and

then the archbishop of York preached a sermon from the following text, 2 Sam. chap. xxiii. 3, 4. "The God of Israel said, the Rock of Israel spoke to me, He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God; and he shall be as the light of the morning when the sun riseth, even a morning without clouds, as the tender grass springing out of the earth by clear shining after rain."

The sermon being concluded, the archbishop of Canterbury advanced to the king for the purpose of administering the coronation oath. The king rose from his chair of state, and attended by his supporters and the deputy lord great chamberlain proceeded uncovered to the altar, where, kneeling upon the cushion laid upon the steps, and placing his hand upon the holy gospels, his majesty took the oath. The lord chamberlain of the household then holding a silver standish for the purpose, his majesty affixed his sign manual to the oath. The king then returned again to his chair, and the following hymn was sung, the archbishop repeating the first line, "Come, holy Ghost, our souls inspire."

Upon the conclusion of the hymn, the prayer preparatory to the anointing, "O Lord, Holy Father, who by anointing with oil, didst of old, make and consecrate kings, priests, and prophets," &c. After which prayer, the choir sang the anthem, "Zadock the priest," &c.

During the performance of this anthem, the king was disrobed of his crimson robes, by the deputy great lord chamberlain, who handed them to the master of the robes; and his majesty taking off his cap of state, the lord great chamberlain delivered the same to the lord chamberlain; and the robes and cap were immediately carried into St. Edward's chapel; the robes by the groom of the robes; and the cap by the officer of the jewel-office. St. Edward's chair, covered with cloth of gold, having been placed in front of the altar, his majesty took his seat therein to be anointed; when four knights of the garter, summoned by deputy-garter, held over the king's head a rich pall or cloth of gold, delivered to them by the lord chamberlain, and the dean of Westminster holding the ampulla, containing the consecrated oil; and pouring some of it to the anointing spoon, the archbishop anointed his majesty on the head and hands in the form of a cross, pronouncing the words, "Be thy head anointed," &c. "Be thy hands anointed," &c. The king then kneeling, the archbishop standing on the north side of the altar, pronounced the benediction. The knights of the garter delivered the pall to the lord chamberlain. The king then arose and sat down in the chair, and the dean having first dried all the places anointed, except the head and hands, with cotton wool, closed the openings in the garments. Then a coil of lawn was delivered by the lord great chamberlain to the archbishop, and by him placed on the king's head, and linen gloves were put on his hands; meantime a short anthem was sung by the choir.

The dean of Westminster now received from the officers of the wardrobe, a supermundicia of cloth of gold, a girdle of the same for the sword, with which he arrayed the king. The dean next took the gold spurs from the altar, and delivered them to the deputy lord great chamberlain, who kneeling down, touched his majesty's heel therewith, and returned them to the dean, by whom they were laid upon the altar.

The nobleman who carried the sword of state, now delivered it to the lord chamberlain, and in return received another sword in a scabbard of purple velvet, which his lordship delivered to the archbishop, who laid it on the altar, and said the prayer—"Hear our prayers, O Lord, we beseech thee, and so direct and support thy servant, king George, who is now to be girt with the sword."—The archbishop then, assisted by other bishops, delivered the sword into the king's right hand, saying—"Remember this kindly sword," &c. His majesty then standing up, the deputy lord great chamberlain girded his majesty with the sword. The king being again seated, the archbishop repeated, "Remember him of whom," &c.

The king then rose, ungirded the sword, and went to the altar, where he offered it in the scabbard to the archbishop, and then returned to his chair. The sword was then redeemed for a hundred shillings by the nobleman who first received it; and who carried it during the remainder of the solemnity.

The king again standing, was next invested with the imperial mantle, a dalmatic robe of cloth of gold, and with the armil; the archbishop pronouncing the exhortation:—"Receive this armil, as a token of the divine mercy embracing you on every side." The king then sat down, and the archbishop having received the orb from the dean, delivered it into the king's right hand, saying—"Receive this imperial orb." &c.

The lord chamberlain next delivered the ruby ring to the archbishop, which his grace put on the fourth finger of the king's right hand; the archbishop saying—"Receive this ring." The dean then brought from the altar the sceptre with the cross, and that with the dove, and delivered them to the archbishop. The lord of the manor of Workop presented his majesty with a pair of gloves embroidered with the arms of Howard, which his majesty put on. The archbishop then delivered the sceptre with the cross into the king's right hand, saying—"Receive the royal sceptre," &c.; and the sceptre with the dove into his left hand, saying—"Receive the rod of equity," &c. The archbishop standing before the altar, and having St. Edward's crown before him, took the same into his hands, and blessed it with the prayer, "O God, who crownest thy faithful servants with mercy," &c. Then the archbishop came from the altar, and the dean of Westminster carrying the crown, the archbishop placed it upon his majesty's head. At that moment the trumpets sounded; cannon were fired without, and three cheers were given by the spectators.

The anthem, "The king shall rejoice in his strength," was then sung. As soon as the crown was upon his majesty's head, the peers put on their coronets, and the bishops their caps.

The dean of Westminster taking the holy bible from the altar, delivered it to the archbishop, who, attended by the rest of the bishops, presented it to the king, saying—"Our gracious king," &c. The king returned the bible to the archbishop, to be by him replaced on the altar.

The archbishop then pronounced the benedictions, and the bishops and peers answered each benediction with a loud "amen." The king then kissed the archbishop and bishops, who knelt before him. *Te Deum* was sung, during which the king removed to the chair on which he first sat, on the east side of the throne.

When *Te Deum* was ended, the king was enthroned by the bishops and peers; and the archbishop pronounced the exhortation "Stand firm, and hold fast," &c. amidst the loudest acclamations from all parts of the Abbey. The archbishop of Canterbury then knelt before the king, and for himself and the other lords spiritual pronounced the words of homage, the bishops kneeling around him and repeating after him. The archbishop then kissed his majesty's left cheek, and the rest of the bishops after him, and retired. The duke of York ascending the steps of the throne, and taking off his coronet, prepared to kneel and pronounce the words of homage; but the king without permitting the ceremony raised him, and cordially shook him by the hand; and his majesty observed the same course by all the royal dukes. The dukes and other peers then did homage in the usual form, the senior of each degree pronouncing the words of homage, and the rest of the same degree repeating after him. Each peer of the same degree successively touched his majesty's crown, and kissed his majesty's left cheek, and then retired.

During this time the treasurer of his majesty's household threw about the medals of the coronation in profusion in the body of the great aisle, and through the seats of the peers and peeresses. While the homage was performing, the sceptre with the cross was held on the king's right hand by the lord of the manor of Workop; and the sceptre with the dove by the duke of Rutland.

After the homage, the two bishops, who had read the epistle and gospel received from the altar by the hands of the archbishops, the patine and chalice which they carried into St. Edward's chapel, and brought from thence the bread upon the patine, and the wine in the chalice. His majesty then descended from the throne, and went to the altar, where taking off his crown, he delivered it to the lord great chamberlain to hold. Then the bishops delivered the patine and chalice into the king's hands; and his majesty delivered them to the arch-

bishops, who reverently placed the same upon the altar, covering them with a fine linen cloth. His majesty then received the sacrament: the archbishop administered the bread, and the dean of Westminster the cup. The choir then sang the last anthem—"Blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel," &c. and at the conclusion, the trumpets sounded, the drums beat, and amidst the acclamations of the assembly, the king put on his crown, and taking the two sceptres in his hand, again ascended the throne, and sat there, supported and attended as before, until the conclusion of the post-communion service, and the blessing. After which, his majesty, attended as before, descended into the area, and passed through the door on the south side of the altar into St. Edward's chapel; and the noblemen who had carried the regalia, received them from the dean of Westminster, as they passed by the altar.

The king being come into the chapel, and standing before the altar, delivered the sceptres to the archbishop, who laid them upon the altar. The rest of the regalia were delivered to the dean, to be by him laid also on the altar. Then the king was disrobed of his royal robe of state, and arrayed in his royal robe of purple velvet, by the deputy lord great chamberlain. The archbishop delivered the sceptre with the cross into his right hand, and the orb into his left. The dean delivered the sceptre with the dove to the noblemen who had before borne it, and who carried it in the returning procession.

The procession now moved forward on its return to Westminster Hall, the noblemen, who had in the former procession borne the gold spurs, and St. Edward's staff, left in St. Edward's chapel, and the orb and sceptre with the cross, now borne by his majesty, walking to their due places, according to their degrees in the peerage.

On re-entering the hall, the barons of the cinque ports bearing the canopy, proceeded with it as far as the steps of the platform, from whence the king ascended to the throne, and from thence retired to his chamber.

His majesty's entrance was greeted with loud and continued cheers, the gentlemen waving their hats, and the ladies their handkerchiefs. The king felt sensibly the enthusiasm with which he was received, and returned the salutations with repeated bows to the assemblage, on both sides, as he passed up the hall. The splendour of the scene at the moment, when the whole procession had completely entered the hall, through the triumphal arch, surpassed all power of description. The rich and gorgeous apparel of the peers and knights, viewed by the more light, though not less elegant, dresses of the ladies, gave a magnificence to the scene, which has not been equalled at the coronation of any sovereign of Europe.

The king did not take his seat upon the throne upon his return to the hall, but proceeded immediately to his chamber; and a considerable pause intervened before the commencement of the ceremonies of the royal banquet. At length the entrance of the king was announced by one of the principal heralds.

His majesty returned in the robes with which he had been invested in the Abbey, wearing also the same crown. In his right hand he carried the sceptre, and in his left the orb, which, on taking his seat on the throne, he delivered to the two peers, stationed at his side, for the purpose of receiving them. The royal table, at which the king and the several male branches of the royal family dined, was placed opposite the throne, and partly under the canopy. It was nearly of a triangular shape, the throne supplying the place of what would have been one of the angles; at two of the sides were placed chairs, which were occupied by their royal highnesses the dukes of York, Clarence, and Essex, who sat on the right of the throne, and the dukes of Cambridge and Gloucester, and prince Leopold of Coburg, who were seated on the left. The table was covered with rich damask cloth, on which were wrought the royal arms, and the devices of the several British orders, with their mottoes. On these was placed a large oval mirror, having four square pieces projecting at different sides. In the oval centre were the letters, "O. B." In the square compartments were painted the red and white rose, the shamrock, and thistle. Besides these, there were four small figures, and several stands all in gold, placed on the table.

At that end of the table, which fronted the hall, was suspended a very rich flowered white satin drapery, with gold fringe, and bullion tassels: between the festoons, were the stars of the several British orders, in gold embroidery.

On each side of the throne was placed a large sideboard, on which was displayed the coronation plate, made entirely of pure gold, consisting of large dishes, and vases richly embossed; several of which had graced the coronation banquets of many former monarchs.

The tables for the peers were ranged three on each side of the hall, splendidly covered with plate, and a cold collation, consisting of every delicacy.

This magnificent scene was illuminated by a brilliant display of nearly two thousand lights, suspended in cut glass chandeliers, or contained in superb table stands, exclusive of two branches of Argand lamps, suspended at the right and left of the throne.

The first course placed upon the royal table, consisted of twenty-four gold covers and dishes, carried by as many gentlemen pensioners, preceded by six attendants on the clerk comptroller, by two clerks of the kitchen, (who received the dishes from the gentlemen pensioners) by the clerk comptroller, in a velvet gown trimmed with silver lace, by two clerks and the secretary of the board of green cloth, by the comptroller and treasurer of the household, and by four sergeants at arms with their maces.

Before the dishes were placed upon the table by the two clerks of the kitchen, the great doors at the bottom of the hall were thrown open to the sound of trumpets and clarions, and the duke of Wellington as lord high constable, the marquis of Anglesea as lord high steward, and lord Howard of Effingham as deputy earl marshal, entered upon the floor on horseback, remaining for some minutes under the archway. The duke of Wellington rode to the left of the king, the earl marshal to the right, and the marquis of Anglesea in the centre. The two former were mounted on beautiful white horses, the latter on his favourite dun coloured Arabian, richly caparisoned. Each was followed by a groom, and a page walked at the head of each horse. In this manner they advanced gracefully towards the throne, through an avenue formed of the knights of the bath, the knights commanders and companions, the heralds, the pages, and a vast number of officers in every variety of uniform.

While the twenty-four dishes were placed upon the royal table, these noblemen remained on horseback, at the lowest step leading to the throne; and as the gentlemen pensioners delivered their dishes, they retired backwards between the three horses, and so left the hall. They were followed by the noble eunuchians, who backed their steeds with great skill down the centre of the hall; and as soon as they had retired the doors were closed.

The dishes on the royal table remaining still uncovered, the golden basin and ewer were presented by the lord great chamberlain, that his majesty might wash. He was assisted by the earls of Abingdon and Verrulam; and the lord of the manor of Heydon, was in attendance with a towel. The king having dipped his fingers in the rose water, and wiped them, returned the towel to the gentleman who had performed the service of bearing it.

Grace having been said by the dean of the chapel royal, the carver and assistant carver, the earls of Denbigh and Chichester, took their stations at the bottom of the royal table, attended by the earls of Mount-Edgcumbe and Whitworth, who acted as server and assistant server. The tureens and dishes were then uncovered, and the carvers proceeded to help his majesty.

The first course having been removed, a cheerful flourish of trumpets was heard, and instantly the great gates at the bottom of the hall were thrown open; when the champion made his appearance under the gothic archway, mounted on a pie-bald charger. He was accompanied on the right by the lord high constable, and on the left by the deputy earl marshal. His armour of polished steel, his costly plumes, and the trappings of his steed, showed the capacity in which he appeared. He was ushered within the limits of the hall by two trumpeters, with the arms of the champion on their banners, by the sergeant trumpeter, and by

two sergeants at arms, with maces. An esquire, in half armour, was on each side, the one bearing his lance, the other his shield. At the entrance of the champion, the trumpets sounded thrice; and then the attendant herald proclaimed aloud the following challenge:—

"If any person, of what degree soever, high or low, shall deny or gainsay our sovereign lord king George the fourth, of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith, son and next heir to our sovereign lord king George the third, the last king, deceased, to be right heir to the imperial crown of this united kingdom, or that he ought not to enjoy the same, here is his champion, who saith, that he lieth, and is a false traitor; being ready in person to combat with him, and in this quarrel, will adventure his life against him, on what day soever shall be appointed."

After pausing for a short time, the champion drew off his gauntlet, and threw it upon the floor with a very manly and chivalric air. No one appearing to accept the challenge, the herald took up the gauntlet, and returned it to the champion. The cavalcade then advanced half-way up the hall, when it halted, the trumpets again sounded, the challenge was proclaimed as before, the gauntlet again thrown down, and again returned to the challenger. At the foot of the throne the same ceremony was a third time repeated, the herald proclaiming the challenge at the top of the first flight of steps. Every time the gauntlet was returned to the champion, the assemblage shouted, "Long live the king." The knightly appearance and gallant deportment of the youthful champion obviously gave considerable pleasure to his majesty, who, after the third challenge, taking a golden goblet, which was presented to him by the cup-bearer, drank to the bold champion with a corresponding air of gaiety;—and the same cup being afterwards presented to the champion, he drank, "Long live his majesty king George the fourth." A loud and involuntary cry of "God bless the king," escaped at that moment from the hall; and a scene the most animated, and the most sublime imaginable followed.

From the galleries of the peeresses, and other ladies, which were filled with the loveliest and fairest of women, adorned with the richest ornaments, a burst of applause issued, which seemed to rend the roof of the ancient and magnificent fabric. A thousand plumes waved in joy; and a thousand voices swelled the loud acclamation.

Amidst this spontaneous expression of the general joy and loyalty, the champion having repeated his humble duties to his majesty, retreated backward from the hall, accompanied by the noble personages who entered it with him, and bore away as his fee the golden goblet.

Immediately afterwards, Carter, attended by Clarenceux, Norroy, Ulster, and the rest of the kings and officers of arms, proclaimed his majesty's styles in Latin, French, and English, three several times: first upon the uppermost step of the elevated platform; next in the middle of the hall, and lastly at the bottom of the hall, the officers of arms before each proclamation crying "Largesse."—After each proclamation the company shouted "God save the king," and the ladies waved their handkerchiefs and fans.

The lord mayor and twelve principal citizens of London, as assistants to the chief butler of England, accompanied by the king's cup-bearer and assistant, (dinner being concluded,) presented to his majesty wine in a gold cup; and the king having drank thereof, returned the golden cup to the lord mayor as his fee. After which the mayor of Oxford with eight other burgesses of that city, as assistants to the lord mayor and citizens of London, as assistant to the chief butler of England, were conducted to his majesty, preceded by the king's cup-bearer, and having presented to the king a bowl of wine, received the bowl as his fee. The lord of the manor of Lyston then brought up a charger of wafers to his majesty's table; and the duke of Athol, as lord of the Isle of Man, presented his majesty with two falcons.

After these services were performed, according to very ancient custom, the peers all rose, and drank "Good health and a long and happy reign to the king!" which was received with thrice three cheers by the whole company.

The anthem of "God save the king," was then sung by the whole choir, and the chorus was swelled by the voices of the company all standing.

The duke of Norfolk then said aloud, "The king thanks his peers for drinking his health: he does them the honour to drink their health, and that of his good people." His majesty at the same time rose, and bowing three times to various parts of the immense assembly, he drank the health of all present. Long continued shouts of applause from all sides succeeded, during which his majesty resumed his seat upon the throne.

The grace of "*Non nobis Domine*," was then sung by the choir, after which his majesty received from the noble dukes, who bore them, his orb and sceptre; and retired amidst loud and universal expressions of loyalty, attachment, and respect.

In the metropolis, the public were admitted gratis to all the principal theatres; a balloon ascended, with an aeronaut, about noon, from the Green Park; and after a variety of entertainments, for the amusement of the populace in Hyde Park during the day, in the evening there was a display of the most bril-

liant fire-works in the same place, under the direction of Sir William Congreve. All classes of the people, in every part of the kingdom, partook of the festivity of this memorable day: the demonstrations of joy being general throughout the kingdom.

Thus was concluded one of the most splendid and magnificent pageants ever witnessed by the inhabitants of Great Britain; the details of which cannot fail to excite a lively interest in the breast of every Briton, as being intimately connected with the conservation of the religion and laws of his country.—Considered in this light, that George the Fourth may enjoy a lengthened and a peacefully prosperous rule over these happy realms, presiding, and administering his varied and sacred functions, in the best spirit of equity, truth, justice, and paternal love—and as long enjoy the cordially loyal affections of a benighted people—must be the ardent prayer and honest aspiration of every heart and every tongue, that feels and exclaims, "GOD SAVE THE KING!" "LONG LIVE THE KING!!"

NOTES.

Note A, p. 28.

"WE thought it our duty," said one of those parliaments, "to remonstrate to your majesty, that the registering that edict and declaration is irreconcilable with your glory, the good of the state, and the rights of mankind. Whatsoever savours of constraint, wounds the honour of the throne. A manly and respectful freedom has always been the glory of every prince, under whose reign the subjects have made it their guide.

"Your people, sire, are unhappy: all things proclaim this sad truth. Your courts of parliament, the only voices of the nation, cease not to tell it. No, sire, it is but too true; and we cannot too often repeat it,—your people are miserable.

"It is not from this day, that we are to date the calamities which desolate the several parts of your state. Your parliaments have found themselves more than once under a necessity to lay before you the sad description of them. Your majesty could not behold it, without being affected. But what does it signify to the felicity of Frenchmen, that their sovereign shares, by reflection, in the evils they really suffer, if the mercenary spirit, which devours them, is substituted to that, which ought to prescribe and punish it?

"The termination of the war ought to put an end to our misery. Peace should have introduced in France the sweets, with which it is attended among all other nations. The capital of the kingdom was preparing to celebrate the return thereof, and with shouts of joy to dedicate a monument designed to eternalize its sensibility, and the memory of a beloved monarch. But, instead of this, nothing but sighs of grief appeared.

"It is to promote the happiness of those, who are placed under your care, that you are invested with the supreme authority. Your subjects have a right to your beneficence. They have, therefore, a right to the easiest and least burdensome method of contributing to the wants of the state. This right, which is founded in nature, belongs to every nation in the world, whatever may be its form of government. It is principally the right of France, and, in a more especial manner, that of your province of Normandy. The Norman charter furnishes, on this head, the most respectable monuments of our national immunities, and of the justice of the kings, your august predecessors. We there find, that no tax can be laid on your subjects of this province, unless it be agreed to in the assembly of the people, of the three estates. This charter subsists in its full force: it makes part of your people's rights, which you swore to maintain before him by whom kings reign."

Note B, p. 196.

As the principal stipulations in these treaties have been detailed in the text, it is thought sufficient to subjoin only a copy of the definitive treaty with the United States, because the first in which their independence was acknowledged by Great Britain, and as being virtually the basis of the general pacification.

The definitive treaty of peace and friendship, between his Britannic majesty, and the United States of America, signed at Paris the third day of September, 1783.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity. It having pleased the divine providence to dispose the hearts of the most serene and most potent prince George the third, by the grace of God, king of Great Britain, France and Ireland, defender of

the faith, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, arch-treasurer and prince elector of the holy Roman empire, &c. and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish to restore, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this desirable end already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation by the provisional articles signed at Paris on the thirtieth of November, 1783, by the commissioners empowered on each part, which articles were agreed to be inserted in, and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic majesty should be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having since been concluded, his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the provisional articles above mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have constituted and appointed, that is to say, his Britannic majesty on his part, David Hartley, esq. member of the parliament of Great Britain; and the said United States on their part, John Adams, esq. late a commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in congress from the state of Massachusetts, and chief justice of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary of the said United States to their high mightinesses the States-General of the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, esq. late delegate in congress from the state of Pennsylvania, president of the convention of the said state, and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Versailles; and John Jay, esq. late president of congress, and chief justice of the state of New-York, and minister plenipotentiary from the said United States at the court of Madrid; to be the plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty; who after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles:

Art. I. His Britannic majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.

Art. II. And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the north-west angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. John's river to the highlands, along the said highlands, which divide these rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from thence which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-westernmost head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on

said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Canataguy; thence along the middle of said river into lake Ontario; through the middle of said lake until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of the said communication into lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication between that lake and lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water communication between that lake and lake Superior; thence through lake Superior northward of the Isles Royal and Philippeaux to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake and the water communication between it and the lake of the Woods, to the said lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-westernmost point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude. South, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river to the Atlantic Ocean. East, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid highlands which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic Ocean from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part, and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the Bay of Fundy and the Atlantic Ocean, excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.

Art. III. It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Great Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland; also in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use, (but not to dry or cure the same on that island,) and also on the coast, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

Art. IV. It is agreed that the creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money, of all bona fide debts heretofore contracted.

Art. V. It is agreed that congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects; and also of the estates, rights, and properties, of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which on the return of the blessings of peace should univer-

sally prevail: and that congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states, that the estates, rights, and properties, of such last mentioned persons shall be restored to them, their refunding to any persons who may be now in possession the bona fide price (where any has been given), which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the confiscation.

And it is agreed that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

Art. VI. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall on that account suffer any future loss or damage either in his person, liberty, or property, and that those who may be in confinement on such charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

Art. VII. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the said United States, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other; wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall from henceforth cease; all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place and harbour, within the same; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds, and papers belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

Art. VIII. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

Art. IX. In case it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great Britain or to the United States, should have been conquered by the arms of either from the other, before the arrival of the said provisional articles in America, it is agreed that the same shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Art. X. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expeditious in good and due form, shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty. In witness whereof we the undersigned, their ministers plenipotentiary, have, in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, signed with our hands the present definitive treaty, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, this third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

DAVID HARTLEY.	(L. S.)
JOHN ADAMS.	(L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN.	(L. S.)
JOHN JAY.	(L. S.)

Notes C, p. 341.

SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY was fifth son of the earl of Mornington, in Ireland, and was born in Dublin in May, 1769. He was at an early age dedicated to the military profession, having been educated at the military academy of Angers in France; fortunately his genius seconded his early predilection, and he acquired a thorough knowledge of the theory of the art of war. He obtained the rank of a field-officer before he had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, which did not occur till the year 1794, when he displayed military talents in conducting the retreat of three British battalions, part of the army under the command of the duke of York, by Bois le duc and Arrasheim. Sir Arthur Wellesley having been appointed Lieutenant-colonel of the thirty-third regiment, accompanied that corps

to India, soon after his eldest brother Richard, then earl of Mornington, had been appointed governor-general of Bengal. On the arrival of his regiment in India, he embarked with it on an expedition then intended against Manila, but was recalled and re-landed to check the aggressions of Tipoo Sultan, through the intrigues of the French under Buonaparte, who was then in Egypt. In the Madras army destined against Tipoo Sultan, Sir Arthur commanded the subsidiary forces of the Nizam, and at the storm of Seringapatam he commanded the reserve during the ever memorable assault; for his intrepidity on that occasion he was thanked in public orders, was appointed commissioner for the division of prize-treasure taken in Seringapatam, and governor of that conquered capital; for his conduct in that arduous employment, he received the thanks of the governor-general in council. Soon afterwards he was intrusted with the command of an expedition against Dhondia Waugh, a freebooter, who, with a large force, had committed many excesses on the British possessions; him, Sir Arthur, by a series of rapid movements, intercepted at Conaghuill, and defeated and slew by a vigorous and intrepid attack with cavalry only, before the British infantry could come up. For his unremitting activity in these operations, he was thanked by general Braithwaite and by the governor-general in council. In the Mahratta war, lieutenant-colonel Wellesley, then a major-general by brevet, was appointed to command a body of troops, which was detached to protect Poonah, the capital of the Peishwah, a British ally, against Schindeah and Holkar. General Wellesley at the head of twelve thousand men, having heard that Holkar was in possession of Poonah and of the person of the Peishwah, and had determined to burn that capital on the approach of the British army, pushed forward over a difficult country and through a dangerous pass, by a forced march of sixty miles in thirty-two hours; the unexampled celerity of this

movement saved Poonah from destruction. After taking the fortress of Arseduagar, Sir Arthur finding the combined Mahratta army within six miles of his position, but breaking up camp to retreat, he boldly resolved to force the enemy to a general action, although colonel Stephenson's subsidiary division had not yet come up. There he achieved the victory of Asaye with a force of four thousand five hundred men, of whom only two thousand were Europeans, over Schindeah's army composed of fifty thousand men, and one hundred and ninety pieces of ordnance, of whom twelve hundred were killed, the wounded covered the country for many miles, and ninety-eight pieces of cannon, all the camp equipages, bullocks and camels of the enemy, with a vast quantity of ammunition, fell into the hands of the victor.

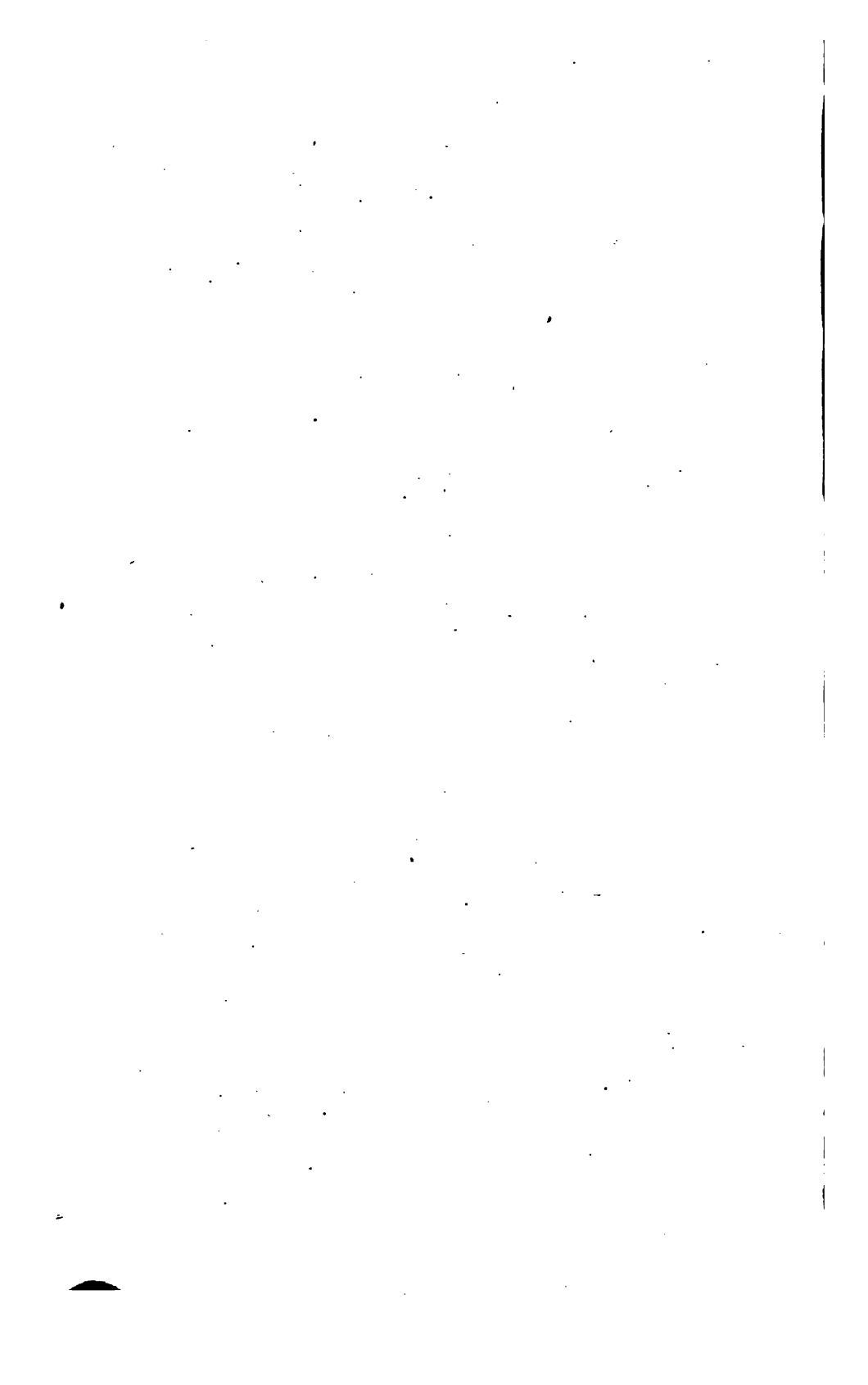
General Wellesley then pursued, overtook, and defeated the army of the rajah of Berar, on the plain of Agram, as decisively as he had defeated that of Schindeah's at Asaye, and having taken his only remaining, but almost impregnable fortress, Gawilghar, by escalade, both the rajah of Berar and Schindeah sued for peace, which was concluded by Sir Arthur with a celerity and skill, which proved that he possesses talents for the cabinet as well as for the field.

Having returned to Europe, Sir Arthur commanded a brigade in the army which, under the command of lord Cathcart, invested Copenhagen, and removed the Danish navy from the grasp of Buonaparte. Soon afterwards he was appointed, on the decease of marquis Cornwallis, to be colonel of the thirty-third regiment, in which he had served thirteen years as lieutenant-colonel; with this high and well-earned fame, general Sir Arthur Wellesley assumed the command of the allied forces in Portugal and Spain, where, and on both the extremities of France itself, he successively baffled her much vaunted generals and marshals, and finally defeated and dethroned her spurious emperor Napoleon.

THE END.

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